PRÁCĪ-PRABHÁ

Perspectives in Indology

Essays
in honour of
Professor B.N.Mukherjee

Edited by
D. C. Bhattacharyya
Devendra Handa

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D C BHATTACHARYYA

DEVENDRA HANDA

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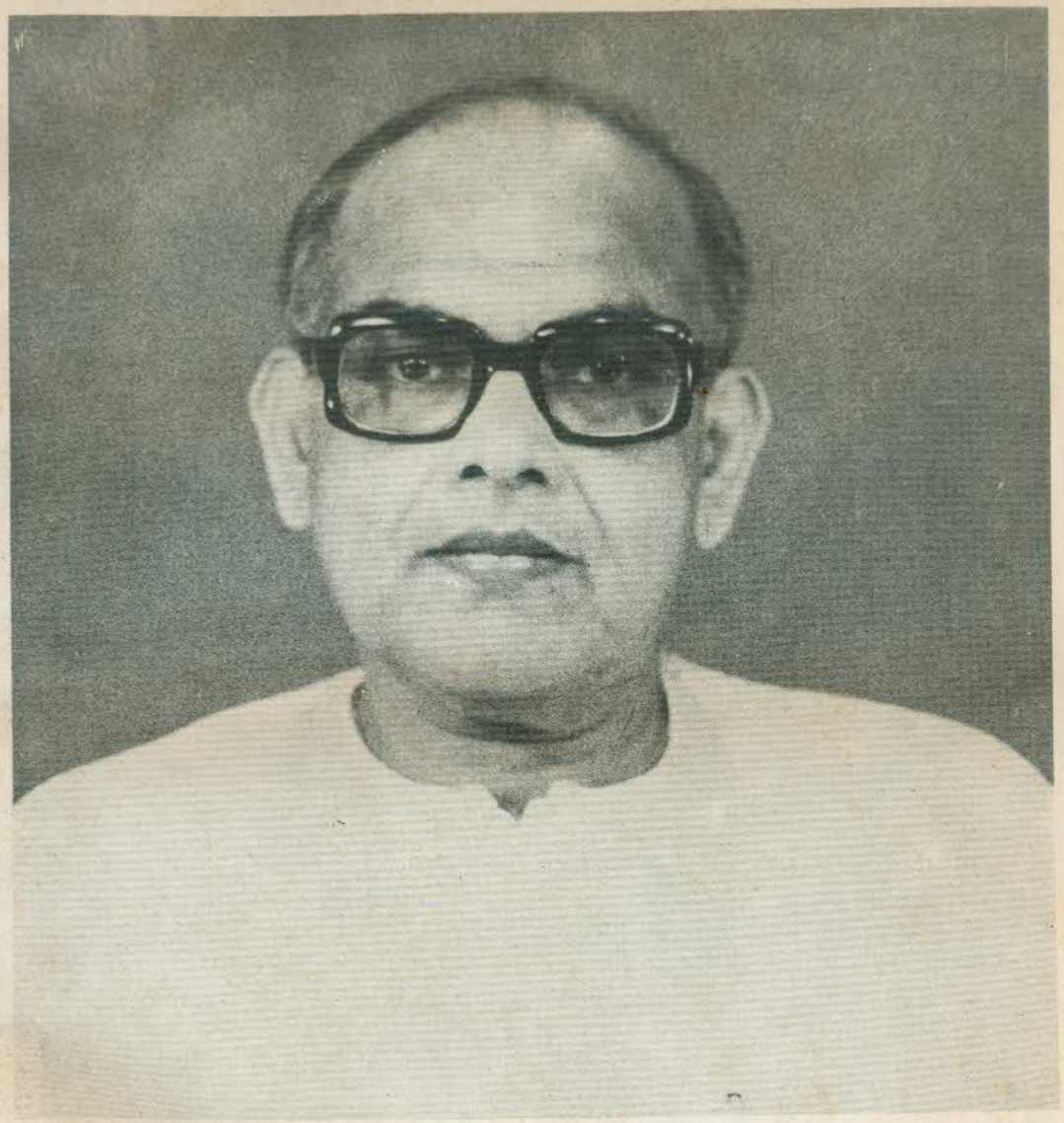

Professor B. N. Mukherjee

Professor B. N. Mukherjee at his studies

THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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HAS THIS DAY ADMITTED

Dr. B.N. Mukherjee.

AN HONORARY FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY

IN testimony thereof This Diploma has been transmitted to him.

Secretary

President

London.
29th March 1955

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee Felicitation Committee

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Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri
Dr. R.C. Sharma
Dr. Samir Kumar Mukhopadhyay
Shri M.N. Katti
Prof. D.C. Bhattacharyya
Shri Devendra Handa

Editorial Preface

When the friends and admirers of Professor B.N. Mukherjee decided to present him a Felicitation Volume, which he richly deserved, it was also decided that the presentation should take place on the 1st of January, 1989—the birthday of Professor Mukherjee. The Felicitation Committee, headed by Professor Jagannath Agrawal, started the work in right earnest and entrusted us with the duty of editing the Volume. The time at our disposal was too limited to plan the Volume in the ideal way. It was felt that the gesture was more important than the formal precision. Accordingly, our approach was to prepare the Volume as a token of love for Professor Mukherjee. Fortunately, we received good response from the scholars, including a number of them from abroad. Many other scholars desired to contribute papers to register their appreciation of the scholarship of Professor Mukherjee. But, unfortunately for us, we could not give them the time they required, since our project was a time-bound one. We take this opportunity to thank all the scholars who could contribute papers even on short notice, and to apologise to them who, in view of the constraints of time, could not send the paper.

The papers were not received in a bunch. Thus it was not possible to arrange them in any order, subject-wise or in terms of the chronology of the topics. In fact, at the last legs, the papers had to be rushed to the press immediately on their receipt. Otherwise it would not have been possible to bring the Volume to its final shape within the pre-planned time-schedule. This *impromptu* arrangement was kindly agreed to by Sardar Manjit Singh, the publisher of this Volume. We are beholden to him for having taken unprecedented interest and care for the publication of the Volume on schedule.

Now some words of apology for a few unavoidable shortcomings and failings. Diacritical marks of the standard type have been incorporated wherever needed. But it was not possible to provide the unusual marks and signs. Due to the limitation of resources, the marks for the accents of the Vedic words could not be inserted.

Moreover, it was not possible to maintain a uniform system of the diacritical marks. Since the papers were received intermittently, the system of marking adopted by the respective authors had to be maintained. Of course, it will be found that most of the contributors have followed the international system of transliteration. For the cases of the mix-up or of the deviations from the uniformity, we crave for the indulgence of the readers. We request them to bear with us for some printing errors which might have crept in due to the expeditious handling of the publication exercise.

The article by Dr. B.A. Litvinsky was in Russian. On his advice, it was translated into English by Sm. Mangala Shaw (Chakravarti) of Calcutta. Since she had to do the work post haste, in order that the publication schedule was not disturbed, the translation understandably is not as refined as was desired. We express our apologies to Dr. Litvinsky for the inadequacy and offer our gratitude to Sm. Shaw (Chakravarti) for her requisitioned help.

We are thankful to many friends but for whose co-operation and help it would not have been possible to bring out the Felicitation Volume, and that too on schedule. The foremost among them is the Publisher, Sardar Manjit Singh, to whom we offer our thanks. Our friend and colleague, Dr. Asvini Agrawal, deserves thanks and appreciation for his services and co-operation. Dr. Samir Kumar Mukhopadhyay of the Calcutta University and Dr. R.C. Sharma of the Indian Museum, the Secretary and the Chairman respectively of the Reception Committee for the presentation of the Felicitation Volume deserve to be complimented for organizing the presentation ceremony in Calcutta. We are thankful to them, as also to all other members of the said Committee.

It is indeed our honoured privilege that we are able to present this Felicitation Volume to Professor B.N. Mukherjee who is an outstanding scholar, a renowned teacher and a lovable personality. We are grateful to him that he has agreed to accept this Volume as the token of our love and esteem. We wish Prof. Mukherjee a long and healthy life so that he may serve the Indological world for many more decades.

Chandigarh
December 25, 1988

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डा० व्रतीन्द्रनाथ मुखोपाध्याय

प्राचीन लेखेषु विशेषदक्षः
संस्थापितो येन च कीर्तिदण्डः ।
प्रकाशकः शंखलिपि सुगूढां
व्रतीन्द्रनाथो विदुषां वरेण्यः ॥१॥

मुद्रादि शास्त्रेषु सुलब्धकीर्तिः
कुषाणकाले तु अभूतपूर्वः ।
प्रवर्तकोऽनेक विचारसरणि
मूर्धन्य वक्तास्ति व्रतीन्द्रनाथः ॥२॥

स्वजन्मना यद्यपि वंग देशे
वसन्नपि ख्यात समस्त लोके ।
अतोऽत्र सत्यं हि निगद्यते तत्
विद्वान हि सर्वत्र सुपूज्यते सदा ॥३॥

स्वकर्मणा यश्च सुमेधया च
अजस्त्र लेखेन विलक्षणेन ।
व्रतीन्द्र दा तिष्ठति कीर्ति मेरौ
शीलेन सौम्येन च निश्छलेन ॥४॥

शिष्येषु मित्रेषु च लोकमध्ये
संस्तूयते हार्विकगौरवेण ।
सरस्वती पुत्र इवावतीर्णः
श्रियाभियुक्तः पति रंजनायाः ॥५॥

विबुधसंसदि मध्य विराजते प्रथितदेशविदेशविचक्षणः ।
लिपि, कुषाण, पुरातन शास्त्रवित् सृजति नित्य सुशास्त्र वतीन्द्र दा ॥

रमेश चन्द्र शर्मा

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee : A Biographical Sketch

ALAKANANDA BHATTACHARYYA

Bratindranath was born on January 1, 1934 at 56, Jatin Das Road, Calcutta-29. He belongs to the famous Brahmin zamindar family of Bakulia in the Hoogly district of West Bengal. His grandfather the late Narendra Nath Mukhopadhyay was a mining engineer and was a pioneer in the industries connected with colliery and refractories. He was the founder of a well known factory of fire-bricks at Mugma near Dhanbad in Bihar. Narendra Nath married Sm. Sivadasi Debi of the zamindar family of Labhpur in the Birbhum district of West Bengal, to which was related Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay, the celebrated novelist of Bengal.

Bratindranath is the fifth son of late Sri Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyay and Sm. Radharani Debi. Dhirendranath was a meritorious student of engineering, but had to give up his studies in favour of joining the business. It was through the efforts of Dhirendranath that the factory at Mugma expanded and turned out to have been the leading factory of refractories in this country. Bratindranath's mother Sm. Radharani Debi is the daughter of the late Abinash Chandra Bandyopadhyay, a close associate of Sri Gurusaday Dutta, the founder of the Bratchari movement in Bengal.

In his childhood Bratindranath was associated with the Manimala movement, founded by Bimal Chandra Ghosh. He received his early education at the Tirthapati Institution, Ballygunge and passed the Matriculation Examination in 1949. In his school days he was deeply influenced by his teacher Sri Haridas Bhattacharyya who used to teach Bengali literature. Among his close associates Sri Sagar Sen was senior to him by one year and later turned out to have had been a noted exponent of the songs of Rabindranath.

Dhirendranath wanted his fifth son to become an engineer, though Bratindranath had reared up a desire to take up Honours in English. Accordingly he took admission in the Presidency College, Calcutta in Intermediate Arts. In the History classes he was deeply influenced by the lectures of Prof. W.A. Mahmood who used to teach the history of ancient Greece. Among his other teachers was Dr. C.C. Dasgupta (author of the *Development of the Kharoshṭhī script*). After passing the I.A. Examination in 1952, Bratindranath took Honours in History instead of English. He duly attended the classes for a few days. One day he met Dr. C.C. Dasgupta who had in the meantime been transferred to Govt. Sanskrit College, as the Assistant Professor of the Department of Ancient Indian and World History. Dr. Dasgupta advised Bratindranath to take up Honours in the new subject. Bratindranath pondered over the matter and finally took admission to Govt. Sanskrit College with Honours in Ancient Indian and World History. In the Honours classes he experienced the romance of getting himself acquainted with the original sources like inscriptions and coins and that of the method of reconstructing the history of Ancient India. It proved to be one of the greatest landmarks in his career. His other teacher at the Sanskrit College was Dr. S.K. Mitra. He graduated from the Govt. Sanskrit College with Honours in Ancient Indian and World History in 1954. Bratindranath passed the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in Ancient Indian History and Culture with specialisation in Epigraphy and Numismatics with a First Class and topped the list of all the successful candidates.

Bratindranath started researches under the supervision of Prof. S.K. Saraswati on the 'Western Kshatrapas.' In 1960 he was awarded the Commonwealth Scholarship for higher studies. In the same year he married Ranjana, the elder daughter of Prof. Saraswati and Sm. Annapurna Debi. In London he worked under the guidance of Prof. A.L. Basham on the "History of the Lower Indus Country (A.D. 1-150)", which earned for him the Ph.D. degree of the London University in 1963.

He came back to India in the same year and in 1964, Bratindranath joined the Department of Post Graduate Training Research, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta as the Honorary Associate Professor of Indology. In 1975 he was appointed Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, which he still holds.

Prof. Bratindranath Mukherjee now in his early fifties, has served and been serving different academic institutions in various responsible positions. He was the Director of Research (Humanities), at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, from 1972 to 1977 and Director, Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta from the year 1978 to 1980. He was also the Library Secretary (1966-68), Treasurer (1968-70), General Secretary (1970-72), Historical and Archaeological Secretary (1974-76) and the Vice-President (1983-84) of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He was associated with the Numismatic Society of India as its Vice-President (1972-73) and General Secretary (1973-76). He was a member

of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum from 1969 to 1984 and has been serving the same Board since 1986. Prof. Mukherjee is also the Honorary Director, School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Calcutta.

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee has already presided over a large number of All India and International Seminars in India and abroad. In 1977, he presided over the sixty-fifth session of the Numismatic Society of India held at Shillong and in 1981, Section I of the Indian History Congress held at Bodh Gaya. As a Sectional Chairman he conducted the International Seminar on "Pre-Kushāṇa Mathurā" held in New Delhi in 1977; "Mathurā, up to the Kushāṇa Age" held in New Delhi in 1980; "Interactions in Indian Art" held in Lucknow in 1982, "Art and Archaeology of Bangladesh" held at Rajshahi in Bangladesh in 1982, "Art of Kushāṇa Empire" held in Lucknow in 1984, "Indian Art" held in honour of Prof. Hertel in Berlin in 1985, the SAARC International Workshop on Epigraphy held in Mysore in 1985, "Numismatics and Archaeology" held at Nasik in 1987, and "Historical Contact between India and Soviet Central Asia" held in Moscow in 1988. Prof. Mukherjee was the Sectional President of the Annual Conference of the Bihar Archaeological and Cultural Society held at Gauhati in 1987, the Seminar on "India and Central Asia—Links and Legacies" held at the Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University in 1988, the seminar on "Terracotta Art" held under the auspices of the Ashutosh Museum in 1988 and of the seminar on "Shell Script" held at the Jabbalpur University in March, 1988. He attended the Bhuvaneswar Session of the Orissa History Congress in 1979 and the Twenty-second German Oriental Conference at Tubingen (West Germany) in 1983 as the Guest-of-Honour.

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee was invited from time to time to deliver endowment and special lectures at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1958, 59, 65-85), National Museum, New Delhi (1970), Indian Museum, Calcutta (1977), Patna University, Patna (1977), Tribhuvan University, Nepal (1977), State Museum, Gauhati (1977), Assam Historical Society, Gauhati (1978); Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi (1974, 1979, 1982 and 1984), North Bengal University, Siliguri (1979), P.C. Bagchi Memorial Lectures at the Visvabharati University, Santiniketan (1981), School of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (1981), Dacca Museum, Dacca in Bangladesh (1982), Frai Undversitat, Berlin and Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin (1983); 'V.S. Agrawala Memorial Lectures' at the State Museum, Lucknow (1983-84), Nagpur University, Nagpur (1984); 'Growse Memorial Lectures' at the Govt. Museum, Mathurā (1985), Research Unit of Prof. G. Vun Mitterwallner, University of Munich in West Germany (1986), Institute of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (1986 and 1987), Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta (1987), Epigraphical Society of India, Guwahati Session (1987), Centre for Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar (1988) and the Rani Durgavati University, Jabbalpur (1988). He delivered key-note addresses at the International seminar on "Art of the Kushāṇa Age" held in Lucknow in 1984, "The Terracotta Art" held at the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta in February, 1988; in the Seminar on "The Shell Script"

held at the Jabbalpur University in March, 1988 and in the Seminar on "India and Central Asia—Links and Legacies" held at Srinagar in March, 1988.

Bratindranath was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquary, London in 1962. The Numismatic Society of India awarded him the Akbar medal for his valuable contributions in numismatic studies. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland honoured Prof. Mukherjee in the year 1985 by offering him an Honorary Fellowship "in grateful recognition of" his "eminent services to Oriental Studies"—an honour of which any academician of any country can take pride of. He has deliver special lectures in the Ohio University of U.S.A. in October-November, 1988. An exhibition of his monographs and articles was also been organised by the Ohio Unlversity as "a nice tribute to" him and his "numerous contributions to knowledge of Indian Culture".

Prof. Mukherjee who deciphered the "Shell Script" is now actively engaged in deciphering another script which was used in the Indo-Iranian borderland and an enigmatic script of early Bengal. Apart from this he is preparing a "Comprehensive Catalogue of the coins of the Imperial Parthians (Arsacids)", a "Dictionary of Gandhārī Prākrit", "Descriptive Catalogue of Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions in the National Museum", a "Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions" (to be published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series) and "Coinage of Bengal". He is also connected with numerous other research projects including (a) 'Technology of Indian Coins', at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (b) 'Bibliography of Coins of Early Bengal,' at the Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, (c) 'Puranic List of Kings of the Indian Sub-continent,' at the Centre of Advanced Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta and (d) 'Historical Atlas of the Śaka-Kushāṇa phase at the School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Calcutta.

Prof. Bratindranath Mukherjee owes his debt to his illustrious teachers in the Undergraduate and Post-Graduate levels like Dr. C.C. Dasgupta, Dr. S.K. Mitra, Dr. J.N. Banerjea, Dr. B.C. Sen, Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri and Sri N.N. Dasgupta. It was Prof. Saraswati, his mentor, who taught him the discipline and methodology of History. Prof. Mukherjee cherishes the memories of his association with Prof. R.G. Basak (who taught him Prākrit), Prof. A. L. Basham (his research guide at the London University, who taught him the true meaning of a 'teacher'), Prof. H.W. Bailey (who as a scholar has become a legend in his life time), Prof. Mary Boyce (who taught him Parthian at London), Prof. R.C. Majumdar, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Prof. D.C. Sircar all of whom took keen interest in his academic activities.

Prof. Mukherjee has thus the fortune of having the opportunity of learning at the feet of some legendary figures in the field of Indological Studies. He thinks himself fortunate in two more respects. He did not have to face any money problem in pursuing his studies. He also takes pride in his students, some of whom are now wellknown in the fields of historical and cultural studies.

A List of Select Writings of Prof. B.N. Mukherjee

Compiled by DILIP KUMAR NAG

1. Books and Monographs

1. *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Calcutta, 1967.
2. *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, Calcutta, 1968.
3. *Itihās(a)—Ekṭi Prāchīn(a) Bhāratīya Chetanā* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1968.
4. *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1969.
5. *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969.
6. *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970.
7. *The Pāradas—Their Coinage and History*, Calcutta, 1972.
8. *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era*, Varanasi, 1973.
9. *Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire*, Varanasi, 1976.
10. *The Genesis of Buddhism—Its Social Content*, Calcutta, 1976.
11. *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978.
12. *East Indian Art Styles*, Calcutta, 1980.
13. *Mathurā and Its Society—The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981.
14. *Kushāṇa Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982.
15. *A Plea for Study of Art in Coinage*, Varanasi, 1983.
16. *Decipherment of the Shell Script*, Lucknow, 1983.
17. *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1984.
18. *Art in the Gupta and Post-Gupta Coinages of Northern India*, Lucknow, 1985.
19. *Kalighat Paṭas, Album of Art Treasures*, No. 3, *Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1987.
20. *The Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire*, Calcutta, 1988.
21. *Earliest Indian Miniatures*, Calcutta, 1988.
22. *Technology of Indian Coinage* (Co-author), Calcutta, 1988.
23. *India in World Wisdom* (Co-author and Editor), Calcutta, 1986.

24. *Śrī Dineśachandrikā, Studies in Indology, D.C. Sircar Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1983 (one of the editors of the volume).
25. *Early Historical Perspective of North Bengal*, Raja Rammohanpur, 1987 (Co-editor of the volume).

II. A List of Select Papers, Articles and Communications

[Prof. B.N. Mukherjee's writings have been published in various periodicals in different countries like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, England (U.K.), Germany (West Germany), Hungary, India, Italy, U.S.A., Pakistan and U.S.S.R. The following list of publications is not exhaustive. It should also be noted that about sixty papers, not listed here, are now at different stages of printing.

A. Epigraphy and Palaeography

1. A Note on a Passage in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta. (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1955).
2. A Note on a Passage in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta (*Meghnad Shaha Number, Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, vol. XXIII, No. 1, 1957).
3. A Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Vīrapurusha-datta (*JAS*, 1959).
4. A Nagarjunakonda Inscription (*Monthly Notice, Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, December, 1959; *Year Book, The Asiatic Society*, January, 1960).
5. On a Nagarjunakonda Inscription (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, June, 1959).
6. The Correct Interpretation of a Term in a Kanheri Record (*PIHC*, 1960).
7. A Mewasa Stone Inscription of the time of the Kshatrapas of Western India (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1961).
8. The Dates of the Three Versions of the Surkh-Kotal Inscription Referring to year 31 (*Indian Studies Past Present*, Calcutta, vol. V, No. 3, 1964).
9. A Shahri Bahlol Inscription of the time of Kanishka III (*Summary of Papers, XXVI, International Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi, 1964).
10. The Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Casket Inscription (*British Museum Quarterly*, London, vol. XXVIII, 1964).
11. A Note on the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Inscription (*BMQ*, vol. XXX, 1966).
12. A Note on the Devni Mori Inscription (*Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. XVII, 1967).
13. Pāradanshāh of the Paikuli Inscription (*Monthly Bulletin, Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, August, 1968, vol. III, No. 8; *JAS*, 1968).
14. A Note on a Surkh-Kotal Inscription, (*East*, Calcutta, vol. II).
15. A Passage in an Inscription at Karla (*East*, Calcutta, vol. II).

16. An Interesting Inscription (*MB*, *AS*, June, 1969; *JAS*, 1969).
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18. The Epigraphic Evidence from Kara-Tepe and so-called Old Śaka Era (*East and West*, Rome, 1971, *NS*, vol. XXI).
19. The Habitats of the Brahmins Mentioned in the Naqsh-i-Rustam Record of Kartir (*MB*, *AS*, August, 1971: *YB*, *AS*, 1971; *JAS*, 1971).
20. A Pedestal Inscription from the Peshawar District (*East and West*, 1972, *NS*, vol. XXII).
21. The 'Prakritis' of the Khalimpur Copper Plate of Dharmapāla (*MS*, *AS*, August, 1972; *JAS*, 1972).
22. A Note on the Dewai Inscription of the year 200 (*MB*, *AS*, December, 1973; *JAS*, 1973).
23. Kamra Inscription of Vajeshka (Vāsishka). (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, vol. VIII, No. 2, 1973).
24. The Tochi Valley Inscription and the so-called the Old Śaka Era (*AS*, *MB*, April, 1973; *YB*, *AS*, vol. II, No. 4; *JAS*, 1973).
25. An Interesting Brāhmī Inscription from Sannathi (Gulbarga District), (*AS*, *MB*, July, 1974; *JAS*, 1974).
26. An Interesting Stone Plaque from Warsaliganj (Gaya District) (*AS*, *MB*, September, 1974; *JAS*, 1974).
27. A Note on an Inscription found near Mount Vernon (Australia) (*AS*, *MB*, January, 1974; *JAS*, 1974).
28. Observations on an Unknown Script (*Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Mysore, vol. IV, 1977).
29. A Note on a Recently Discovered Kushāṇa Record (*AS*, *MB*, May, 1976; *JAS*, 1976).
30. An Interesting Kharoshṭhī Inscription (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, vol. XI, 1977-78).
31. A Mathura Inscription of the year 26 and of the period of Huvishka (*JAIH*, vol. XI, 1977-78).
32. A Note on a Word in the Dasht-e-Nawūr Record of V'ima Kadphises (*AS*, *MB*, August, 1977; *JAS*, 1977).
33. Garhi Mitani Inscription of Kanishka I (*JESI*, Mysore, vol. V, 1978).
34. Kharoshṭhī Documents of Shah-Shan and the Kushāṇa Empire (*Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Ed. by J. Harmatta, Budapest, 1979).
35. A Note on an Interesting Kharoshṭhī Inscription (*MB*, *AS*, August, 1980; *JAS*, 1981).
36. A Note on Two Inscriptions from Taxila (*MB*, *AS*, December, 1980; *JAS*, 1981).

37. A Note on Hisse-Borala Inscription of the time of Vākāṭāka Devasena (*JESI*, Mysore, vol. VII, 1980).
38. Two Aramaic Edicts of Priyadarśī (Aśoka) from Laghman (*IMB*, vol. XV, 1980).
39. A Note on the name Kharoshṭhī (*MB*, *AS*, May, 1980; *JAS*, 1981).
40. A Note on Some Kharoshṭhī (Kharoshṭī) Inscriptions from Dalverzin-Tepe (U.S.S.R.) (*AS*, *MB*, July, 1981; *JAS*, 1981).
41. A Kharoshṭhī Inscription of the time of the Kushāṇa King Vajheshka (Vāsishka), (*Malwa Through the Ages*, Ed. by M.D. Khare, Bhopal, 1981).
42. A Note on an Inscription of the year 74 of the Azes Era (*MB*, *AS*, June, 1981; *JAS*, 1981).
43. A Gold Plaque from Tilliya-Tepe (*AS*, *MB*, May, 1981; *JAS*, 1981).
44. Evidence of the use of Long Vowel Sign in the Kharoshṭhī (Kharoshṭī) Script of India (*JESI*, vol. VIII, 1981).
45. The So-Called Shell-Script —A Note on Its Decipherment (*IMB*, vol. XVI, 1981).
46. A Note on Two Greek Inscriptions from Ai-Khanoum (North Afghanistan) (*MB*, *AS*, January, 1982).
47. A Note on a Bactrian Inscription from Airtam (U.S.S.R.) (*JAS*, 1982).
48. A Note on Two Laghman Edicts of Aśoka (*AS*, *MB*, May, 1982; *JAS*, 1982).
49. A Note on the Aramaic Inscription of Priyadarśī (Aśoka) from Taxila (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay, vols. LVI—LIX, 1981-84; *Dr. Bhagavan Lal Indraji Memorial Volume*, Ed. by D. Desai, Bombay, 1986).
50. A Note on the Kandahar Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of Aśoka (*Dineśa-chandrikā*, *Studies in Indology*, *D.C. Sircar Felicitation Volume*, Ed. by B.N. Mukherji and Others, New Delhi, 1983).
51. A Note on a Bi-Scriptual Epigraph of the Kushāṇa Period from Mathurā (*JAIH*, vol XIII, 1980-82).
52. A Note on Two Lihinimalai Records of Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa, King of Laṅkā (*Ācārya Vandanā*, *D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume*, Ed. S. Bandyopadhyay, Calcutta, 1984).
53. A Note on a Recently Noticed Inscription of the Time of Gondophares I (*MB*, *AS*, September, 1984; *JAS*, 1984).
54. An Enigmatic Kharoshṭhī Inscription (*MB*, *AS*, November, 1984; *JAS*, 1984).
55. The Taxila Edict of Aśoka (*Journal of Central Asia*, Islamabad, vol. V, No. 1, 1984).
56. Inscribed "Mahābodhi" Temple Plaque from Kamrahar (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, ns., vol. XIV, 1984-85).
57. Present State of Research on the Shell Script (*JAIH*, vol. XV, 1984-85).
58. A Clue to the Decipherment of the so-called Shell Script (*Zeitschrift Duetschen Mogenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement VI, Stuttgart, 1985).
59. An Inscribed Pestle (*JAS*, 1985).

60. A Terracotta Seal Inscription Wrongly attributed to V'ima Kadphises (*JESI*, vol. XII, 1985).
61. Some Observations on a Bactrian Inscription from Airtam (U.S.S.R.) (*Information Bulletin*, International Association for the Study of Civilizations of Central Asia, Moscow, no. 11, 1986).
62. The Problem of Attribution of the Reh Inscription (*Information Bulletin*, No. 11, *IASCCA*, Moscow, 1986).
63. A Note on the Lala Bhagat Pillar (*Rūpāñjali, In Memory of O.C. Gangoly*, edited by K.K. Ganguly and S. Biswas, New Delhi, 1986).
64. A Note on the Shell Script (*IMB*, vol. XXI, 1986).
65. A Casket Inscription of the Time of Vijayamitra, the ruler of Archa (*IMB*, vol. XVI, 1986).
66. Ekṭi Prācīn (a) Bāṅglā Lekh(a) (in Bengali) (*Desh*, Calcutta, March, 15, 1986).
67. The Shertal Kharoshṭī Inscription of the year 39 of the Kaṇishka Era (*JESI*, Mysore. vol. XIV, 1987).
68. A Note on the Pul-i-Darunta Inscription of Aśoka *Ancient History, Philosophy and Culture—Essays in Memory of Radha Govinda Basak Vidyāvācaspati*, edited by M. Benerji and P. Bandyopadhyay, Calcutta, 1987.
69. Kharoshṭī graffiti of the Kushana Age from Northern Kashmir (*IMB*, Vol. XXII, 1987).
70. Historical Data in the Aramaic and Greek Inscriptions of Aśoka (*Archaeology and History, Essays in Memory of A.K. Ghosh Commemoration Valume*, Ed. by B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhyay, New Delhi, 1987).

B. Coins and Seals

71. Rhinoceros-Slayer type of Coins Kumāragupta I—Its historical Significance (*IHQ*, Calcutta, June, 1955).
72. On the absence of Darics in India (*IHQ*, March, 1957).
73. Rudrasiṁha I—Jīvadāman—Īśvaradatta Problem (*Our Heritage*, Bulletin of Post Graduate Training and Research Department, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Vol. VI, 1958).
74. Did Pūrugupta Issue Coins? (*PIHC*, 1958).
75. Indian Museum Coin of Mahākshatrapa Jīvadaman: Year 100 or 102—Its Historical Bearing (*YB, AS*, 1958).
76. Sātavāhana Coinage—An Examination of Rapson's Ṭheory (*IHQ*, March, 1958).
77. A Lyrist Type Copper Coin (*JAS*, 1959).
78. Obverse Legends on the Coins of Vainyagupta (*J.N. Banerji Volume*, Calcutta, 1959).
79. The Prototype of the Obverse Device of the Kushāṇa Coinage (*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi, Vol. XXII, 1960).

80. The Relative Priority of the Kadphises and Kanishka Groups of Rulers (*Indian Studies, Past and Present*, vol. II, 1960-61).
81. International Value of the Kushāṇa Gold Coins in Relation to the Roman Currency (*Congresso Internazionali di Numismatica*, Rome, vol. II, 1961).
82. A Note on the History of the Indian Coin- Collection in the British Museum (*JNSI*, vol. XXIII. 1961).
83. Cast of an Intaglio Seal from Peshawar (*MN, AS*, September, 1963; *YB, AS*, 1963).
84. An Unnoticed Kṣatrapa Coin (*JNSI*, vol. XXVI, 1964).
85. The Nahapāna Riddle (*Our Heritage*, vol. XIII, Pt II, 1965).
86. The Problem of Fixing the Initial Period of the Sātavāhana Coinage (*Indian Studies, Past and Present*, vol. VII, No. 1, 1966),
87. The Dates on Two Silder Coins of Toramāṇa (*Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1965).
88. Location of a Mint of Azes Dynasty (*NC*, 1965).
89. Thd Title *Devaputra* on Kushāṇa Coins (*MB, AS*, vol. I, 1966).
90. Coins of the Pāradas (*MN, AS*, May, 1966).
91. British Museum Coins of Prahata (*MN, AS*, March, 1966).
92. An Intaglio Seal from Peshawar (*JNSI*, vol, XXVIII, 1966).
93. *Dīnār* (*a*) (in Bengali) (*Bhāratakosha*, Calcutta, vol. III, 1966).
94. *Taṅkāsāl* (*a*) (in Bengali) *Bhāratakosha*. vol. III, 1966).
95. Mint of Miaos (*MB, AS*, December, 1967; *YB, AS*, vol. II: No. 11 *JAS*, 1967).
96. Some Coins Referring to the Name *Parata* (*East*, vol. I, No. 2).
97. The title (*Devaputra* on Kushāṇa Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XXX, 1968).
98. Coins of Prahata (*JNSI*, vol. XXX, 1968).
99. An Interesting Copper Coin (*MB, AS*, February, 1969; *JAS*, 1969).
100. An Interesting Intaglio Seal (*MB, AS*, July, 1969; *JAS*. 1969).
101. A Coin of Sanabares (*MB, AS*, August, 1969; *JAS*, 1969).
102. *Dīnār* (*a*) (in Bengali), *Itihās* (*a*), Calcutta, 1969-70; *NS*, vol. IV, No. 2).
103. A Clay Seal from Chandravalli (*PIHC*, 1970).
104. The Dates on Certain Coins of Sanabares (*JNSI*, vol. XXXII, 1970).
105. The Location of the Mint of Some Indo-Parthian Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XXXII, 1970).
106. Some Observations on the Metrology of the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthian Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XXXII, 1970).
107. A Interesting Seal in the Collection of Prof. S.K. Saraswati (*MB, AS*, January, 1970; *JAS*, 1970).
108. An Interesting Clay Seal from Chandravalli (*MB, AS*, April. 1970; *JAS*, 1970).
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137. Some Interesting Yandheya Coins (*JAS*, vol. XX, 1978).
138. Ω ron and Onbar on Kushāṇa Coins (*JAS*, vol. XX, 1978).
139. A Note on Some Yaudheya Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XL, 1978).
140. A New Variety of Coinage of Harikela (*JAS*, vol. XXI, 1979).
141. The Coinage of the Rāta family of Samataṭa (*JAS*, vol. XXI, 1979).
142. A Sealing of King Timadaka (*The Journal of Ancient Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, Indore, vol. II, 1979).
143. An Interesting Seal Matrix (*JAINS*, Indore, vol. II, 1979).
144. A Note on the Reverse Devices of Coins of Kanishka I and his Successors (*Numismatic Digest*, Bombay and Nasik, vol. III, 1979).
145. A Note on a variety of Silver Coins of Sanabares (*Numismatic Digest*, vol. V, Pt. II, 1981.
146. The Reverse Legend on a Variety of Kushāṇa Coins (*AS*, *MB*, December, 1981).
147. A Gold Coin from Tilly-Tepe (Afghanistan), (*JNSI*, vol. XLIII, Pt. I, 1981).
148. Impact of Kushāṇa Coinage on Early Indigenous Coins (*Foreign Elements in Indigenous Coins*, Ed. by A.M. Shastri, Varanasi, 1982).
149. A Note on the question of Foreign Influence on the Techniques of Minting Coins in Ancient India (*Foreign Elements in Indigenous Coins*, Ed. by A.M. Shastri, Varanasi, 1982).
150. Samataṭer(a) Svarṇamudrā (in Bengali) (*Desh*, 24th April, 1982).
151. Place of Harikela Coinage in the Archaeology of Bangladesh (*JVRM*, Rajshahi vol. VII, 1981-82).
152. Coinage (Revised edition of a Writing of A.S. Altekar) (*A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. III, Pt. II, Published by the Indian History Congress, New Delhi, 1982).
153. The Date of Introduction of Unilingual Coins in the Post-Reform Coinage of the Kushāṇa Empire (*JAS*, 1983).
154. A Unique Gold Coin of the Pratihāra King Bhoja I (*Numismatic Digest*,) vol. VII, Pts. I & II, 1983).
155. An Interesting Scytho-Parthian Coin (*JNSI*, vol. XLV, 1983).
156. Some Aspects of the Technique of Minting Kushāṇa Coins (*IMB*, vol. XVIII, 1983).
157. A Seal-Matrix of Atapāna (*MB*, *AS*, July, 1984; *JAS*, 1984).
158. So-Called Silver Coinage of Śaśānka (*JNSI*, vol. XLVI, 1984).
159. A Variety of Gold Coinage of Samataṭa (*MB*, *AS*, July, 1984; *JAS*, 1984).
160. Half-Unit Pieces of the First Series of the Coinage of Harikela (*MB*, *AS*, June, 1985; *JAS*, 1985).

161. An Interesting Gold Coin (*MB,AS*, July, 1985; *YB, AS*, vol. XIV, No. 7; *JAS*, 1985).
162. Series IA of Harikela Coinage (*JNSI*, vol XLVII, 1985).
163. Media of Exchange in Early Medieval North India (*Numismatic Digest*, vol. X, 1986).
164. A Note on Musical Instruments on Indian Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XLVIII, Pts. 1 and 2, 1986).
165. A Note on Kaltis (*JNSI*, vol. XLVIII, Pts. 1/2, 1986).
166. A Note on Relative Value of Gold and Silver Coins in the Gupta Province of Puṇḍravardhana (*Souvenir*, 74th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, Guwahati, 1986).
167. Technology of Minting Coins in Early and Medieval India (*Technology in Early and Medieval India*, Ed. by A. Roy and S.K. Bagchi, New Delhi, 1986).
168. The Paglatek Hoard and the Relation between Kāmrūpa and Samataṭa (*Śraddhāñjali, Studies in Ancient Indian History, D.C. Sircar Commemoration Volume*, Ed. by R.D. Chaudhury ann Others, New Delhi, 1987).
169. A Numismatic Evidence of Deification of a Kushāṇa King (*Souvenir*, Second Annual Conference and Exhibition of Coins, Numismatic Society of Calcutta. 1987).
170. Bearings of the Excavations at Mainamati (Bangladesh) on the Local Silver Coinages (*Numismatics and Archaeology*, Ed. by P.L. Gupta and A. Jha, Nasik, 1987).
171. Amitābha on Kushāṇa Coins (*JNSI*, vol. XLIX, 1987).
172. Oesho on Kushāṇa Coins (*Mudrā, Journal of the Numismatic Society of Calcutta*, Calcutta, No. 1, 1987).
173. Lord Vasudeva on a Coin of King Vāsudeva (*JNSI*, Vol. XLIX, 1987).
173. Early Bengal Numismatics: The Scope of Study (Keynote address delivered at a Seminar on Coins and Currency of Early Bengal organised by the Numismatic Society of Calcutta in May, 1988) (*Mudrā*, No. 2, 1988).
175. A Note on Gold Coin or Medal found at Tillya-Tepe (Afghanistan) (*Mudrā*, No. 2, 1988).

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382. R.B. Whitehead (*YB*, AS, 1967)
383. A Tribute to Nalininath(a) Das(a) Gupta (in Bengali) *Commemoration Volume* published on the occasion of the first death anniversary of the well known Indologist, 1967).
384. Narendra Nath(a) Singhi (*YB*, AS, 1969).
385. Rajendra Lal Mitra and his Contemporaries (Rajendra Lal Mitra, published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1978).
386. Acārya Śri Rameś(a) Chandra Majumdār(a) ant (R.C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume, Calcutta).
387 Ācārya Dīneś(a) Chandra Sarkār(a) (in Bengali): (*Chaturanga*, September, 1985).
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389. Bhārat(a)tattvavid(a) Arthur L. Basham (in Bengali) (*Chaturaṅga*, February, 1988).
390. Āchhe Mṛtyu-Bhāratbandhu Aitihāsik(a) Basham (in Bengali): (*Samataṭa*, February, 1986).
391. Man of Many Parts (about A.L. Basham) (*Business Standard*, February 2, 1986).
392. A.L. Basham: His Concept of History (*Indian Studies: Past and Present*, Bombay, 1986),
393. Rākhāldāser(a) Pratibhā (in Bengali) *R.D.* (*Banerji Birth Centenary Souvenir*, Chhaygharia Rakhaldas Uchcha Vidyālaya, 24 Parganas, West Bengal, February, 1987).

K. Forewords=Prefaces

394. Foreword in the *Early History of Kalinga* by D. N. Das, Calcutta, 1973.
395. Foreword in the *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal* by Amitabha Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1977.

396. Preface in the *East Indian Bronzes*, Ed. by S.K. Mitra, Calcutta, 1979.
397. Preface in the *Ananda Coomaraswamy, A Centenary Volume*, Ed. by K.K. Das Gupta, Calcutta, 1981.
398. Foreword in the *Shell Inscriptions* by R. Saloman, Calcutta, 1981.
399. Preface in the *Concise History of Ancient India* by A.K. Majumdar, vol. III, 1982.
400. Foreword in the *Catalogue of Illustratians of the Asutosh Museum Ms of the Rāmahartiamānasa*, by N. Goswami, Calcutta, 1982.
401. Foreword in the *Buddhist Art of Mathura*, by R.C. Sharma, Delhi, 1983.
402. Foreword in the *Cultural History of Gandhāra aná Kapiśā* by Nilima Sen Gupta, Delhi, 1984.
403. "A Note on the *Arthaśāstra*" Foreword in the *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—A Comparative Study*, by N. P. Sil Calcutta. 1985.
404. "Prologue" in the *India in World's Wisdom*, Ed. by B.N. Mukherjee, Calcutta, 1986.
405. "Rulers" Love for Economic Cain"—Foreword in the *Warfare For Wealth* by Ranabir Chakrabarty, Calcutta, 1986.

L. Miscellaneous

406. Vatsarer(a) Śesh(a) gān(a) (in Bengali) (*Yugāntar(o)*, April 13, 1956).
407. Editorial (*East*, vol. I, no. 1).
408. Editorial (*East*, vol. I, no. 2).
409. The Asiatic Society and the Numismatic Society of India (*The Asiatic Society, Special Monthly Bulletin*, December, 1974: *Numismatic Studies, Calcutta*, 1974).
410. The Asiatic Society and the Numismatic Society of India (Revised) (*Souvenir*, Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, 66th Session Burdwan, 1978).
411. Sagaramayer(a) "Des(a)" (in Bengali) (*Sāgarikā*, Calcutta, 1987).
412. Quality Before Quantity (*The Metropolitan*, Calcutta, April 22, 1987).
413. Siṁhalīrā Kī Āsale Bāṅgālī? (in Bengalī) (*Ānnada Bāzār(a) Patrikā*, June 28, 1987).

Opinions of Scholars on some of the Books and Monographs by B.N. Mukherjee

1. *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*), vol. 1, Calcutta, 1967.

   "a sound piece of research work"-Dr. D.C. Sircar (*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, India, 1968).

   ". . . an outstanding piece of research . . . The author has shown great balance and scholarship in marshalling the facts, and has presented his views in a convincing manner".—Dr. P. Banerji (*Indo-Asian Culture*, New Delhi, vol. XVIII).

   "It gives an excellent review of the significant genealogical hypotheses that have been put forward and is a good guide to the basic facts that must be accommodated in any reconstruction of Kushāṇa history"—Dr. D.W. MacDowall (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain*, London, 1970).

   "It cannot be denied that the volume in question contains many new points of view which should be considered, and that it represents a new contribution to the vexed problem of Kushāṇa genealogy."—G. Tucci, *East and West*, Rome, vol. 24, nos. 1-2, 1974).

2. *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (*The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, pt. I), Calcutta, 1968.

   "This book . . . is a product of serious researches"—Dr. R.G. Basak (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1968).

"The book betrays the author's depth of scholarship in ample measure"—Dr. J.P. Singh, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi, 1974, vol. XXXVI).

3. *Nanā on Lion—A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art*, Calcutta, 1969.

"well informed, often original, the book is a well accepted new contribution by the renowned scholar and numismatist."—G. Tucci (*East and West*, Rome, ns, vol. 25, 1975).

"The monograph covers a wide ranging field with evident virtuosity, and is additionally useful for the survey it provides of recent work in many quarters on Kushāṇa antiquities."—Dr. A.D.H. Bivar (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1971).

"Brief, yet comprehensive, the book is a product of deep scholarship"—Devendra Handa (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, India, 1970).

"The book is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics"—Dr. D.C. Sircar (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, vol. IV).

Dr. Mukherjee "has entered with this monograph into an almost virgin field with his profound scholarship . . . This monograph sets a new pattern in the research in the history of Indian iconography and numismatic art. Dr. Mukherjee deserves our high praise."—Dr. P.L. Gupta (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1970).

"B.N. Mukherjee, specialiste connu d'histoire Kusāne et d'epigraphie Kharoṣṭhī vient de consacrer une importante monographie a la desse Nanā . . . Le lecteur aura comprise qu'il s'agit d'un livre important . . . il ya la un ensemble d'hypotheses et de documents que las specialiste d'histoire kusāne ne pourront se permettre de negliger."—G. Fussman (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme—Orient*, Paris, 1971, vol. LVIII),

"It is heartening to see a work on Kushāṇ coins from the able pen of Dr. Mukherjee who is known for his sound scholarship in the field of Central Asiatic Studies"—M.K. Dhavalikar (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Pune, India, 1971, vol. LII).

"The whole book is marked by objectivity of approach, precision, eminently readable presentation. thoroughness and originality of suggestions, most of which are well-based... It is a product of deep scholarship and sets a standard for similar studies in future. We warmly congratulate Dr. Mukherjee for this brilliant accomplishment."—Dr. A.M Shastri (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi, India, 1971, vol. XXXI, pt. I).

4. *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1969.

   "The laborious and critical study involved in preparing this work may be judged from the exhaustive and detailed references in the footnotes and the discussions on some allied topics in the five appendices. I regard the book as a scholarly contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian history and commend it to all serious students of the subject."—Dr. R.C. Majumdar ("Introduction", *An Agrippan Source*, etc.).

   "It is a remarkably learned work worthy of emulation in the field of methodology of Indian history."—Dr. B.P. Majumdar (*The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, India, 1970).

5. *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970.

   "The present monograph by Dr. B.N. Mukherjee is a welcome attempt in this direction... he argues his case well, handles the evidence critically and takes into consideration the full array of evidence. It is evident that Dr. Mukherjee has again made a useful contribution."—Dr. L. Gopal (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1970).

6. *The Pāradas, A Study in their Coinage and History*, Calcutta, 1972.

   "The present monograph forms a pioneering study of the various problems connected with the history and coinage of the Pāradas and constitutes a welcome addition to historico-numismatic literature."—Dr. A.M. Shastri, (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi, India, 1973, vol. XXXV).

7. *Central and South Asian Documents on the Śaka Era*, Varanasi, 1973.

   Dr. Mukherjee "has given evidence of a wide knowledge of writings on the subject... It will serve as valuable handbook for those who intend to study this subject."—R.C. Majumdar (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1976, vol. XVIII, nos. 1-4).

8. *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978.

   It "is a new addition to the vast literature that has already been contributed by Dr. B.N. Mukherjee to the history and culture of the Kushāṇa age . . . It has opened up a new vista of research." —A. Bhattacharyya (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 1980, vol. XXII, nos. 1-2).

   "It is a pleasure to note that justice has been done to his subject both by critically examining the source materials and drawing historical conclusions, with a facility which can be attained by thorough painstaking researches."—A.K. Bhattacharyya (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, vol. XII).

9. *East Indian Art Styles*, Calcutta, 1980.

"The contribution of this work lies not only in working on an untrodden field of art history, but it also brings forth hitherto unknown materials on the subject."—A. Ray (*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, vol. XII).

"The author of the present monograph is a front-rank scholar of international repute. His vast knowledge of the inter-disciplinary type richly entitles him to the study of style in art . . . It (the monograph) shows new directions which should be followed in order to appreciate the development of the phenomenon of style in general, and in its regional manifestation in particular. It is, thus, a noteworthy contribution to the historical study of Indian art".—D.C. Bhattacharyya (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1982, vol. XXIV).

10. *Mathura and Its Society—The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981.

Prof. Mukherjee's "special knowledge of this period (Śaka-Kushāṇa age) has enabled him to prepare a delightfully analytical history of Mathurā during the Śaka-Pahlava phase". This "book depicts the political history and society of Mathurā in a lucid and profoundly scholarly manner".—B.P. Majumdar (*The Indian Historical Review*, New Delhi, vol. X, no. 1-2, 1983-84).

"The entire volume bespeaks of author's erudition, analytical approach and critical accumen. . . (It) is a significant contribution to the history of the second urbanization in India".—D. Handa (*Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, vol. XIV. no. 2, 1983).

11. *Kushāṇa Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982.

"So far notices of these (silver) specimens were scattered in numerous publications often not easily accessible to students of numismatics, and the need to consolidate this material and tackle the problems centring around them was widely felt. The present monograph by Professor Mukherjee aims at meeting this desideratum, which it has achieved remarkably well".—A.M. Shastri (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1984, vol. XXVI).

"Professor B.N. Mukherjee is an authority on the Kushāṇas having good command over the sources. Therefore, a book dealing with the Kushāṇas, from his pen, is always welcome. The silver coins attributed to the Kushāṇas are extremely rare and very often their attribution and genuity is doubted. Dr. Mukherjee took up the subject daringly and advocated convincingly." —T.P. Verma (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1983, vol. XLV).

"Professor B.N. Mukherjee, of Calcutta University, a prominent specialist on ancient Indian history and cultures, deals with the role of silver coinage in (the) Kushāṇa (empire) . . . On the whole, Prof. Mukherjee's monograph is useful".

—Z. Serditykh (*Information Bulletin*, no. 7, 1984, International Association for the Study of Cultures of Central Asia, Moscow).

12. *Decipherment of the Shell Script*, Lucknow, 1983.

"Dr. Mukherjee ... has deciphered this script ... (His) readings, which he modestly calls tentative, have taken the lid off the mystery surrounding the script and added a new and important chapter to Indological studies".—K.L. Mukherjee (*The Statesman*, October 12, 1984).

"Prof B.N. Mukherjee, one of our leading Indologists and epigraphists, has earned universal admiration by deciphering this intricate script".—M.N. Katti (*Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. XII, 1985).

"I find that your reading carries complete conviction, and I feel that you deserve our thanks and congratulations on this important discovery".—F.R. Allchin (in a letter dated 3.10.84).

13. *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1984.

" B.N. Mukherjee a rendu un grand service a nos etudes en reprenant l'ensemble de ces textes d'Aśoka . . . Je Voudrais insister sur in richesse des notes"—G. Fussman (*Studia Iranica*, vol. XV, 1986, no. 2).

"The work under review is a most welcome contribution to Aśokan Studies by an eminent epigraphist and historian of ancient India . . . We congratulate the author on his very fine achievement in making a very valuable contribution to Aśokan studies."—J. Agrawal (*Panjab University Research Bulletin* (*Arts*), vol. XVIII, no. 1, 1987).

14. *Kalighat Paṭās, Album of Art Treasures* (*of the Indian Museum*), no. 3, Calcutta, 1987.

"It goes without saying that among the middleaged historians of Indian art Bratindra Nath is one of the best exponents of (its) factual (assessment). In this concise essay he has traced with reasons and illustrations the evolution of Kalighat paṭās (miniatures). There are new facts and new view points. The descriptions of pictures are really excellent. Iconographical analyses are short, but correct".—S. Sarkar (translated from his review in Bengali) (*Desh*, December 12, 1987).

Mukherjee as Teacher, Supervisor and Man

ABHIJIT GHOSH

Felicitation is an occasion for showering praise, but sometimes eulogy crosses the threshold of formality and enters the domain of critical appreciation. This is very much so in the case of Prof. Dr. Bratindranath Mukherjee, a towering figure in the domain of present-day Indological scholarship in India.

The Teacher

To Prof. Mukherjee, history is a record of man's activities in all spheres of life. It is a continuous process; so it is impossible to divide it in water-tight periodisation though one can periodise the development of themes or subjects. The most potent force in shaping history is the economic factor which is inseparably the motivating force for man's struggle for survival and supremacy in economic, social, political and cultural spheres. With this view, according to Prof. Mukherjee, a professor of history should be an authority on his special subjects, knowing all the details of the country and the period he specializes, and must have a clear idea of the major developments of world history, and be linguistically well equipped and well-rooted in his sources. The concept of a teacher to Prof. Mukherjee is that he is the father as well as a friend of the student, who should operate on the latter's wavelength without losing his own identity as teacher. So, to be on the same level of communication with the students, he tries utmost to lift the student up to his standards rather than himself coming down to theirs. One is reminded of what Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, speaking at a programme soon after the death of Faiyaz Khan in 1950, reportedly said : "The difference between an artiste like him and an artiste like me is that Faiyaz Khan Saheb was an artiste who could, excuse me, drag his audience up by the ears to the

level he wanted to and that an artiste like me has to allow himself to be dragged down by the ears to any level you want me" (Nilaksha Gupta, " 'Don't sing, play us a tune' ", in Sunday IV. 39, Calcutta 19-12-1976, p. 10).

In teaching in the post-graduate history classes, Prof. Mukherjee adopts certain methods. He follows an academic calender which he distributes among his students at the beginning of the session to make the latter understand the range of the course, the topics to be discussed and the texts to be studied. In discussing the subject the Professor lists and analyzes the sources, reconstructs history stressing on the forces behind the events, and then draws inferences and sums up. Reading constantly and keeping himself abreast of all the latest researches, he explains clearly to his students the various developments. In fact, whenever he gets a new source-material, until he reads and understands it, his passion is not satisfied (while editing an Aramaic inscription of Aśoka he took nearly three days to understand a single line). Students are allowed and encouraged to intervene at any stage of the lectures and ask questions (cf. Gītā IV. 34b : *paripraśnena*). In his view, if the student fails to understand the teacher, the responsibility is the latter's (the Pañca Rātra line, I. 21 ab, may be recalled: *atītya bandhūn avalaṅghya mitrāṇy ācāryam āgacchati śiṣya-doṣaḥ*). He believes in and practices the completion of the full course within the session, sometimes well in advance, and in his fairly long teaching career starting from 1958, he has never failed.

The Supervisor

Nearly a score of students has done Ph. D. under Prof. Mukherjee's supervision, e.g., Dr. Ramesh Chandra Sharma (Buddhist Art of Mathurā, published Delhi 1984), Prof. Amitabha Bhattacharya (Historical Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval Bengal, published Calcutta 1977), Prof. Ranabir Chakravarty (Warfare for Wealth: early Indian Perspective, published Calcutta 1986), Dr. Dharmanarayan Das (Early History of Kaliṅga : a socio-economic and cultural history of coastal Orissa, published Calcutta 1977), Dr. Nilima Sen Gupta (née Sen) (Cultural History of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, published Delhi 1984), and Dr. Jaya Goswami (Cultural History of Ancient India A socio-economic and religio-cultural survey of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, published Delhi 1979).

So far as supervision is concerned, Prof. Mukherjee does it in three stages. First he makes the student understand clearly the problems connected with the chosen subject and the methods of research. When the student begins to collect and analyse the data he/she has to see him regularly. After the finalization of the scheme, when the actual writing begins, he takes the role of a critical observer, without imposing his views on the student and allows him/her even to criticise him. For one of the several instances, Dr. R.C. Sharma, in his dissertation, has criticised at length Prof. Mukherjee's theory about the chronology of a certain period of the

history of the art of Mathurā (vide pp. 209 ff. of the book). At the last stage of reading the final draft, Prof. Mukherjee scrutinizes thoroughly as an impartial examiner so that the standard of the thesis remains very high. Incidentally, his personal library—unfortunately not well-arranged, and hence causing impediment to his own researches—is nevertheless among the best on the subjects with which he is concerned and accessible to his compatriots and students, some of whom have actually done most of their researches there. He always acknowledges whatever help he receives from his fellow-workers and students in his researches, whether in his own studies or while working in a project. For example, the project on East Indian Bronzes undertaken by the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta in 1976, was carried out under his supervision and lo, on the title page of the report (published Calcutta 1979) names of all the participants occur as co-authors. So is the case with the project on the Bibliography of Bengal Coins, undertaken by the same Department in 1978. The main research assistant, Mr. Rajib Kanti Sarmadhikari collected some valuable data on the early coins of Bengal and analyzed them under Prof. Mukherjee's supervision. The Supervisor got the article containing the information published in his student's name and till then did not make any comment in print on the data so that the first credit of publication should go to his student; the gist of the report on a part of the project has been published under the authorship of Mr. R.K. Sarmadhikari ("Some Observations on the Coins of Early Bengal", in Indian Museum Bulletin XIX, Calcutta 1984, pp. 38-47) and not under joint authorship.

The Man

The man Bratindranath is extremely sympathetic towards his compatriots and students, many of whom he has helped out in their times of distress, often even with money. He takes a paternal or fraternal attitude to his students and friends and never at any stage strikes them back or takes any vindictive attitude even if some of the latter have betrayed his trust (A glaring drawback in his character is his incapability of reading the nature of his acquaintances). In short he identifies his acquaintances' problems as his own.

Prof. Mukherjee always remembers with gratitude whatever help he has received from his teachers from his school-days onward; whenever occasion arises he considers himself fortunate if he can be of any service to them or their family. The persons who initiated him in Indological studies were Profs. C.C. Dasgupta and S.K. Mitra, while in his post-graduate days he was inspired by Profs. B.C. Sen, J.N. Banerjea, N.N. Dasgupta and G.C. Raychaudhuri. But his real mentor was Prof. S.K. Saraswati, one of the greatest art historians of India: it was the latter who encouraged him to learn all the branches of early Indian history and culture and not merely epigraphy and numismatics. (In his personal life Prof. Mukherjee has a singularly nice wife in Dr. Ranjana Mukherjee, daughter of Prof. Saraswati.) Among other stalwarts he was

connected with as a student or junior colleague were Profs. R.G. Basak, R.C. Majumdar, S.K. Chatterji, and D.C. Sircar (in the later years of his life). Outside India, he came in close contact with Prof. A.L. Basham (his supervisor in London) from whom he learnt the art of supervising research students, and Prof. H.W. Bailey.

Prof. Mukherjee considers himself fortunate to have been closely associated with such giants whose awe-inspiring scholarship has a very sobering effect on the build-up of his own ideas and efforts as a scholar (he often says that he is thousand miles away from the scholarship of, e.g., Prof. Bailey).

Prof. Mukherjee's academic acquaintances and colleagues, who highly appreciate his work, belong to various countries of the world, and he has an international circle of scholars appreciating his scholarship, viz., e.g., A.M. Shastri, K.V. Ramesh, K.D. Bajpai (India), A.D.H. Bivar, D.W. MacDowall, F.R. Allchin, W. Zwalf (U.K.), G. Fussman (France), H. Härtel, M. Yaldiz, G. Mitterwallner (W.Germany), H. Huntington, S. Huntington, (U.S.A.), and others.

Whatever invitation or assignment he accepts, Prof. Mukherjee takes it very seriously. Time and again it has been noticed that at each seminar held in his presence he listens attentively to all the lectures, offering comments at the end. He is connected with several institutions, academic as well as non-academic and charitable in various capacities. The School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Calcutta is his brain-child, and right from its inception, he has identified himself with it.

A good orator, an excellent teacher and supervisor, and above all a humanist, Prof. Mukherjee is an extraordinary scholar, large in heart as well as in physique. His charisma and niceties of character are indeed expressive in his innocent smile; he belongs to a rare species that appears to be on the verge of extinction in modern generation.

Some Reminiscences

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

My association with Professor Mukherjee dates back to over a couple of decades when we happened to meet at a conference at Varanasi. Even though we knew each other earlier by our writings, this was our first personal acquaintance which grew into a close personal friendship over the years. Early in the seventies he was elected as Ceneral Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India and in the absence of the Chief Editor of its Journal, Professor A.K. Narain, who was in the United States, I had to shoulder the overall responsibility of editing it and in this capacity I happened to be an ex-officio member of the Society's Executive Council, and as such we worked together for a few years. Always looking at every matter on its merit as we did, we came close and this association gradually turned into close relationship. There were several matters on which we together were able to convince the majority and get it take right decisions. However, in 1976 at its Ludhiana session when we found it overtaken by a mess of dirty politics, we together decided not to participate in the elections.

Professor Mukherjee embodies a rare combination of erudition and excellent organising talent. I had occasions to witness it from close quarters at the Numismatic Society of India during his general secretaryship and especially at its conference in 1974 at Calcutta under the auspices of The Asiatic Society of which he was General Secretary. But for his strenuous efforts it would not have been that successful and memorable as it really was. Even after he quit the office in The Asiatic Society, he continued to take active interest in its academic activities as witnessed in its bicentenary celebrations which I was privileged to attend. He is the principal inspiration behind the School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Calcutta, of which he is the founder and the academic activities of the Indian Museum of which he has

been a trustee. In academic matters he has always kept himself above narrow regional considerations.

To picturize Professor Mukherjee participating in learned conferences and seminars in a tense mood recreate this scene: a portly person invariably occupying front benches, starts a peculiar to and fro knee-jerking motion at some point during a lecture or presentation of a paper, signifying that he either has got hold of some point or has a particularly relevant question that will tear to shreds the premises of the speaker. The knee-jerking and motion of the body gathers momentum and accelerates till it reaches a crescend at the fag end of the presentation when with a jerk, belying his bulk, the portly person rises and comes forth with a flood of questions. If the speaker is up to it, we are guaranteed a lively discussion. While speaking, he doesn't need a mike, and the speed of his thinking is reflected in the fastness of his speech. This is Professor Mukherjee for you.

In spite of his great bulk, Professor Mukherjee walks quite briskly and is always mentally and physically alert. He is simplicity incarnate in his demeanour and dress, and you can visualise him as clad in spotlessly clean *kurtā-dhotī* and chappals. He exemplifies the rather rare combination of learning (Sarasvatī) and wealth (Lakṣmī) which abide in him with competition. Let them continue to compete with one another. It is particularly gratifying to see him in a book-shop ordering practically all the new publications of his interest, sometimes the bill running into thousands. He maintains an uptodate personal library.

The presence of Professor Mukherjee in a meeting is a guarantee for fairness of its deliberations, and in some of the meetings which we had to attend together he had been very frank even at the cost of the displeasure of the authorities that be.

We have been close friends all these years and have been exchanging our publications. But personal friendship did not pose any obstruction to our having genuine academic differences. Of late, he has, by and large, not been attending conferences because, generally speaking, there is not much academic gain. But he has made it a point to attend the conferences which I happened to preside. I may particularly mention in this connection the Sambalpur session of the Numismatic Society of India in 1981 and the Guwahati session of the Epigraphical Society of India in 1987.

Many of the professors in our universities are adorned by the offices that they happen to occupy, but Professor Mukherjee, like very few other professors, adorns the professorial chair. He was directly appointed as Carmichael Professor in view of his meritorious research and academic contributions for which he was already known. He makes it a point to prepare beforehand the script of the lectures which are intended to be published, and we have many of his books which embody his

lectures. Even when he goes to attend some conference or seminar, you would find his room filled with books and journals.

Professor Mukherjee and Bhabhiji are exemplarily hospitable and take great personal care of their guests. Whenever in Calcutta for any meeting, I am their guest. And if I put up elsewhere, they would take exception and insist my staying with them. One such instance comes to my mind in this connection. Once a few years ago I had been to Calcutta for a selection committee meeting of the Burdwan University, and as I had travelled to Calcutta with Shri N.C. Ghosh, then Superintending Archaeologist of the Eastern Circle and as the train was late, on Shri Ghosh's insistence, I put up in the Circle office to be able to attend the meeting in the afternoon. But I rang to Professor Mukherjee only to experience his great fury which would not subside with anything short of his sending his car to fetch me to his residence. Another example of their hospitality which I often mention to my family members should suffice to illustrate Bhabiji's attitude to her guests. Once I was taking my dinner with the Mukherjees. Knowing that I was a egetarian by choice, they avoided preparing any non-vegetarian dish without my knowing it. When I did not touch a fish-shaped dish taking it to be fish, Bhabihi enquired of me if I did not relish brinjals. I naturally replied in the negative, and she pointed to that dish saying it was brinjal and persuaded me to take it with some additional *pūrīs* when I had practically finished my dinner.

In order to make my appreciation of our friendship and the above qualities known publicly I am dedicating one of my publications currently in press.

On this happy occasion I insistently pray the Almighty to grant Professor Mukherjee a long life of over a century of years with good health so as to enable him to continue enriching our knowledge by his contributions.

Two Decades' Recollections

R.C. SHARMA

Association with Prof. B.N. Mukherjee has been the most significant part of my life. When I first came in contact with him during my tenure as Curator of Mathurā Museum in 1970 I did not know that this meeting was going to culminate into a historical moment of our relations. For writing my paper on the 'Pre-Kushāṇa Buddhist Icons' I had read some of his papers presented in foreign seminars on the problems of chronology of style and epigrahic documents. He was first amused at the title of my paper as the Pre-Kushāṇa Buddhist icons were in a stage of infancy. But he listened to my arguments patiently and advised to follow up the study with some fresh evidence coming to light.

The Ludhiana Numismatic Seminar in 1976 gave me another opportunity to discuss the fresh evidence which was luckily unearthed by me at Mathurā a few months before our meetings. Congratulating for some important discoveries from Govindnagar, he advised me to prepare a paper without delay. At Ludhiana I saw Prof. Mukherjee in full form, dominating the Conference with his depth of scholarship and convincing arguments presented with full force and gushing speach. Even the senior scholars admired his brilliance and wisdom and it was due to his extra ordinary merit that he was directly selected for the Carmichael Chair as Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

A year later I had the chance to present my paper when he chaired a session of a seminar on early history of Mathurā organised by Prof. H. Hartel of Berlin in the National Museum, New Delhi. To the surprise of many scholars Prof. Nihar Ranjan Ray preferred to belittle the importance of Mathurā School of Art and I tried to persuade several seniors like Sri C. Sivaramamurti, Prof. D.C. Sircar, Dr. H. Hartel and Dr. N.P. Joshi to contradict some of the observations of Prof. Ray

but none came forward and I had to challenge him alone in and out side the seminar. Prof. Mukherjee, however, lent his support defending the contribution of Mathurā.

These meetings gave me good opportunity to assess and conclude that Prof. Mukherjee is a real genius and his presence adds much grace to any well meaning academic gathering. But I was not able to benefit much from him due to long distance between Mathurā and Calcutta.

In January 1979 the American Institute of Indian Studies convened a meeting of some scholars at Ramnagar, Varanasi, to plan a grand scale seminar on Mathurā and I was also invited in the capacity of Director of the Mathurā Museum. Prof. Mukherjee came from Calcutta and we stayed together in the Hotel Clarks Varanasi. Luckily I had with me the script of a recent research paper with illustrations of some remarkable finds from Mathurā and I showed the same to Prof. Mukherjee. Going carefully through my article, he advised me to take up the subject for research dissertation. Losing no time, a synopsis was drawn and it was submitted for approval to the University of Calcutta under the supervision of Prof. Mukherjee.

In January 1980 I had close association with him in Delhi and Mathurā in one of the International Seminars on Mathurā, organised by the American Institute of Indian Studies. Here I saw him commenting almost on all papers presented. He was escorted by a batch of some brilliant young researchers.

A month later I stayed for two weeks in Calcutta in connection with my research work on the Buddhist Art of Mathurā and had several long sittings with Prof. Mukherjee. During my stay a total solar eclipse happened to occur and a host of rumours were spread and published with regard to the effect of the eclipse. It was particularly believed that the eye sight of the onlooker was sure to be lost. I was cautioned by Prof. Mukherjee not to go out of the room till the eclipse was over. For a few minutes I confined myself in the guest room of the Indian Museum where I was staying but soon my adventurous spirit prevailed upon me and ignoring Prof. Mukherjee's advice I proceeded to see the fun and also to test myself if the adverse effect of the solar eclipse on the eyes was a scientific phenomenon. The busy Jawaharlal Nehru Road in the Chowringhee area gave a deserted look and no vehicle was seen plying. The boys were playing cricket on the main road while a foreign couple was taking the photographs. I looked at the eclipsed sun as long as I could and the next morning it was reported to Prof. Mukherjee who was rather surprised to see my eyes intact. Some of the newspapers, however, apprehended that the deterioration in eyes was bound to occur sooner or later.

On my promotion as Director, State Museum, Lucknow, Prof. Mukherjee was kind enough to spare some time to guide us in planning the academic activities and higher research projects. He was happy to know that the gold coins which were deposited in the District Treasury in 1961-62 were received back in the Museum.

The visit of Prof. Mukherjee in March 1983 opened a new chapter in the history of the State Museum, Lucknow. He was invited to deliver the Second Series of Prof. V.S. Agrawala Memorial Lectures on the Art of the Coinage of the Gupta and post-Gupta Period. Disregarding the comforts and the V.I.P. treatment of the State Guest House he preferred to stay in a modest room of the Archaeological Section of the State Museum to examine some gold coins in the cabinet of the Museum and also to compare the figure of the horse on the Aśvamedha type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I with that of the life size stone statue of the horse (Lucknow Museum No. H. 219) acquired by the Museum from the forest of Khairagarh in the Kheri District in the last quarter of the 19th century. The epigraph on the back of the horse remained a mystery and the horse under presumption continued to be attributed to Samudragupta. Prof. Mukherjee during the course of close examination successfully deciphered the letters as Śrī Mahendrāditya. This was the first decipherment of the so-called Śaṅkha lipi or Shell Script. This opened a new chapter in the annals of epigraphic studies and it was my good fortune that I was closely associated with this epoch making event. I also had the privilege to edit and bring out his *Decipherment of 'Shell Script'* as a special issue of the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.* No. 31, June 1983. The three lectures delivered by Prof. Mukherjee on the Art of the Coinage of the Gupta and post-Gupta Period were also published by me as a special monograph of the Lucknow Museum.

My visits to Calcutta in connection with my research in appreciation of my work by Prof. Mukherjee exposed me to the elite of Calcutta and I was invited to deliver a lecture on the New Buddhist Sculptures from Mathurā and then on the Avadh School of Paintings.

In January 1983 Prof. Mukherjee visited Lucknow to participate in an International Seminar on Influences and Interactions in Indian Art, jointly organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Lucknow and the State Museum. Next year in September 1984 I had the opportunity to receive him in another International Conference of SÁRAS held in the State Museum, Lucknow on the Pantheons of Power. His participation added real life to these seminars and the standard of discussions remained sufficiently high.

The authorities of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh were much pleased to see the excellent performance of Prof. Mukherjee in several gatherings of scholars and they requested him to be the Chairman of the Academic Committee of the International Seminar on the Art of the Kushāṇa Age, organised at the State Museum, Lucknow from December 16 to 22, 1984. This was for the first time that a seminar of this magnitude on such an important subject was organised at Lucknow. The outline of this ambitious project was drawn at Anjneri, Nasik where both of us met on the occasion of the opening of the Institute of Numismatic Studies. The week long seminar divided into fifteen sessions was

participated by the eminent scholars from India and abroad. It met a great success and Prof. Mukherjee was profusely felicited for his magnificent contribution in organising this great conference.

This great occasion, however, coincided with another important event in the history of the Lucknow Museum. This might appear rather insignificant to scholars but for a museum administrator it was of equal magnanimity. A Russian Model T.U. 124 plane (Rajhans) which was used for several important voyages in India and abroad by the Prime Ministers of India and a favourite plane of late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi was made over as gift to the Government of U.P. who decided to exhibit it in the Lucknow Museum premises. The plans went on for two years for shifting this aircraft from Lucknow Airport (Amausi) to the Banarasibagh, the Museum campus. This was the first time that such a huge aircraft was to be transported on road about 15 km. The herculian task was assigned to the Air Force but as Director of the State Museum I was deputed as the Chief Co-ordinator of the entire operation.

The challenge was accepted in spite of the reluctance of senior Air Force Officers at the initial stage but I wished to see it a success. During the two years' period of planning Smt. Indira Gandhi was assassinated on October 31, 1984 and the plane under our operation became of greater sentimental value. Our schedule of shifting had to be postponed due to the prevailing conditions. But after two dummy rehearsals the time of final shifting was fixed in the midnight of December 14-15 just a day earlier to the International Kushāṇa Conference. When I received Prof. Mukherjee at the Airport he found me slightly upset for handling two great tasks simultaneously. Measuring and appreciating my pressure and tension he advised me to leave seminar for himself. This was a big relief to me and I spent that night walking on the roads of Lucknow to coordinate with fourteen agencies involved in shifting the plane which ultimately reached its destination in the forenoon of December 15 and the next day was the inaugural session of the Kushāṇa Conference the final preparations of which were then supervised so efficiently by Prof. Mukherjee.

The post of Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta fell vacant and as a senior member of the Board of Trustees, he was keen that the largest and the earliest Museum of the country should be headed by a person who could lead the Institution to regain its pristine glory. He felt impressed with my functioning and a few achievements while heading the Mathurā and Lucknow museums and he thought that I was the proper choice for the post. One fine morning the clipping of the newspaper announcing the vacancy of the post was received.

When I consulted some of my well-wishers their comments were not much favourable for different reasons. I was but overwhelmed to note that for Prof.

Mukherjee, the interest of Indian Museum was supreme and it was above all considerations.

When I reached Calcutta for interview in November 1985 I learnt to my dismay that Prof. Mukherjee was no more the member of the Board of Trustees and he had left for Goa. After sometime the appointment letter came. Now both myself and Prof. Mukherjee realised that his absence in the selection board was a boon in disguise. Soon he came back to the Board as its Member representing the Government of West Bengal.

The association of Prof. Mukherjee with the Indian Museum has been of immense use and it is our good luck that the guidance of such an outsanding scholar is readily available. As a good teacher he always supports the cause of his students but does not interfere in administration.

Even after reaching the zenith of his fame for his marvellous contribution in the field of Indology he is always accessible to the young researchers. He argues forcefully with a dominating voice and places strong and convincing points and sometimes even quoting the page number of reference. But he gives due recognition to the views of others. I have had some occasions of disagreement during the course of my research work. He gladly allowed me to contradict his own theories if I could do so. This grace and magnanimity is extremely rare and that too with such towering scholars like Prof. Mukherjee. His life style, simplicity, grace, nobility, affectionate nature, helping attitude find a unique blend with this genius giant. He is fortunately blessed both by Śrī and Sarasvatī. He is an excellent host and I had the chance to meet several scholars enjoying his hospitality. When praised, he often recalls some of the senior past and present scholars and thinks that he does not stand in comparison with them. But this is the modesty of the doyen of the age who has earned rare distinction in the country and abroad for his meritorious works and prolific writings. Prof. Mukherjee has become a legend with his encyclopedic knowledge even in his fifties. We hope to receive from him constant inspiration and guidance for several decades to come.

Bratinda as I Know Him

SAMIR KUMAR MUKHOPADHYAY

I came to know Professor Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, the present Carmichel Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta as early as 1958 when I was admitted in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in the Honours class in Ancient Indian and World History. Although, while I was a student in the Intermediate class at the same institution, I saw him on several occasions but I was never formally introduced to him. I got in touch with him when he joined as an honorary lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian and World History. During the academic session of 1958-60, the number of students studying this Honours course at the Sanskrit College was only ten. The other two teachers in the Department were Dr. Charu Chandra Dasgupta and Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, the former being the Head of the Department. Unfortunately, none of the above two teachers is alive now. My father, late Anil Chandra Mukhopadhyay, Cartographer of great repute, knew Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra very intimately. It was due to the insistence of Dr. Mitra and the inspiration I received from my father that I finally decided to take up honours in Ancient Indian and World History.

With the joining of Sri Bratindra Nath Mukherjee as a new teacher in 1958 at our college, the number of teachers in the Department increased to three. As he was much younger than the other two teachers and was also a former student of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, we used to call him 'Bratinda', a practice quite common among the Bengalis. Till now, we the first few students of Bratinda at the Sanskrit College treat him as one of our elder brothers.

Bratinda used to take classes twice a week as per the routine on "History of Bengal and Assam," which constituted the fifth paper in our Honours course. I still

remember that on the second day after the commencement of the course, he distributed typed copies of a detailed and exhaustive academic calender of the course on "History of Bengal and Assam" to every student in the class. Prior to this, I never had any such experience of receiving such academic programme or academic calendar from any of our teachers either at the Presidency or the Sanskrit College, Calcutta This made us take an extra interest in this new and young teacher. In the classes, he taught us with great devotion and sincerity. In his classes, he often discussed various aspects of ancient Indian history. At this young age, I came to learn from him the real significance and importance of the study of source materials in the study of ancient Indian history. Outside the class room, he indulged in a variety of discussions, preferably on the subjects that he covered in his class room lectures. Most of the discussions continued for hours in long corridor in front of the College library on the first floor. Though I was only a junior student in the Department at that time, I could guess from his learned discussions and zeal that in near future he would prove himself as a scholar of repute. My guess was supported by the fact that Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, a former teacher of Bratinda at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, used to speak very high of his former student. The atmosphere of both Sanskrit and Presidency Colleges in the late fifties and early sixties was congenial to and peaceful for the pursuit of studies. Some of our teachers earned reputation in different branches of studies and we used to feel proud of them.

I still remember the days when we often visited the residence of Bratinda at 56, Jatin Das Road, Ballygunge, at his invitation. His personal collection of rare books in his library had then just started growing in number. He used to invite us at the mezzanine floor where he carried on a variety of academic discussions. He also corrected our home task. He was very shy specially in his behaviour with the girl students. He invited only the boy students to his residence. I do not recollect whether any girl student ever went with us to his residence at that time. Bratinda often spoke very highly of his teachers, something that interested me very much at that time. He often referred to Professor Radha Govinda Basak, Sarasi Kumar Saraswati and Raj Kumar Chakravarty. To Professor Basak at that time he went regularly to learn 'Prākrit' language. I still remember that Professor Basak was busy in writing a book on "Aśokan Inscriptions" and his pupil Bratindranath was busy in rendering assistance in various matters to him. This was of course mentioned in the preface of the book published in January, 1959. Professor Saraswati was his teacher in ancient Indian history, more particularly in numismatics and epigraphy. From Professor Chakravarty he took regular lessons in French language. Besides these three, he often mentioned the names of Professor Jitendra Nath Banerjee and Dr. Binoy Chandra Sen. In the Honours course, we had just begun reading articles and books written by some of these teachers. Immediately after I appeared for the final B.A. (Honours) examination in 1960, Bratinda left for England with a scholarship for prosecuting higher studies. I still remember the day when a group photograph was

taken in the college premises on the occasion of bidding farewell to him. The photograph is still in my personal collection. I lost contact with Bratinda temporarily after his departure to England. I joined the newly-opened Post-graduate course in 'Archaeology' at the University of Calcutta as a student in November, 1960. Bratinda returned to Calcutta in September 1964 after obtaining Ph. D. degree at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, London, under Professor A.L. Basham and I had the chance of resuming my contact with him.

After the return of Bratinda from England he had to look after the city office of their ancestral fireclay brick manufacturing business. He had also to go to the factory site of the company almost every week at Mogma (Bihar). I remember our happy days together at his Office at 20, Strand Road, Calcutta, where we used to meet infrequently after his normal office hours. The beautiful cosy air-conditioned office room became a centre of academic discussions in the evenings. I wondered at the fact that as soon as we started our academic discussions, Bratinda became a different man altogether. Nobody could then recognize in him the man who was an expert in running a business. During our presence at his office, special instructions were given not to allow anyone to enter his office room with files and papers. It is needless to mention we were always treated with delicious food, which at that young age, was an added attraction for us.

Bratinda always said that discussions on various aspects of indology and history were conducive to proper understanding of the subjects. He encouraged research work on various aspects of ancient Indian history among his students. With the aim of holding regular discussions, lectures by eminent scholars as well as carrying research programme on different branches of ancient Indian history, the School of Historical and Cultural Studies was established in the year 1964 under the initiative of Bratinda and his close associates. I was one of the early active members of the Institute. The credit for the smooth functioning of the Institute at its initial stage must go to Professor Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, the present Vice-Chancellor of Kalyani University and former professor of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. It may be pointed out here that 'Kalyanda' (Professor Dasgupta) is a close friend of Bratinda. Professor Dasgupta joined as a lecturer in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in the year 1960 when we were just going for the final B.A. (Honours) examination. So Kalyanda was also one of our former teachers at the Sanskrit College days. The regular meetings, lectures and seminars of the Institute were held at the Sanskrit College, at Bratinda's Strand Road Office and at the Jatin Das Road residence of Bratinda.

It is not unusual now to hear of the contributions of Professor B.N. Mukherjee in the sphere of ancient Indian epigraphy and Kushāṇa history. But the experience of hearing his name uttered with great respect as early as 1961 far away in one corner of the United States of America was, no doubt, a thrilling experience for me.

During my visit to the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U.S.A. as a student, I had the occasion to meet one Dr. T.R. Troutman in the Department of History at this University. He worked on certain aspects of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for his dissertation under Professor Basham at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. He knew Bratinda as being one of the students of Professor Basham at this School. I used to notice with wonder that whenever I met Dr. Troutman in the University campus, he often referred to him for his devotion to studies and more particularly for his tenacity in academic pursuit as reflected in his long written dissertation for Ph. D. degree.

I had the privilege to study Bratinda from a close angle. Excepting our close friends and associates in the Sanskrit and Presidency Colleges, Calcutta, the present day students hardly know my close association with him that extends over thirty years now. While working as a Curator (Archaeology), Indian Museum, Calcutta, I came in close touch with Bratinda as he was then a member of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta, being a representative of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. I have no hesitation in saying that most of the members belonging to different walks of life of the Board of Trustees in the Indian Museum could not show enough enthusiasm and interest in the affairs of the Museum due to their other preoccupations. As a consequence, the Director of the Museum in many cases ran the whole show at his sweet will. Bratinda, being a scholar and a representative of a learned institution, showed keen and penetrating interest in the day-to-day affairs of the museum. His role as a member of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the early seventies will remain ever-recorded in the history of the museum. The museum passed through a very difficult time during the early seventies. The political turmoil and unrest in West Bengal politics reached its peak after the fall of the first Left Front government in West Bengal. The impact of the political unrest that swept West Bengal was also felt in the internal affairs of the museum. The then Director and some members of the Trustee Board strongly opposed the genuine demand of the larger section of the employees for giving recognition to their association. On the other hand, a handful of employees formed a parallel association in order to counteract the attempt of the larger section of the employees towards achieving their charter of demands. The majority of the Trustee members showed apathy in the affairs of the museum and as a result many justifiable demands of the employees remained unfulfilled. In fact, their genuine representation and justifiable demands to the Honorary Secretary and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees in many cases did not receive proper attention. The present writer's appeal for the grant of study leave for proceeding to the United States on a scholarship offered by the John D. Rockefellar 3rd Fund was about to be rejected. After a prolonged pursuit and endeavour, he was granted leave without pay, an unprecedented example of sheer disparity and discrimination. Never before and afterwards, no employee of the museum was ever granted leave without pay for prosecuting study abroad. Many of the employees

in the museum at that time were serving in temporary capacities even long after the usual period of probation, and thereby were deprived of their due and legitimate benefits. The discontentment and unrest rose so high that the museum remained closed to the public for a period extending over twenty days as a mark of protest by the employees. Never before in the history of the Indian Museum such thing ever happened. There was virtually no member in the Board of Trustees at that time to highlight or focus the justifiable demands of the employees in the Board meetings, generally held at the Raj Bhavan under the chairmanship of the Governor, ex-officio Chairman of the Board. Bratinda showed enough courage and straightforwardness to support the genuine and justifiable demands of the employees in the general meetings of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta, held in the presence of the Governor at Raj Bhavan. It is really unfortunate that at the initial stage while focussing the various demands of the employees, Bratinda did not receive any support or sympathy of the members of the Board. Rather his forceful and emphatic delivery of speeches at the top of his voice annoyed some members including the Chairman of the Board. The regular courageous speeches with adequate reasons, facts and arguments gradually earned whole-hearted support and sympathy from Comrade K.G. Bose, noted trade-union leader and State government nominee of the Board as well as of Lady Ranu Mukherjee, famous art connoisseur and President, Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta. The strong and unconditional support of K.G. Bose in particular to Bratinda branded him as a supporter of CPI (M). The pro-Director employees as well as a leading Trustee member maligned him as a 'capitalist turned communist'. All these misrepresentations and distortions of facts could not in any way leave any impact on Bratinda, who strongly championed the rightful cause of the employees' demands throughout his tenure as a member of the Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta during those evil days between 1969 and 1975. It is needless to say that as Bratinda was fighting for a right cause, the opponents subjected him to various forms of humiliation and mental torture. Anonymous letters, 'ghost' telephone calls and other nefarious activities to terrorize him could not deviate him from the pursuance of the rightful cause. His tenacity and patience should ever be remembered by the employees of the museum during the tough years of 1969-75. Constant protests and objections raised by Bratinda in the Board meetings supported by a few members ultimately yielded positive results. Sometime in 1975 there was a surprising development in the affairs of the Indian Museum. The then Director was relieved of his services prior to his normal retirement under the direct initiative of Sri A.L. Dias, ICS, Chairman of the Board of Trustees. This really indicates the closing of a chapter.

Bratinda possesses a soft heart and deep sense of feeling towards his friends and well-wishers who fall in distress. I remember many of his philanthropic activities which reflect his humane qualities. While serving as the Treasurer and General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, during the years 1968-72, we used to

meet him at his office at 1, Park Street, Calcutta, quite often for undertaking discussions concerning variety of problems. On many occasions discussions centered round the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which concerned us much at that time. I noticed that one mentally deranged and sick person often came to the Society to meet Bratinda. His sudden appearance often caused interruptions in our discussions and some of us were annoyed at his frequent presence. But Bratinda was never annoyed. On the other hand, he always attended to him and used to offer him financial help. On enquiry, I came to learn later that the person visiting him regularly was none other than the one time class-mate of Bratinda in the University days. The gentleman was in great distress and he visited his old benefactor both at home and office for seeking regular monetary assistance. Bratinda liberally offered help to many others, but many of these incidents remain unrecorded. Another incident may be narrated here. Once an old acquaintance of Bratinda at SOAS, London, now a well-established Professor abroad fell in distress for not being able to pay off the debt which he incurred on account of one of his close relatives. Unable to pay the money, he was put in great humiliation and his scheduled departure on a foreign assignment was about to be foiled. The gentleman approached his former Professor Basham at London for necessary financial help at this crisis. Professor Basham, in his turn, requested his former pupil Bratinda to extend his helping hand. Bratinda unhesitantly obliged his teacher by offering a large sum to his former classmate of SOAS, London. This help in time immensely helped that Professor to go abroad with honour and dignity.

In Bratinda, I have noticed an assimilation of various qualities. He is a good organizer and administrator. He has rendered help and assistance to many of his students to get them established in life. In many respects, his help and assistance to his own students exceed limit and as a result he himself becomes unpopular to other students and colleagues in the profession.

Because of his profound knowledge in certain branches of ancient Indian history, Bratinda's fame has extended both in India and abroad now. This widespread fame of Bratinda in some cases may evoke jealousy in others, but one should not forget that only through tremendous devotion, sincerity and endeavour could he achieve this goal in life. Even now a days, he regularly gets up early in the morning and continues his studies till late in the evening. Although born in a prosperous family, Bratinda sacrificed many wishes and desires in his youth to achieve distinction in academic life. Although well known for his scholarship, he never exhibits egoism or vanity. On many occasions, I found him narrating his own experiences and associations with many erudite scholars of international repute and how he was influenced by their humble and modest attitudes towards their pupils. He himself admits that after meeting personalities like Professor H.W. Bailey of the Cambridge University, R.G. Basak, J.N. Banerjee and D.C. Sircar, I became aware of my own limitations in the domain of Indological studies. Bratinda's command and grasp

over different branches of ancient Indian history prove to be so wide that he can speak on any branch with ease, confidence and emphasis. While participating in seminars, symposia and group discussions, his voice rises high in emotion and enthusiasm, This might have been interpreted by many as a sign of vanity. The key to achieving success on his part lies in the fact that he is capable of handling diverse original source materials at ease. His knowledge and command over some foreign languages helped him in many ways in his research work.

Bratinda trusts his students too much and he cannot rightly assess the nature and character of most of his students. His inherent goodness and warmth of feeling towards his students are not always reciprocated. Many of his students after being directly benefitted by him in various ways ultimately go against him and some are even found speaking uncharitably against him to attain some selfish material gain. Bratinda is unperturbed and continues to extend help to his admirers and students.

It is a matter of astonishment that although Bratinda extends his helping hand liberally for the benefit and welfare of his students, in return in some cases he receives ingratitude. There are enough examples that I can still recollect. Immediately on return from London School in 1963, a student, quite advanced in age, registered for Ph. D. under him to work on a certain historical aspect of India. The academic career of the student, as far as I know, was quite ordinary. The devotion, sincerity and hard-working nature of the student as well as Bratinda's ceaseless and able guidance ultimately yielded good result. The student completed his Ph. D. at the University of Calcutta, which I presume, was the first doctoral degree ever attained by a student working under him. When Bratinda became Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, the gentleman probably expected that since his teacher was now the Head some day or other he would absorb his student in the department as a teacher. So far as we know the academic attainments of the student in the undergraduate and post-graduate levels were not good enough for his appointment as a teacher in the university. As the desire of the student remained unfulfilled, he ultimately left the association of Bratinda. I have no hesitation in saying that a few students close to Bratinda pretending to be his sincere admirers are on the look out for powerful teachers with the hope of achieving better prospect and career. In spite of this kind of "academic betrayal" committed by some of his once-close students, Bratinda rather remains unconcerned. He on the other hand admires the good qualities in his students. In the present day vicious and polluted academic atmosphere, this kind of largeness of heart has become almost rare and unprecedented.

Like a typical Bengali, Bratinda is always clad in ordinary 'dhoti' and 'Punjabi kurta'. He comes of a traditional rich family of West Bengal and could easily afford to wear expensive clothings. Since 1958, I never found him ever wearing expensive or gorgeous dresses. Even in the winter season in Calcutta, he seldom uses

woollen garments. Bratinda is fond of typical Bengali '*adda*' (indulging in a variety of idle discussions) at his leisure hours. He still maintains the old habit even in his busy schedule to discuss a variety of topics with his old students, friends and associates. I always cherish his nice company. He is fond of cricket. I remember the days in Sanskrit College in late fifties when he used to send one of us to a nearby shop to collect the latest information of the scoreboard from the running commentary on the test cricket matches.

One who underestimates him as being unpractical has been befooled. His keen determination, integrity and above all tenacity in achieving his aim have in many cases earned him success after a long hazardous journey. This is best represented in the affairs of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, between the years 1983-88. There are regular concerted attempts by a section of members belonging to a powerful lobby to malign his character and corner him in various ways but the later developments clearly proved that ultimately truth always triumphs. I have no hesitation to say that so far the academic integrity and credibility are concerned, Bratinda is undoubtedly one of the most illustrious members of the Society since the days of William Jones, its founder-president.

An Assessment of Prof. B.N. Mukherjee's Contribution

AMITABHA BHATTACHARYYA

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee is at present the author of no less than twenty monographs and nearly five hundred research papers published in different journals of repute from India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, England, U.S.A. West Germany, Italy, Hungary and U.S.S.R. A few more of his monographs are awaiting publication. The monographs and the articles themselves speak of the wide range of his interest and specialisations. They cover practically all the branches of the history of ancient and early medieval India—geography, epigraphy and palaeography, numismatics, fine arts, socio-economic history, iconography and religion. A statistical survey would bring out that more than one fourth of his total contributions have been devoted to the study of the history of the Kushāṇa empire in its various facades. In his works on this particular topic, as also elsewhere, Prof. Mukherjee demonstrates his amazing mastery over the sources relevant for the study of the history of an empire which included diverse races and cultures. Any of his works is sure to guide the reader to have a comprehensive idea of the nature and language of the sources he is expected to grasp in investigating further into the subject. None of his works bears a statement which degenerates into a mere 'guess' and not adduced by source materials. In adducing the sources again Prof. Mukherjee is meticulously careful with regard to their contemporeneity. He would not select a source ascribable to the fifteenth century in favour of his argument relating to the history of the Kushāṇas. Prof. Mukherjee thus sets an example for the research workers in the field of ancient Indian history and culture regarding methodology.

In the field of numismatics Prof. Mukherjee has brought to light at least two new series of coins which had been previously unknown to us. He is the first to recognise certain coins as those struck by the Pāradas whose existence had so far been known to us from literary texts alone. A few such pieces had, no doubt, been noticed by earlier scholars; but they failed to identify the real issuers. In *The Pāradas* Prof. Mukherjee makes a pioneer and forlorn attempt at reconstructing the history and coinage of the tribe who were of extra-Indian origin. It adds a new chapter to the so-called tribal coinage of India. In his monograph Prof. Mukherjee concluded that "future discoveries and discussions will be conducive to the full emergence of the personality of the Pārada people." Unfortunately, no other scholar has so far been able to throw further light on the subject though the results of his researches have been incorporated in the subsequent works on the tribal coinage of India. *The Pāradas* thus still stands as the solitary work on the history and coinage of an alien tribe who issued coins in the north-western sector of this Indo-Pak subcontinent.

Reconstruction of the history of the coinage of Harikela also goes to the credit of Prof. Mukherjee. In this case also a few such coins had been noticed by earlier scholars though they could not assess their real importance. Prof. Mukherjee for the first time made an indepth study of the style, type and metrology of these coins and pointed out that the first series of coins bearing the legend Harikela which had been current in south-eastern Bangladesh in the seventh century A. D. was followed by a second series assignable to the period between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D. He has clearly proved that the coins of Harikela, though initially inspired by the coinage of the Chandras of Arakan, formed a disttinct series and did not belong to Arakan. The series known as Harikela coinage has added a new dimension to the economic history of eastern India and, at the same time, has revolutionised our age-long idea with regard to the monetary system in this part of the subcontinent in the early medieval period. Prof. Mukherjee's article on the 'Commerce and Money in the Western and Central sectors of Eastern India', appearing like a preface or epilogue to the coins of Bengal, to be published shortly, poses the first major challenge to Prof. R.S. Sharma's explanation for the absence of coinage in eastern India in the early medieval period and his theory of the decline of trade in the same period. B.N. Mukherjee has clearly proved that the nature of the economy was quite different from what had been anticipated by our scholars. He has aptly drawn our attention to the existence of internal, transit and international trade and that of a complex system of currency in the area and in the period concerned which are substantiated by indigenous sources and foreign accounts.

Apart from being responsible for the reconstruction of atleast two new series of coins, Prof. Mukherjee can undoubtedly be regarded as the pioneer in many other fields of Indological research. He is the first Indian to make a study of the Aramaic edicts of Aśoka. The Corpus reveals his mastery over the Aramaic language and

script. The additional advantage with him is his thorough knowledge of the Prakrit inscriptions which has helped him in interpreting the Aramaic counterparts. In the light of Prof. Mukherjee's exposition the idea with regard to the concept of *dhamma* inculcated in the Aśokan edicts has to be modified. The monograph has been appended by a chart with sole purpose of generating interest among students and scholars. But the prime difficulty is language which is perhaps largely responsible for the scholars' non-participation in this particular branch of epigraphy.

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee has been mainly instrumental in initiating research on numismatic art in India. The earlier trend was to study the deities and symbols represented on the coins from the viewpoint of religion and iconography. *Nana on Lion* practically opened up a new line of research on numismatic art. The chapter entitled 'Foundation of Kushāṇa numismatic art' appended in the monograph on the '*Kushāṇa silver coins in the lands of the Five Rivers*' exposes the background of the development of the art-style manifest in the coins of the Kushāṇas. Prof. Mukherjee's thoughts in this matter are not confined to the Kushāṇa coins alone. His plea for the study of art in coinage and his valuable contribution on the Art in post-Gupta coins have generated deeper interest among the historians of Indian art as well as among numismatists.

It is through the painstaking researches of Prof. Mukherjee on the multi-faceted history of the far-flung empire of the Kushāṇas that we are acquainted with the problems relating to the reconstruction of the history of an empire which included diverse races, languages and cultures. In fact *the Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire* may be regarded as the most authoritative account of the history of the empire.

Prof. Mukherjee's explanation accounting for the comparative paucity of the silver coins of the Kushāṇas appears to be the most convincing one. He is the first to point out that due to unavoidable circumstances Gresham's Law had been operating in a large area within the Indo-Pak subcontinent which did not allow the Imperial Kushāṇas to issue coins in pure silver. The thesis elaborated in *The Silver Coins of the Kushāṇas* expounds the numismatic policy of the imperial power and guides us to review the monetary system of the Kushāṇa empire from a new angle. The economic factors which motivated the Kushāṇas to extend their sway over the Lower Indus country and the Ākara region, i.e. Eastern Malwa, have been expounded with the thoroughness of a great authority.

In the field of historical geography Prof. Mukherjee's prime contribution lies in bringing out the import of the terms relating to India and Hindustan in non-indigenous sources. His articles on the connotation of the terms *Hindustan* and *Shen-tu* should be considered as basic works on the foreign nomenclatures for India, in spite of the fact that attempts were made by earlier scholars, like Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri, at drawing our attention to the problem concerned.

Prof. Mukherjee initially drew our attention to the foreign influence which worked behind the development of the concept and iconography of Mahishamardinī Durgā. It certainly widened the scope for further investigations into the lines of cultural exchanges and the methods of Indianisation of alien ideas in remote ages. Reference may be made here to the article on the representation of Kārtikeya in some documents from Central Asia.

The most notable achievement of Prof. Mukherjee in the recent years is undoubtedly the decipherment of the 'Shell Script' which had baffled the scholars of this country and abroad for nearly a century and a half. By this feat alone he ranks with James Prinsep and with the architects of Indian history. The story of the decipherment of this script has been published in a number of journals and newspapers and is now well known to scholars and students of Indian history. It is gratifying to note that Prof. Mukherjee's method of deciphering inscriptions in Shell characters has been approved by the leading epigraphists of India and abroad. Seminars and symposia have been held on the script. The Archaeological Survey of India has taken up a project for the documentation of the inscriptions in Shell characters. The more will to be published, the more will to be known to us. But the initial break-through goes to the credit of Prof. Mukherjee (See our article on the Shell Script).

We have only tried to highlight the new aspects of Indological studies which owe their initiation to the findings of Prof. B.N. Mukherjee. A survey of his voluminous contributions would indicate that his field of interest covers the Indo-Pak subcontinent, Central Asia, Iran, West Asia, South-East Asia and China in measurement of space and from the dawn of human civilization to the present century in point of time. His research publications have immensely enriched the fields of East-Iranian and Indo-Iranian studies. He is the first scholar to make an indepth study of cultural acculturation in the Indo-Iranian dominions in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

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1

The Meaning of Vedic Iṣ

J. GONDA

According to the Nirukta 6, 26; 11, 14 the noun *iṣ*, which often occurs in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and sometimes in some other Vedic texts, means *annam* "food (especially boiled rice)": cf. ṚV. 1, 117, 21 *iṣaṃ duhántā* "milking (extracting) food" and 1, 88, 1 *ā...na iṣáṃ váyo ná paptatā* "fly (O Maruts) towards us like birds with food".[1] In many cases Sāyaṇa is of the same opinion[2]: 1, 63, 8 *tváṃ tyáṃ ná indra deva citráṃ iṣam ápo ná pīpayaḥ párijman* "(I hope) thou wilt, O good Indra, cause that excellent food to overflow for us like the waters in (their) circulation"; 1, 92, 3; 1, 111, 2 and so on. Sometimes, however, he prefers another explanation: in 8, 13, 25, where Indra is besought to assist those addressing him and to enable them to milk (extract) overflowing *iṣ* (*pipyuṣīm iṣam*) out of him, he takes *iṣam* to stand for *iṣyamānam annam* "food that one wishes to obtain, that is desired or sought for"; this implication is of course not incorrect, but it may have been suggested by the wish to explain the word *iṣ* also etymologically. (See also 4, 40, 2, where he adds the note *iṣáḥ iṣyamānāyāḥ uṣasaḥ sambandhini kāle* to the words *iṣa uṣāsas* of the text; 8, 5, I0; 10, 143, 6). Upon 8, 1, 10 *índraṃ dhenum sudughām ányām iṣam* "Indra, the milch-cow that yields much, (and) another (source of) *iṣ*..." he commented: *iṣam eṣanīyām vṛṣṭim* "desirable rain" (cf. 7, 5, 8 *iṣam: eṣanīyām vṛṣṭim*), whereas a modern author[3] took the word under consideration to denote "a source of food" or "(a cow) that supplies refreshment"; cf. 5, 41, 18 *iṣam: eṣaṇasādhanam annam kṣīradadhyādilakṣaṇam* "food that brings about solicitation and takes the form of milk, coagulated milk etc.". Other explanations found in Sāyaṇa's commentary are:

10, 122, 6 *iṣam duhán sudughām* (sc. *dhenum*)[4] which must mean "milking *iṣ* out of the (cow that) yields much": *iṣyamānam yāgaphalarūpam payaḥ* "the wished for milk in the form of the result of the sacrifice"; 8, 7, 1 (*triṣṭubham*) *iṣam*: *somalakṣaṇam annam* "food in the form of *soma*"[5] (also 1, 185, 9); 6, 68, 5 *iśā́ sá dviṣás tared dā́svān* "may the one who gives abundantly surpass those who hate him in *iṣ*": *annena jayalabdhena saha* "with food obtained by a victory" (Grassmann[6] translated "Kraft" ("strength"), Geldner "Speisesegen"); 2, 19, 8 *iṣam ūrjam sukṣitim...aśyuḥ* "may they obtain *iṣ* (and) *ūrj*[7], a good (secure) dwelling": *śobhananivāsopetam annam* "food accompanied by a beautiful house" (no doubt suggested by the context); 3, 3, 7, where Agni is implored to produce *iṣaḥ* by shining (*sám iṣo didīhi naḥ*): *sasyārtham vṛṣṭiḥ* "rain for the sake of grain" (cf. 9, 65, 3 *iṣé*: *annārtham*; 6, 68, 1); 1, 130, 3 *ápāvṛṇod iṣa índraḥ* "Indra uncovered the *iṣaḥ*" ("Speisegenüsse", Geldner: "conforts rituels", Renou[8]: *annahetubhūtasyodakasya* "of water (*sic*) which is the cause of food"); 7, 69, 1 *iṣā́m voḷhā́* "the one who brings the *iṣaḥ*" ("Bringer der Labsale", Geldner): *yajamānair dattānām haviṣām vāhakaḥ* "the one who carries the oblations that are given by the sacrificers" (cf. 3, 58, 8; 10, 2, 6); 3, 2, 10 *mā́nuṣīr iṣaḥ* ("die menschlichen Labsale", that is, "the sacrificial butter", Geldner[9]; jouissances rituelles" Renou[10]): *paśvādilakṣaṇam dhanam icchantyaḥ manuṣyaprajāḥ* "offspring of men desiring (movable) property that takes the form of cattle and so on".

From this (incomplete) survey it appears that Sāyaṇa was of the opinion that the meaning of *iṣ* is not always simply "food"; that at times it is pregnant, that is, it implies more than is expressed; that then again it denotes a special form of food (milk, oblations), something that is necessary for the production of food (rain; water), and so on.

Modern translators and lexicographers tended to disagree to a considerable extent. The Petersburg Dictionary, followed by Monier-Williams, gives: *iṣ* "anything drunk, a draught, refreshment, enjoyment; libation; the refreshing waters of the sky; sap, strength, freshness, comfort, increase; good condition, affluence", suggesting by the very arrangement of the 'meanings' that "anything drunk" is the most original—or the most central or proper—sense and "affluence" the result of a series of changes of meaning or the most peripheral sense. In this respect Grassmann's exposition is even more suggestive, first, because the 'meanings' are numbered—"1 Trank, Labetrank, Nahrungssaft; 2 Milch, Saft; 3 Opfertrank; 4 Labung, Nahrung; 5 Kraft; 6 perhaps Beute"—and in the second place, because the stem of the word is explicitly stated to be identical with the root *iṣ-* in the sense of "to cause to move quickly, throw, send or pour out". The author adduces ṚV. 1, 181, 6 *pūrvīr iṣaś carati mádhva iṣṇán* "er wandelt viele Honigsäfte (auf die Erde) spritzend" ("he roams about sprinkling many juices of honey") and 8, 26, 3 *pūrvīr iṣá iṣāyantau*. However, letting alone that this *iṣ-* is not the only root of this form, the combination of *iṣáḥ* with *iṣ-* is not necessarily a *figura etymologica*[11]. Cases of alliteration—which even in

languages that have no special predilection for initial assonance may arise spontaneously—are in the Saṃhitās a frequent stylistic device and occurrences of various types of assonance (similarity of sound in two words constituting one and the same syntactic group) are not rare; they are apt to attract attention but do not prove etymological relationship.[12] As to the traditional tendency to arrange the 'meanings' of words in such a way that they create the impression of a certain inherent development, of a more or less complicated series of real semantic changes, it is no exaggeration to say that many translations in, for instance, Grassmann's dictionary are arranged according to more or less 'logical' rather than genetic (historical) principles.

It is, moreover, a fact that—not only in the case under discussion—a Vedic word cannot infrequently be more or less satisfactorily translated by two or even more than two English (or German and so on) words. Thus Geldner sometimes preferred "Speise" ("food", e.g. 3, 30, 11; 3, 62, 14; 8, 5, 34[13]; 9, 86, 18); or "Nahrung" ("food, nourishment", e.g., 1, 112, 18; 8, 13, 25; 9, 61, 15; 9, 65, 3); "Speisegenusz" ("enjoyment of food". e.g., 1, 120, 9; 6, 47, 9[14]; 10, 40, 4; 10, 165, 5); "Genusz", ("enjoyment", 9, 65, 13); "Labsal" ("refreshment, comfort", e.g. 5, 7, 1; 8, 7, 3; 8, 35, 4-6; 9, 101, 11); "Labetrank" ("refreshing drink", 1, 181, 6), and so on.[15] This is of course neither to say that all these, and other, translations are equally convincing everywhere nor that "food" etc. are always correct.

There are indeed many differences of opinion with regard to the most probable translation of this word in a particular context. Thus in the difficult stanza 1, 71, 8 *ā́ yád iṣé nṛpátim téja ā́naṭ* . . Grassmann's "Kraft" ("strength") in much less convincing than Geldner's "zum Genusze" or Renou's[16] "pour sa jouissance"; however, there follows *śuci réto niṣiktaṃ dyaur abhīke* and the whole line seems to admit of the translation "when the fiery energy (materialized in his *semen virile* had attained (surprised) the lord of men for the sake of *iṣ*, (Father) Heaven (let) the pure semen that had been sprinkled (fall) at once"; since Dyaus is 10, 45, 8 spoken of as rich in sperma and 5, 58, 6 is called a bull that bellows and is obviously conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth, one could perhaps raise the possibility of a supplement "of (Mother) Earth" after *iṣé*.

Several modern scholars regarded *iṣ*—in all probability erroneously—as etymologically related, not with *iṣ—icchati* "to seek for, endeavour to obtain"[17], but with *iṣ—iṣṇāti* "to set in motion, cause to move quickly, send out or off etc."[18] Some thirty years ago another etymology was proposed and an attempt to establish a new view of the semantic problems that remained open to controversy made by Burrow.[19] In his opinion *iṣ* expresses, as a noun and as a verbal root, ideas such as "thriving, flourishing, prospering"; for instance, the last word of the line 7, 43, 1 *prá vo yajñéṣu devayánto arcan dyāvā námobhiḥ pṛthivī iṣádhyai* means "to invigorate": "at your sacrifices those who turn to the gods (by ritual means)[20] must praise with reverential

salutations Heaven and Earth that we may be prosperous"; Geldner had unconvincingly rendered it by "dasz sie gern kommen" ("so that they will come readily")—compare also Velankar's "to urge them at our sacrifices"[21]—; the probabilities are however in favour of "so that we may derive profit from it". ṚV 6, 52, 15 *iṣáye víśvam áyuḥ* was translated by Geldner "um das volle Leben zu genieszen": the meaning "enjoy" was preferred by Renou[22] to Burrow's "to flourish (all our life)".[23]

In my opinion, *iṣ* is one of those numerous Sanskrit words for which the modern languages of the West do not possess equivalents that could cover their total semantic content so that mere contextual variants of the former may impress us as different meanings or as special semantic developments with the result that too often modern scholars have tried to arrange the various uses of the Indian word in a sort of genealogical connexion and constructed quasi-historical developments of meaning. The word under consideration expresses, not a concept in the modern sense of this term, but a complex of ideas, conceptions, experiences, beliefs converging in a notion or perception or a power usually conceived of as more or less substantial in character and manifesting in various forms or modifications, which, as the context may require, more or less precisely, or only approximately, correspond to such ideas as we would describe as something beneficial, enjoyable, comfortable (with special application to refreshment[24], restoratives[25] and so on), to profit, advantage object(s) of enjoyment, a pleasant condition of life, to some aspects of prosperity.[26] In pre-modern languages such holistic concepts are far from rare. (In the Veda there are also cases such as *vana* which is not only translatable by "wood", but also by "forest", "tree", "timber" and any object made of wood. In many cases—e.g. *bráhman*—we leave such a word untranslated).

In cases such as 6, 48, 13, which makes mention of a cow and milk, one would be inclined to follow Geldner: *iṣam ca viśvábhojasam* "und allspeisende Nahrung" ("and all-nourishing nourishment"): *iṣ* "something beneficial with special application to eatables or drinkables". See also 6, 63, 8 *dhenum . . iṣam* "milch-cow (and or, rather, "that is, that means") *iṣ*". As already observed by Renou[27], "*iṣ* underlines the real sense of *dhenu*, which reciprocally represents *iṣ* as something concrete: cf. 8, 7, 3[28] and 8, 72, 16" (where the verb *duh*—"to milk" is used in connexion with rain and food); in 8, 1, 10[29] *iṣam* follows *dhénum* as an apposition. In 8, 13, 25[30] Indra is besought to allow those speaking to "milk overflowing *iṣ*" out of him: here a translation "food" ("Nahrung", Geldner) is questionable, because *dhukṣásva* is used metaphorically. See also 8, 20, 8 and 10, 48, 9 (notice the combination *iṣé bhujé*); 10, 122, 6 and AVŚ. 4, 39, 2.

When in 9, 49, 1 Soma is requested to give rain whilst clarifying himself, the words *ayakṣmā́ bṛhatīr iṣaḥ* are no doubt an apposition explaining or specifying *vṛṣṭím* and *apā́m ūrmim*, not "gesunde, grosze Speisegenüsse" (Geldner), but rather

something like "the substantial, beneficial enjoyments that deliver from the disease called *yakṣma*". Notice that *iṣaḥ* are repeatedly coupled with the idea expressed by *anamīva* "free from illness, healthy, wholesome": 3, 22, 4, where manifestations of Agni are described as being *adruho 'namīvā́ iṣo mahīḥ* "free from malice, delivering from illness, great (originators of) benefits (advantages, comfort, enjoyment)"; 3, 62, 14, where Soma is besought to give to men and cattle *anamīvā́ iṣaḥ*; here Geldner's "gute Speisen, die keine Krankheit bringen", though not improbable, is only a possibility; 10, 17, 8, where the same words occur in a prayer addressed to Sarasvatī.[31]

The author of 9, 66, 4 prays to Soma that he will create *iṣaḥ* for the sake of (in order to produce) all precious things (*abhí víśvāni vā́ryā*) in order to help his comrades; here the sense of *iṣaḥ* is very 'vague'[32], but "food"[33] is highly improbable. So is its meaning in 10, 143, 6, where the Aśvins are requested to produce *iṣaḥ* ("Labsale", Geldner; "advantages") that overflow like a spring"[34]; in 1, 53, 4 "may we with Indra (and) Soma drive away (our) enemies and get possession of *iṣ*" (why only Speisegenusz (Geldner)? why "substance–rituelle" (Renou[35])?; 6, 14, 1, where *iṣ* is the object prayed for ("Erfreuung", Geldner; "jouissance", Renou). When, in 8, 93, 34, Indra is requested to give wealth *iṣé* the translation must be "for enjoyment", or "in order to benefit by it" (cf. 6, 13, 2). In 10, 50, 3 *ké té nára indra yé ta iṣé* means "who are those men, O Indra, who conduce to thy satisfaction?"

In many cases the meaning of *iṣ* is made more precise and concrete by the addition of an adjective, often an adjective in *-vant* or *-mant*, which expresses the idea of "possessing", or "being provided, supplied or filled with" and as a rule "being well provided with", also "consisting of", and in most used cases of pleasant things.[36] Thus we find ṚV. 7, 94, 9 *gómad dhiraṇyavad vásu* "property consisting of cows and gold" and similarly 1, 48, 15 and 5, 79, 8 *gómatīr iṣaḥ* which, I think, rather means "*iṣ* consisting of cows" ("les jouissances consistant en vaches", Renou[37]) than "enjoyment of food together with cows" (Geldner's translation). Likewise, 8, 5, 9; 8, 6, 23 (*mahīm iṣam ... gómatīm*); 8, 23, 29; 9, 62, 24.[38] The same comment applies to 1, 120, 9 *iṣé ... dhenumátyai* "to *iṣ* (profit, enjoyment etc.) consisting of milch-cows"; to 1, 30, 17 *áśvāvatyeṣā́*[39]; to 10, 2, 6 *iṣaḥ kṣumátīḥ* "advantages (etc.) abounding in food" (cf. 10, 38, 2 *kṣumántaṃ ... rayím*). The *iṣ* may however also consist of offspring: 6, 52, 16, where *prajā́vatīr iṣaḥ* does not mean "enjoyment of food that is the cause of (results in) children" (Geldner)[40]; 9, 23, 3[41] (compare, e.g., 3, 30, 18 *bhágaḥ ... prajā́vān*); 1, 111, 2 *suprājā́vatīm iṣam* (now Geldner rightly preferred "reichen Kindersegen"); 3, 53, 1 Indra is besought to bring *iṣaḥ ... suvīrā́ḥ* ("Labsal guter Söhne", Geldner; why "jouissances-rituelles"?, Renou); 7, 24, 6 ("Freude guter Söhne", Geldner; cf. 4, 34, 2 *suvīrā́m ... rayím*); see also 1, 12, 11; 1, 96, 8; 8, 43, 15 *vīrávatīm iṣam*; 1, 54, 11 *rāyé ca naḥ svapatyā́ iṣé dhāḥ*.[42] From 1, 34, 3, where the Aśvins are requested to make the *vā́javatīr iṣaḥ* abundant[43] and from 6, 60, 12 (where Geldner's translation of the same words "valuable foods"

is incorrect), it may be inferred that the *iṣaḥ* are here considered to consist of something recreative or restorative (*vā́ja*); see also 8, 92, 10 "come, O Indra, with *iṣ* (profit, benefit) that consists of a hundred, a thousand materializations of *vā́ja*".

Passages in which these two words, *iṣ* and *vā́ja* occur are strikingly frequent. They are co-ordinated in 1, 53, 5 "we should like to get possession of *iṣ* and *vā́jāḥ*", in 1, 117, 1, where the Aśvins are besought to come with *iṣ* and *vā́jāḥ* (cf. st. 10 come with *iṣ* and (bring) *vā́ja*); 1, 180, 2 in a similar passage; in 6, 17, 14 Indra is implored to make the inspired sages brilliant (excellent) with a view to (that means, that they will produce, bring about) *vā́ja*, renown (*śrávase*; cf. 7, 5, 8), *iṣ* and wealth[44]; in 1, 121, 14 the same god is besought to give manifestations of *vā́ja* with a view to *iṣ* renown and *sūnṛtā*, (i.e. "vital strength"(?); 7, 42, 6 Agni is besought to increase the *iṣ*, wealth (property) and *vā́ja* of those speaking. See also 2, 6, 5, where *vā́ja* and *iṣ* may result from rain (cf. 5, 68, 5[45]; 8, 25, 6). In 1, 121, 15 the wish to obtain *iṣ* follows after Indra's epithet *vā́japramahaḥ* "very great because of *vā́ja*". In 9, 108, 2 these words occur in a simile. In 10, 5, 4 the *iṣaḥ*—here in all probability in the form of the sacrificial food—are said to follow Agni with a view to *vā́ja*, that is in order to supply him with *vā́ja* or to increase his *vā́ja*. In 1, 167, 1 a thousand *iṣaḥ* are coupled with the same number of possessions (*ráyaḥ*; cf. 10, 140, 5). According to 7. 69, 1 the chariot of the Aśvins is a carrier of *iṣaḥ* and is possessed of that which is rich in *vā́ja* (especially in mares, *vājínīvān*): compare 3, 30, 11 where Indra is requested (to bring), as the charioteer of the *iṣ*, the combined *vā́jāḥ*. When Indra is said to take, with his horses that win *vā́ja*, possession of many great *iṣaḥ* for the benefit of those addressing him who hope to become rich, these *iṣaḥ* are no, or in any case more than, "Speisegenüsse" (Geldner, 3, 30, 18).

Agni, lord or dispenser of *iṣ* (4, 55, 4)[46], was supposed to be able to transmit *iṣ* or bestow it by shining: 3, 54, 22 *sám iṣo didīhi* (no doubt in exchange for the oblations offered in the preceding *pāda*).[47] In 5, 4, 2 this god is requested to give in the same way the *iṣaḥ* of a good householder (*sugārhapatyā́ḥ*): cf. 5, 6, 8; also 7, 59, 2; 8, 27, 16.

With regard to the combination of *iṣam* and *ūrjam* ("*balam*", Sāyaṇa)[48], which often occurs in prayers, I shall confine myself to the following observations: Grassmann's translation "Milch und Fett, Saft und Kraft" ("milk and fat, sap and strength") is most improbable; in 2, 19, 8 and elsewhere Geldner rendered "Labsal (or "Speisegenusz"), Stärkung", Renou "jouissance-rituelle, vigueur nourricière" ("nutritive power"). See also 2, 22, 4 (*ūrjam ... iṣam*); 4, 40, 2 (and the light of heaven); 5, 76, 4; 6, 62, 4; 6, 65, 3 (after *śrávo vā́jam*); 8, 93, 28; 8, 100, 11; 9, 63, 2; 9, 66, 19; 9, 86, 35; 9, 94, 5 (with horse and cow); 10, 20, 10 and 10, 99, 12 (with a good dwelling). And in AVŚ.: 4, 39, 2 "the earth should milk for me *iṣam ūrjam* as well as (the object(s) of my) desire, a full span of life, offspring, prosperity, property"; 18, 4, 4 "let the heavenly worlds ... yield (*duh-*) *iṣam ūrjam* to the sacrificer"; 9, 1, 20; 9, 5, 24 (and *mahas* "greatness"). These words no doubt express

complementary notions[49], *ūrj* being another general or holistic term denoting a notion or power substance that can manifest itself in various ways and, according to the context, admits of various translations; "invigorating power, source or a form of strength, vigour", and so on, and concrete as "forcing, refreshing or invigorating food and so on".[50]

Notes and References

1. The Maruts are shedders of rain.
2. So was his predecessor Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava.
3. K.F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, Cambridge Mass. 1951, II, p. 278. See also below.
4. See Geldner's note, op. cit., III, p. 350 ("allnährende Speise").
5. Cf. Geldner, op, cit., II, p. 299.
6. H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (1936), 221.
7. See below.
8. L. Renou, Etudes vediques et Pāṇineennes, XVII, Paris 1969, p. 44, For this meaning see, e.g., 10, 61, 4.
9. Geldner, op. cit., I, p. 336.
10. Renou, op. cit., XII, Paris 1964, p. 52.
11. See J. Gonda, Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Academy 1959, ch. XII (p. 273 ff.). This term should be applied only to those syntactic groups in which special uses of accusative occur together with a verb deriving from the same root.
12. Gonda, op. cit., ch. VIII (p. 177 ff.) and ch. X (p. 229 ff.). Cf., e.g., 3, 59, 9 c.
13. For Renou's opinion (a double function of *iṣ*) see E.V.P. XVI, p. 54.
14. But notice that the text runs as follows: *iṣam ā vak-ṣīṣāṃ varṣiṣṭhām* which on the face of it may be translated "bring *iṣ*, the highest of *iṣaḥ* (varieties of *iṣ*)" whatever the 'meaning' of *iṣ*.
15. Renou, on the other hand, had a decided preference for one translation, viz. "jouissance" ("enjoyment"). This meaning ("Genüsse") was, e.g., at 1, 188, 2, also rightly discerned by Geldner.
16. Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 17.
17. See above.
18. See M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasztes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, I, Heidelberg 1956, p. 93.
19. T. Burrow, in Bull. of the School of Or. and Afr. Studies, 17 (1955), p. 326 ff.; see also Mayrhofer, op. cit., I, p. 556 and III, p. 644 as well as Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 27 f.
20. On *devayant* see Gonda, in Journal Or. Inst. of Baroda 15 (1966), p. 307 ff. (= Selected Studies, II, Leiden 1975, p. 33 ff.).
21. H.D. Velankar, Ṛgveda maṇḍala VII, Bombay 1963, p. 109. On this passage see Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 104; for this translation ("en sorte que (nous) en tirions profit") E.V.P. p. 45.
22. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 91; V, p. 38.
23. On the difficult 6, 1, 2 and 10, 91, 1 *iṣayann iḷas pade* see Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 119. —For reasons of space I leave the etymological possibilities undiscussed—e.g. *iṣira*, which has usually been translated by "refreshing, flourishing, vigorous, active, quick", but may sometimes express something like "beneficial" (e.g. 9, 96, 15 of milk; 7, 35, 4 of the wind; cf. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 40; 96) or "well disposed" (8, 48, 7, cf. Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 123). As to the Avestan *is* (e.g. Y. 28, 7). which was explained as "Wunsch" by Chr. Bartholomae, Altirani-

sches Worterbuch, Strassburg 1904, 373 f. and as "prosperity" (Burrow and Mayrhofer), Humbach's translation "Kraft, Kraftlabe, Stärkung" is no doubt more convincing (H. Humbach, Die Gathas des Zarathustra, Heidelberg 1959, I, p. 77; II, p. 10); cf., e.g., also ṚV. 7, 48, 4 *iṣaṃ ... dadīran*: Av. Y. 287 *daidi ... isam* "give *is*" (see B. Schlerath, Awesta-Worterbuch, II, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 150 a).

24. In 8, 26, 17 *iṣo ... gṛhe* Geldner correctly translates "im Hause der Erquickung"; compare 10, 82, 2.
25. Also those destined for gods, e.g. 8, 82, 3 Indra's *soma*.
26. See also my article Vāja in the Ṛgveda, in Ratna-Candrikā, Volume in honour of R.C. Agrawal, Delhi, forthcoming and compare also Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 27 f.—In AVS. 5, 20, 11 the war-drum is requested to utter *iṣ* in order to conquer the army (of the enemies). Whitney (W.D. Whitney and Ch.R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṁhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 256 tentatively translated "force"; in any case something comfortable or advantageous for those speaking.
27. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 46.
28. Cf. also Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 46 translating "jouissance-rituelle" (that means, the sacrificial milk); as to 8, 72, 16 see E.V.P. XIV, p. 37.
29. See above.
30. See above.
31. On ṚV. 10, 17 see J. Gonda, Pūṣan and Sarasvatī, Amsterdam Acad. 1985, p. 82.
32. On vagueness of meaning see, e.g., S. Ullmann, The principles of semantics, Glasgow 1951, p. 92 ff.
33. Thus S.S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda, III, Baroda, p. 97.
34. See J. Gonda, Four studies in the language of the Veda, 's-Gravenhage 1959, ch. II The meaning of Vedic *bhūṣati*, p. 86.
35. Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 18.
36. For particulars see J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Gottingen 1954, p. 871 ff.; L. Renou, Grammaire de la langue vedique, Paris 1952, p. 173 preferred "pourvu de, consistant en, accompagne de".
37. Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 14; 78; cf. Geldner, op. cit., I, p. 60; II, p. 84.
38. Here Bhawe, op. cit., III, p. 44 translated "food milk".
39. But 9, 61, 3 *aśvam ... gomad ... iṣaḥ*.
40. Here Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 38 translated "les jouissances comportant progeniture".—But 7, 96, 6 *prajām iṣam*.
41. Here Bhawe, op. cit., II, p. 31 translated "food endowed with progeny".
42. Neither "kindergesegnete Nahrung" (Geldner) nor "confort-rituel consistant en bonne descendance" (Renou, E.V.P. XVII. p. 20).
43. Because of the verb *pinvatam* Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 2 supposes that this refers to milk.
44. In 1, 178, 4 Indra is praised in the contest for *iṣ* (at a sacrificial rite); Renou's interpretation (E.V.P. XVII, p. 54) has not convinced me. —For *rāyā, iṣā, svasti* see 1, 20, 6.
45. On 1, 86, 5 see Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 68. Also 9, 49, 1; 9, 65, 3.
46. In 9, 108, 9 Soma is, intelligibly enough, given this epithet.
47. Otherwise: Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 50; V, p. 14 ("illumine").
48. Cf. also 5, 41, 18 *ūrjayantīm iṣam*.
49. See also Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 87.
50. See, e.g., my translation in Pūṣan and Sarasvatī, p. 55; The ritual functions and significance of grasses in the religion of the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1985, Index, p. 253; Prajāpati's rise to higher rank, Leiden 1986, index, p. 202; and especially Mantra interpretation in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Leiden 1988, p. 243 ff.

2

On Different Readings of Sayana's Commentary

INDRANI DATTA

While working on the methodology of Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the *Ṛgveda*, I have come across some interesting points on various aspects of Vedic Texts. Sāyaṇa has interpreted almost all kinds of Vedic texts, particularly the *Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*. In interpreting all these Vedic texts he has not always followed exactly the same method for all these texts, though the main principle of his interpretation is the same. The *Saṁhitās* are interpreted in one way, while the *Brāhmaṇas* in the other. Even the interpretation of the *Atharvaveda* is not the same with the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*. As a result the same mantras, often found in two different *Saṁhitās*, are interpreted differently with particular reference to the *viniyogas*. Normally the interpretation of Sāyaṇa of the *Ṛgveda* depends on the (i) *ṛṣi*, (ii) *Chandaḥ*, (iii) *devatā* and (iv) *viniyoga*, and also (v) grammar including accent which Sāyaṇa thinks are essential for the study of the Vedic lore. The most important in Sāyaṇa's methodology is the quotation he has given for explaining the text in order to justify his method of interpretation. This is the case where we see some sort of irregularities in quoting the passages. Here in this dissertation, I have only taken the problem of different readings of his quotations as found in the printed editions of the *Ṛgveda* published from Vaidika Saṃsodhana Maṇḍala, Poona.

A careful perusal of Sāyaṇa's commentary has actuated us to record here that there are passages quoted from different texts which do not always corroborate

with the readings of the text available today. Not all the quotations have different readings but quite a number of texts have different readings. He has quoted from the *viniyoga* texts and the reading in Sāyaṇa's commentary do not always correspond to the readings of the printed texts of the respective editions. As far as these different readings are concerned, they can be arranged into following topics.

(i) Different readings on the sacrificial items (*viniyogas*)
(ii) Different readings on the grammar
  (a) in the readings of the roots
  (b) in quoting the *sūtras*

As the examples of these categories are numerous and will be voluminous in doing any justice to this problem, only a few examples are given in order to illustrate these above points.

(i) While explaining the *viniyogas* Sāyaṇa has quoted some lines or sometimes a passage from some authoritative texts in order to justify his arguments. In so doing his quotations when verified do not always go on a par with the readings of the printed texts available today. It is difficult to find out any reason for such differences, except that it is quite natural that different readings are possible in ancient texts. Though at times readings are not very serious from the point of view of essential meaning, but at times these different readings may render the idea into a different one.

For example, *viśvajiti mādhandina-savane maitrāvaruṇaḥ svaśastre prākṛtāt sūktat pūrvaṁ 'yo jātaḥ' iti sāma-sūktaṁ śaṁset.* (*RV.* II. 12.1.).

On the reading of *maitrāvaruṇa* in this passage there is a different reading. In the *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XII. 6. 16) and in the Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Atharvaveda* (XX.34) the reading *maitrāvaruṇa* is replaced by *brāhmaṇācchaṁsī*, because according to these texts it is not *maitrāvaruṇa* who is reciting this mantra but *brāhmaṇācchaṁsī*. The text of *Śānkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* reads as follow:

Yo jāta iti brāhmaṇācchaṁsinaḥ.

Sāyaṇācārya in the *Atharvaveda* has also read:

dvādaśāhdau vairājapṛaṭhe viśvajiti 'yo jātaḥ' iti sūktaṁ brāhmaṇācchaṁsinaḥ śastre viniyuktam.

Whether Sāyaṇācārya has written the commentary on the *Atharvaveda* after he has written that of the *Ṛgveda* or vice-versa is not easy to ascertain at this point. But in either case it would have been better if Sāyaṇa had got a chance to revise his earlier ideas irrespective of earlier or later composition. However, there are cases where Sāyaṇa is not clear in this type of problem. In this connection K.C. Chatterjee (*Vedic Selections*, Calcutta University, 1954, p. 702) quotes a passage in order to defend the reading *maitrāvaruṇa* thus:

Satré hāni triprakārāṇi bhavanti—sampātavanti, aikāhikāni, ahīnasūktavanti ceti, teṣāṁ sarvapṛṣṭhatvam—asarvapṛṣṭhatvaṁ ceti viśeṣau pratisvam, sarvapṛṣṭhatve sāmasūktanyapekṣante tatra, tāni ca sāmasūktāni "viśvajito' gniṁ nara" iti khaṇḍe svarupataḥ pradarśitāni "satrāmadāsa" ityārabhya "sāmasūktāni" ityaṁśena, evaṁ cātra na ṛtvigabhiprāyako' yaṁ suktanirderak kintu samasuktapadarthavivecanaparo' yam nirdeśaḥ | ataeva ṭīkākṛtā "sāmasūktāni saprugāthāni" ityatra "sāmasūktānāṁ sāmapragāthānāṁ ca sarvapṛṣṭhe prāpti ruktā, iha teṣāṁ madhye sāmasūktānāṁ svarūpaṁ sthānaṁ cocyate" ityuktam, evam cemāni sūktānyaviśeṣeṇa maitrāvaruṇādi ṛtviktrayeṇa savadhyāni, tataśca yo jāta iti sūktabhāṣye maitrāvarunollekho na pramādakṛto bhāṣyakārasya, evaṁ satrāmadāsa iti sūktābhāṣyasyāpi na virodhaḥ, atharvavedīye yo jāta eveti sūktabhāṣyāpi brāhmaṇācchamsy ullekhe na virodhasyāvarsaraleśa iti.

In a similar way *'atimūrttināmny ekāhe śunāsīrye parvaṇi ca sūryasya haviṣaḥ 'citraṁ devānām' ityeṣā yājyā"* (RV.I.115.1) has also some different readings. Poona edition of the *Ṛgveda* notes that *śunāsīrīye* is the reading in three manuscripts instead of *śunāsīrye*. According to Poona edition of the *Ṛgveda* (IV. 2.32) *dyāvā pṛthivī-śunāsīra-marutvad-agnīṣoma-vāstoṣpati-gṛhamedhācchaca* both *śunāsīrya* and *śunāsīrīya* are available. Sāyaṇa appears to write *śunāsīrīya* here, under *RV.* I. 50. 4 and in his commentary on *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. On the other hand, he has written *śunāsīrīya* under *RV.* III 30.1, IV. 57.5, VII. 90, 20, VII.92. 1.3, VIII.26.25 and X. 160. 54) which appears to be the correct reading. The reading *śunāsīrīya* is also found in *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (II.20.1), *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (V.11.4) and other works. It is interesting to note that the reading in *Āpastamba Yajña Paribhāṣā* has also *Sunāsīriya Vaiśvadevaṁ varuṇapraghāsa-sākamedha-śunāsīrīyāṇām*—121) (cf. Chatterjee, *ibid*, p. 92).

With regard to the *viniyogas* there are some irregularities, when compared, with the other texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, e.g. in the Mitra & Varuṇa Hymn (V. 62) at mantra 9 *Yad vaṁhiṣṭhaṁ nātividhe sudānū* etc. the *viniyoga* of Sāyaṇa reads: *maitrāvaruṇe paśau haviṣa eṣaiva yājyā* and in support of his statement he has quoted from the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (III.8.1) where it is indicated that the mantra *yad vaṁhiṣṭham*, etc. will be a *haviṣo yājyā*. But the same mantra is also found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II.8.6.7). Before explaining this mantra Sāyaṇa's line is *atha puroḍāśasya yājyām āha.*

It appears then that Sāyaṇa considers this mantra as the *yājyā* for the *puroḍāśa*. It is quite true that Sāyaṇa has followed *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* for explaining this mantra as *haviṣo yājyā*. But in explaining the same mantra the difference in the application of the mantra to the sacrifice (viniyoga) seems to be rather puzzling. It is difficult to guess Sāyaṇa's method of interpretation in the *Taittirrīya Brāhmaṇa*, because in the most of the cases he has never quoted any text in support of his statement. If it is not a manuscript corruption or scribal error, then we should say that Sāyaṇa is not uniform in his interpretation.

From all these readings it is difficult to guess the original reading of Sāyaṇa. Whether the reading adopted by Sāyaṇa is the original reading and the printed texts are the variants or vice versa, will depend on the investigation of the earliest manuscripts on the subject. But it is quite evident that these different readings are helpful from the point of view of the development of the transmission of Sanskrit texts through the ages. Whether all these different readings are the slip-shods of Sāyaṇa's memory, or a mutation of Sanskrit texts remains unsolved even till today.

ii. (a) The difference of reading is also noticed in the case of quoting the root along with its meaning. Though sometime these are minor variations, it is recorded here to show how the reading of Sāyaṇa is either mutilated or does not conform with the readings of the printed text as in the other cases. In quoting the roots, Sāyaṇa sometimes seems to have departed from the *Dhātupāṭha* as recorded in the printed text, e.g. While forming the word *ṛṣi*, Sāyaṇa has said *ṛṣa gatau* (*Dhātupāṭha*, VI. 7) with the suffix in (*sarvadhātubhya in*—Uṇādi IV. 117). Whether that was the original reading of Sāyaṇa or not is, of course, very difficult to ascertain now. But in the *Dhātupāṭha* the reading is *ṛṣī gatau*. It appears from the *Bālamanoramā* and other sources that there are also two other readings as *ṛṣa* and *ṛṣi*. In the *Bālamanoramā*, the reading is *ṛṣa*, and with this *ṛṣa* the suffix—*ik* is added making it *ṛṣi*. This is corroborated by the commentary on the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, where the reading seems to be *ṛṣi* as the line says: *ṛṣi-dhātvartha-viṣaya tvād-ṛṣayo bhavan*. The reading *ṛṣi* is however also found in Durga's *Gaṇapāṭha* and the commentary *Manoramā* there says: *turya-svarānuvandho' yaṁ svarādir mūrdhaṇyantaḥ*. It is quite interesting to note that Sāyaṇa has quoted root correctly as *ṛṣi* under *RV*.I.31.1, III.30.9 whether under I.1.1. the reading *ṛṣa gatau* is corrected by the evidence of *Bālamanoramā* by the editor or that was the original reading is yet to be deciphered.

In a similar way, while giving the formation of the word *bhadram* (*RV*.I.1.6) Sāyaṇa has derived it as *bhadi kalyāṇe* (*Dhātupāṭha*, I.12) with the suffix *-rak*. In the *Dhātupāṭha*, of course, the root is read as : *bhadi kalyāṇe sukhe ca bhandatiḥ stuti-karmā*. Whether Sāyaṇa has accepted the reading *bhadi* in order to support *bhandatiḥ* or he has followed the *Dhātupāṭha* by omitting only *sukhe ca* as irrelevant in this particular context, is not clear. At least this much can be said, unlike in other cases the root could have been equally *bhad* or *bhada* with the suffix *-rak*. Here also one point is important to note that the uṇādi suffix (II. 29) is in rather wrong instead of *-rak*. Here again Sāyaṇa's memory perhaps has played a prominent part. However though this reading seems to be very minor, it suggests at least one point that the manuscript is different from the reading of the printed text.

While giving the derivation of *paryabhūṣat* (II. 12.1), Sāyaṇa has given the root as *bhūṣa alaṁkāre* (*Dhātupāṭha*, I.659) *bhūvādiḥ*. The form is aorist. This root with this meaning is also given under *RV*. III. 51.8. But under *RV*. III.55.4, he has given *bhṛñ bharaṇe bhūvādiḥ*. Here we have two problems: one in reading and the other in

explanation. The first difficulty is with the reading *bhūvādiḥ*. Generally the reading is either *bhvādiḥ* or *bhauvādikaḥ*. Sometimes *bhauvādiḥ* is also found, but not generally *bhūvādiḥ*. The *bhūvādiḥ* reading is found on the analogy of Pāṇini's rule *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ* (I. 3.1) and *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya* in his commentary has used *bhūvādiḥ*. But under *RV*.I. 80.12, the reading *bhauvādiḥ* is found which is very difficult to defend grammatically. But it appears that Sāyaṇa has given the correct reading under *RV*. I.136.5; *bhūṣa alaṁkāre, bhauvādikaḥ*.

The question now arises whether Sāyaṇa has given the reading *bhūvādiḥ* under the influence of *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya* or it is a shortened form of *bhauvādikaḥ* without the pleonastic suffix *-ka*.

Though all these differences in reading are minor and from that point of view may be neglected but these readings give us one interesting point to note that the reading as available today have a long history and they can be treated as variants of the same root. With regard to the question of *bhūvādiḥ* though not grammatical today, had a currency either at the time of Sāyaṇa (hence *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's* reading as *bhūvādiḥ*) or analogically formed from *bhauvādikaḥ*.

On the reading of *īḍati-dhātoḥ* (*RV*. I. 1.1), K.C. Chatterjee (p.17) observes:

"Printed editions read *īḍatidhātoḥ* where *īḍati* is grammatically indefensible. With -ik we should say *īḍi* and with-śtip *īṭṭi* and in both cases dhātu will be superfluous, though the commentator uses expressions like *anakti-dhātu, dahati-dhātu* etc. There is hardly any doubt that the bhāṣyakāra wrote *īḍadhātoḥ* which is strictly correct. Yāska says *īḍi* and Patañjali writes: *īḍiḥ stuti-codanā-yācñāsu dṛṣṭaḥ preraṇe cāpi vartate, agnir vā ito vṛṣṭim īṭṭe maruto mutoścrāvāyantīti* (*Mahābhāṣya*, I. 3.1). In the commentary on *Atharvaveda* we often find the correct form *caṣṭi* instead of the incorrect form *cakṣati*. Similarly, under *RV*. III. 27.1, *jigātiḥ* is the correct reading and not *gātiḥ*."

(b) In quoting the *sūtras* be it Pāṇini's and *Vārttika's*, Sāyaṇa under I. 1.9 has quoted it rather in a different way; *ivena nityasamāsaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca vaktavyam* (II. 1.4.2). This *sūtra* is normally quoted by the commentators of Sanskrit literature differently. It is at times so different that it appears that the *sūtra* is altogether perhaps without any source. The original source of this *Vārttika* is the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Under *sahasupa* (Pā, II.1.4) and *Kugatiprādayaḥ* (Pā. II.2. 18), the wordings of the *sūtra* are *ivena vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca vaktavyam* which are explained by Patañjali *ivena saha samāso vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca*. Up to this, the word *nitya* is not found before *samāsaḥ*. On this point K.C. Chatterjee (p. 54) remarks "Though the word *nitya* is not placed before *samāsa* in the explanation it is clear that the *Vārttikakāra* means *nityasamāsa* as the *Vārttika* is read under *nityadhikāra*. Hence later commentators generally quote the *Vārttika* in the form *ivena saha nityasamāso vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca vaktavyam* (vide, Mallinātha or *Raghu* I. 1), though commentators on

grammar have spared no pains to show that the *samāsa* prescribed by the *Vārttika* is not *nitya*. So far as *RV*. is concerned the *samāsa* must be regarded as *nitya*, so here at least *nityasamāsaḥ* is the correct reading. But *vibhaktyalopaḥ* appears to have been dropped after *nitya-samāsaḥ* through the carelessness of scribes. In the later portions of the commentary (I.3.8, I.8.7, I.53.1, III.30.4. etc.) the *Vārttika* is generally quoted in the form *ivena vibhaktyalopaḥ pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca.*"

The study of these different readings of Sāyaṇa's text reveal the fact that the commentary of Sāyaṇa needs further elaboration and clarification and also re-interpretation of these different readings so that we can form our idea what was the reading current at the time of Sāyaṇa, when these texts were all in manuscript forms. I have given here only a few examples in order to show the type of discussion needed for proper understanding of Vedic texts and hence Sanskrit language in general. It goes without saying that the time of Sāyaṇa (i.e. 14th cent. A.D.) is the time when Sanskrit was not at all in a spoken form. It is a time for vernacular period and as such some of the readings might be influenced by the then language of the country. If the readings of Sāyaṇa's commentary as printed in different editions do not corroborate with the readings of the text printed at the present day, it can be interpreted as not only a case of different readings, but also a case of the influence of the then vernacular of India. Although the readings are apparently very minor or insignificant they state at least one thing clearly that either Sāyaṇa had quoted the text from his memory or the text was mutilated in course of time, besides the influence of the then vernaculars of India. I believe a thorough study of Sāyaṇa's commentary will help us remove some of these irregularities in his commentary.

3

Some useful Creepers of Vedic India

RAJIV KAMAL

Lata

Latā[1] as its English rendering creepers indicates that it cannot be as hard as some plants and trees. They are naturally soft and usually grew in the rainy season. The creepers were of three kinds (i) *Vratati* i.e. those which climbed the tree (ii) *Alaśālā* i.e. those which spread on the ground e.g. *Urvāru*. Its fruit *Urvāruka* is edible and it covers the ground. The animals like to eat the creeper. (iii) *Pratānvati* i.e. one which spreads on the surface of water e.g. *Puṇḍarīka* (Kamala) etc. It was used for fodder, vegetable, decorative purposes and medicines. Being soft and green it must have been liked by the animals as fodder.

Amūla or *amūlā*[2] is identified with *methonica superba*. Its literal meaning is a plant without root. It was used for poisoning arrows. Some scholars think that it is *amarvela* or *kalihārī*.[3] Majumdar considers it as *cascata superba*,[4] which is common in the Indus plain and used for the same purpose. Bloomfield[5] takes it as movable property.

Alaśālā[6] is mentioned only once in the *Atharva Veda* which indicates a grain creeper.

Alābū[7]: The earliest allusion to this plant is found in the *Atharva Veda*. Its botanical term is *cucurbita lagenaria*. The synonyms of this plant are *lagenaria vulgaris* and *L. siceraria*.[8] Its name in the different dialects of India is layu, (Bengali), tombi, tumba (Hindi), bottle gourd (English). It is indigenous in India. The pulp of the fruit is laxative, and is used by the poor classes as a vegetable food. The leaves mixed with sugar is prescribed in jaundice and the seeds are diuretic.[9] It is also used as poison particularly in snake-poisons.[10] Vessels were made of its dried fruits. Still its vessels are used by Sanyasi.

Avakā: (*Blyxa octandra*) was a water plant frequently mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* as well as later *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*.[11] It grew abundantly in the rainy season and hence it was a symbol of water and treated as cold and suppressor of *Agni*. It is a grassy plant growing in marshy land. It spreads on the surface of water. Its leaves are sword-shaped.[12] Weber identifies it with lotus flower.[13] Its later name is *śaivāla* which is identical with *sewāra* (Hindi) or *Śīpāla*.[14] A tank or lake overgrown with *śīpāla* is termed *śipalya*.[15] It was symbol of durability and growth and hence it was referred to be used in certain sacrifices for ensuring longevity of the sacrificer. It has medicinal value. In one of the hymns of *Atharva Veda* it has been said that this herb (*avakā*) can cure the disease of *yakṣma*.[16] Gandharvas also eat it.

Āla[17] appears to mean weed which forms a part of three other word, denoting grass creepers. In the *Ṛg Veda* it is found in the sense of poison.[18] Dārila takes it *godhumavyādhih*, and Keśava *Yavogodhumvalli*. Majumdar takes it weed of cornfield.[19]

Urvāru[20] (*cucumis sativus*) was a climbing plant whose fruit was termed as the *Urvāruka*.[21] Its name in the different dialects of India is cucumber (English), Khira (Hindi), sasa (Bengali), *trapusa* (Sanskrit).[22] Its fruit highly esteemed as a garden vegetable. Its young fruit is eaten and pulp is regarded emollient. Its seeds are also useful and it is used as an *aphrodisiac*.[23] In the Vedic texts it has been a usual simile to denote the liberation of man from death as to *urvāruka* fruit from its stalk.[24]

Kyāmbū[25] was a variety of water plant which grew on the place where the dead bodies were burned. Its synonyms are *Kiyāmbū*, *Śāṇḍadūrvā* and *pākadūrva*.[26] Sāyaṇa called it *paripakvadūrva*. Literally it means having some water.[27] It was considered as an inauspicious creeper.

Kumuda[28] was a water creeper first mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* with other plants. Its botanical term is *Nymphaea lotus*. It is found in three varieties. White, red and blue also known such as water lily (*n. alba*), *raktotpal* (*n. rubra*) and *nilotpala* (*n. stellata*).[29] *Kumuda* is undoubtedly the white water lily. Its small plants and flowers were termed as *Kumudinī*. It grows in tanks during the rainy season and withers during the summer. Its root contains gallic and tannic acids, starch, gum,

etc. The flowers are regarded as astringent and refringerant and used in coughs and dysuria and the seeds in diabetes.[30] *Nīlāgalaśālā*[31] was a grain creeper.

Puṇḍarīka is the white species of lotus. Its botanical name is *nymphaea nelumbo*.[32] Its synonym is *nelumbium speciosum*. Its name in the different dialects of India is *Padma* (Bengali), Sacred lotus (English), *Kamala* (Hindi). In the Vedic Texts, the shape of the human heart has been compared with the shape of *puṇḍarīka*[33] bud. The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[34] states that the lotus flower is born of the light of *nakṣtras*. It grew abundantly in the ponds and tanks. The Vedic seers practically overlooked the aesthetic importance of the lotus. Lotus pond has been mentioned once in the *Ṛg Veda* as the most beautiful place.[35] In the Brāhmaṇa texts lotus has been symbolised as an immortal element.[36] According to Vedic Philosophy it symbolises the cosmic waters; so its flowers and leaves were prescribed for sacrificial uses.[37] It was the symbol of prosperity and immortality, so it was put on the several auspicious ceremonies for prosperity of the sacrificer. The *puṇḍarīka* has an edible and refrigerant root, seed and the carpels of the flowers.[38] It is found in Egypt, China and throughout the warmer parts of India. Garlands were made of its flower. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,[39] has mentioned *puṇḍari-sarja* which denotes wreath of lotus leaves. In our society still it is prevalent for signifying beauty, tenderness and immortality. The flowers are useful in diarrhoea, cholera and in liver complaints and also in fevers.[40]

Puṣkara[41] has been frequently mentioned in Vedic texts in different contexts. It is a species of blue lotus indigenous to India and in Malabar.[42] Generally it grew in tanks and lakes, which were thence called *puskarṇī*.[43] The *Atharva Veda*[44] mentions its sweet perfume. It is also known as *puṣkarasād*,[45] because bees usually sat on its honey. Since earliest times *puṣkara* flower has been used for personal adornment. The Aśvinīkumāras have been described as *puṣkarasarja*[46] (wearing garland of lotus flowers). Presumably because of its resemblance in shape to the lotus flowers, the bowl of the ladle is called *puṣkara*. Majumdar has identified it with *nymphaea stellata*.[47] It is much useful. Its flowers are used in coughs and dysuria and the seeds in diabetes.

Pūtirajju[48] was a malodorous creeper which has not been identified. According to Roth it is a plant. The *Kauśika Sūtra* treats it as a *putrid rope*[49] but Ludwig suggests it meaning a species of serpent.

Bhūmipāśa[50] was an insignificant creeper which should not be near a burial ground. Its literal meaning is *earth-net*. Some scholars used its Latin name *onomis arvensis* or *spinosa*. Yet it has not been identified.

Libujā[51] is mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda* and *Atharva Veda*. Later texts denoted a creeping plant that climbs trees.

Vetas[52] (*Calamus rotang*) was a water plant of the group of galamus rotang or a similar reed. It was of golden colour so it was known as *hiraṇya vetasa*.[53] It was

called *apsuja* due to its growth in water. It was used in sacrifices and was symbolic of elasticity and durability. Chairs, baskets, sacrificial thrones and shafts of bows were made of it.[54] Its young shoots are eaten as a bitter tonic vegetabls and the pulp of the ripe fruit surrounding the seeds as an astringent.[55]

Madāvatī was mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*[56] as an intoxicating plant. It is a kind of creeper which is identified with *grape vine*. Its botanical term is *Vitis vinifera*.[57] Its name in the different dialects of India is *drākṣā* (Sanskrit), *angura* (Hindi), Grape (English). Its leaves and tendrils contain glucose and cane sugar.[58] The juice extracted from them is cooling, astringent and has been used in diarrhoea and haemorrhages. The ripe fruits and diuretic, laxative and refrigerant and its ferment juice is known as the wine. Ancient Indian people were also aware of its use. Wilson says "The preparation of fermented liquors was therefore familiar to the Hindus, and probably amongst them was wine, the north-west of the Punjab, no doubt their earliest site being the country of grape."[59] According to De Condolle, the cultivation of grapes can be traced back to four thousand years and North-Western India has been a great centre of cultivation.[60] The earliest Veda, the *Ṛg Veda* was composed in the Panjab region and the people in the post *Ṛg Vedic* times were aware of its use. So it gets authenticated that grapes were cultivated in Panjab. There is near unanimity among scholars about Panjab being the homeland of grape.

Vyalkaśā[61] was a kind of water plant which grew in spots where dead bodies are burned. According to Prof. Priyavrat Sharma it is an epithet of *Sāndadūrvā*.[62] It has not been identified.[63]

Śaphaka was an aquatic plant. It was so called because its leaves were shaped like hoofs. Its botanical name is *trapabispinosa*. It is identified with *singāra* (Hindi).[64] The fruits are of triangular shape and are edible. It is commonly found in the waters of Cashmere, where the water nuts form a staple farinaceous food.

Śālañjālā or *Śīlañjālā*[65] was a grain creeper.

Sālūka[66] Majumdar identifies it with *nymphaea lotus*. It is found in the warmer parts of India in pools and lakes.

Śīpāla[67] was species of water plant mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda*. Its later name is *śaivāla*. It grew in the lakes or tanks. It is treated cold. Its botanical term is *blyxa ceylanica*.

Notes and References

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64. *AV*. 4.39 5, *Āp. ŚS*, 9.14.14, Chakraberty, C., *CHMM*, p. 104.
65. *AV*, 6.16.4, *Kauś*, *Sūtra*, 2.16.
66. *AV*, 4.34.5, *Ved. Pl.*, p. 659.
67. *RV*. 10.68.5, *Ṣaḍ. Br.*, 3.1., *AV*, 6.12.3, *VI*, II, p. 383 *Ved. Pl.* p. 661.

4

The *l*-Phoneme in Magadhi

JAGAT RAM BHATTACHARYYA

This article aims at finding out the history of the existence of *l*-phoneme in Māgadhī. While working on some problems of Māgadhī dialect I have come across this interesting phenomenon about which there is a little controversy even among the Prakrit grammarians. It is universally acknowledged that in Māgadhī *r* is changed into *l*, e.g., *naraḥ* > *ṇale*, *puruṣaḥ* > *puliśe*, and as a result there is no *r*-phoneme in Māgadhī in any word whatsoever. But on closer analysis of this problem I have come across some opposite ideas as well and hence my discussion is divided into three broad divisions :

(1) The views of Prakrit grammarians,

(2) Historicity of this phenomenon and

(3) Comparative aspect of this Phenomenon.

(1) *The views of the Prakrit grammarians* :

It is interesting to note that all the Prakrit grammarians beginning from Vararuci (5th century A.D.) down to Mārkaṇḍeya (17th century A.D.) are unanimous in describing the change of *r* into *l* in Māgadhī except Mārkaṇḍeya, who has made the change of *r* into *l* as optional (*rasya lo vā bhavet*—XII. 3). It is difficult to trace the authority of Mārkaṇḍeya for making this change as optional, because this is one of the very vital characteristic features of Māgadhī and even in standard Sanskrit literature, there is hardly any exception to this rule. But there are some editions of

Śakuntalā where in the Māgadhī passage found in the VIth act, in one or two cases *r* is not changed into *l*. In the Nirnaya Sagara edition of *Śakuntalā* published with the commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa in one famous passage '*rajjā de paḍiggahe diṇṇe*' the retention of *r* instead of *l* is difficult to justify. Pischel in his edition of *Śakuntalā*, published in the Harvard Oriental Series, has accepted the reading *laññā de paḍiggahe diṇṇe*'. In fact in almost all the editions of *Śakuntalā*, the reading is with *l* rather than with *r*. In a similar way in some of the editions of *Mṛcchakaṭika* this discrepency between *r* and *l* is also noticed in Māgadhī passages. Unless their editions are checked by original manuscripts, it is difficult to comment on the genuineness of their readings. However, except in a very few editions, discrepencies between *r* and *l* are not generally found and the change of *r* into *l* is a very dominant characteristic feature in Māgadhī.

(2) *Historicity of this Phenomenon* :

The change of *r* into *l* in Māgadhī has a long history which can be traced from the Vedic times, if not earlier. In the *Ṛgveda*, between *r* and *l*, *r* occurs in most of the cases particularly in its oldest stratum, instead of *l* which occurs mostly in the books which are chronologically later in origin. Bloomfield and Edgerton in their *Vedic Variants*, vol. II (Phonetics), 1932, p. 134, consider this interchanges between *r* and *l* as not merely variants but something more. In the same type of word if *r* occurs in the earlier texts, it is noticed that it is replaced by *l* in later texts, for example : we have doublets of some roots which have *r* in one case and *l* in the other: *car* and *cal*, *mruc* and *mluc*, *pru* and *plu*, *jargur* and *jalgul*. "Such instability continues after the mantra period through the history of two sound in Sanskrit and medieval dialects until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. . . This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and throughout the Vedic period not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the manuscripts readings of one and the same text". This tendency is also partly noticed in the case of *Ṛgveda* Brāhmaṇas. Aufrecht in his editions of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* where more usual form would be with *l*, for example, *urūka*, *bahura*, for *ulūka*, *bahula*. However, Bloomfield and Edgerton have given some more examples from the Vedic where the interchanges between *r* and *l* are noticed:

sariraṁ chandaḥ VS. KS. ŚB > salilam chanda TS. MS.
varunāya rājñe trayo rohita lalāmāḥ, TS. KSA. > varunāya rājñe lohita lalāmāḥ KSA.
śukrāya svāhā VS. MS. ŚB. > śuklāya svāhā VS. MS.
aśrīrā tanūr bhavati RV. AV. ApMB > aślīlā tanūr bhavati AV. ApMB.

But in the *Atharva Veda l* occurs more than the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharva Veda* is regarded as a Vedic text composed in the eastern region of India. If that is true,

then the tendency of changing *r* into *l* is very old. Though historically, documentary evidence of Prakrit started from the 6th or 5th century B.C., that is, the time of Mahāvīra, its history could be traced from the Vedic times, at least, as early as 1500 B.C.

It is a fact worth noting in this connection that *l* does not occur in Avestan and Old Persian. In Old Persian *l* occurs in three or four borrowed words only, such as *Dubālā*—, a district in Babylonia, *Haldita*—, an Armenian, *Izalā*—, a district in Assyria, *Labanāna*—, Mt. Labanon; otherwise in general an original *l* became *r* in Old Persian even in borrowed words, e.g. *Babiru* — = Akkadian *bab-ilu* < Hebrew verb *bālal* meaning 'confuse' = Babylon; *Tigra* = Akk. *di-iq-lat* (S.R. Banerjea, *A Handbook of Sanskrit Philology*, 1987 p. LXIV). Incidentally it could be mentioned that this phenomenon, i.e. interchanges of *r* and *l* can be traced from the Indo-European period, though both *r* and *l* are accepted as two different phonemes in Indo European.

(3) *Comparative aspect of this phenomenon*

At this stage a question may be raised whether the interchanges between *r* and *l* can be at all possible. In other words why there is an exchange between *r* and *l*. To answer this question we will have to go to the Indo European period. In a sense it seems that *r* was not a cerebral sound in Indo European rather dental, because there is no cerebral sounds in Greek, Latin etc. and that is why, the interchanges between *r* and *l* was possible, because their place of utterance was dental. And that is why Indo European **l* becomes *r* in Sanskrit. e.g. Indo-European **leuqas* > Old Indo Aryan *rocas* etc., and because of that reason the Sanskrit dictum *ralayor abhedaḥ* has come into existence. In this connection it could be mentioned that the *Vārtika-sūtra* "*ṛ-ḷ-varṇayor mithaḥ sāvārṇam vācyam*", is made, because at the time of Kātyāyana the place of utterance of *ṛ* and *ḷ* are not the same and Kātyāyana, at least, understood this point that their place of utterance even though not the same, they should be considered as homogeneous. So that in *Sandhi* between *ṛ* and *ḷ* we can have either *ṛ* or *ḷ* or both.

Apart from this, we can trace even from Prakrit that *r* was not originally cerebral. This is evident from the treatment of *r* in Prakrit. *r* in conjunct with *t*, that is *r*+*t*, has two-fold development. In one place *r*+*t* > *tt*, and in the other *r*+*t* > *ṭṭ*. Hemacandra has a *sūtra* which indicates this twofold development of this conjunct *r*+*t*. Hemacandra has classed them in a group of words where *r*+*t* become *ṭṭ* (*rtasyādhūrtādau* 2.30), e.g. *kaivartaḥ* > *kevaṭṭo*, *vṛttiḥ* > *vaṭṭi* etc. where *r*+*t* becomes cerebral *ṭ* i.e. because of *r* which is a cerebral sound. It has influenced the dental sound and turned into a cerebral.

The other group where *r*+*t* does not become cerebral is referred to by Hemacandra as *adhurtādi* class, e.g. *dhūrtaḥ* > *dhutto*, *kīrtiḥ* > *kittī* etc. Though

in most of the cases *r*+*t* becoming cerebral the instances where it does not become cerebral reminds us the historicity of the development of this *r* sound. Accidentally because *r* was a dental sound originally it did not develop into cerebral and because those words are small in number, they belong to the *dhūrtadī* class and in most of the cases the rest of the combination *r*+*t* become cerebal, because by that time the pronunciation of *r* is changed from dental to cerebral, and the first Sanskrit gram marian who mentioned *r* as a cerebral sound was Candragomin between 5th and 7th Centuries A.D. It means that Candragomin first recorded this fact or the nature of *r* as cerebral. It seems probable, that the tendency started before the times of Pāṇini as his rules for *ṇatva ṣatva*, particularly after *r*, suggest the cerebral nature of *r*. But the records of *Prātiśākhya* do not also justify that *r* was all along a cerebral sound and there are indications by which we know that in the Eastern part of India there are some words where *l* is used instead of *r* and this record shows that *l* was more or less a feature in the eastern region of India. Hence, there is no irregularity that *r* becomes *l* in Māgadhī, where it is generalised as one of the distinct features, whereas in Sanskrit it was in a fluid stage. In other words *l* is a phoneme which was prevalent in the eastern part of India, at least, in a colloquial speech, and that is preserved in Māgadhī, Māgadhī being the common popular speech of the then India. That is why we see the *l* phoneme in Māgadhī which are also recorded by Prakrit grammarians, Mārkaṇḍeya's option for this seems to be irregular.

5

Dionysius Thrax and Panini on Grammar

SATYA RANJAN BANERJEE

A comparative study between Dionysius Thrax (2nd cent. B.C.) of Greece and Pāṇini (400 B.C.) of India on some aspects of grammar is not easy to do, because the approaches of the two grammarians are quite different. There is a gap of over two hundred and fifty years between them. It should be borne in mind at the very outset that the grammar of Thrax is written in prose, and that of Pāṇini in a *sūtra* form. Thrax's grammar indicates the art of skill in reading and writing of Greek language correctly, whereas Pāṇini's grammar emphasizes the morphophonemic analysis of Sanskrit language. Both actually treat the respective languages of their country from two different angles. As the comparison between the two on all points of grammar is not possible in this short limited space and time, I have selected the topic on Grammar in order to understand the approach of the two grammarians towards language in general.

Dionysius Thrax (=DTh),[1] belonging to the second century B.C., is the first formal Greek grammarian whose Greek grammar, *hɛ grammalikɛ takhnɛ*,[2] which has come down to us, is the earliest extant systematic grammar in Europe. His grammar is a small work of less than four hundred lines in ordinary Greek type consisting of fifteen pages of double demy size.

His Greek grammar was once very popular,[3] and was studied and followed by later Greek or Latin authors. His grammar was also translated into Armenian in

the 5th century A.D. and then into Syriac. Not only that his grammar also worked as a model for Latin, Armenian and Syrian for many centuries, the Latin grammarians Donatus (4th cent. A.D.) and Priscian (c. A.D. 500) mainly followed him in their Latin grammers. In fact, DTh's idea of a sentence is carried out till the time of Priscian whose *dicto* and *oratio* deal with sentence structure. In a sense, some of his definitions were carried out till the 17th century A.D. for example, in Gaza's Greek grammar (A.D. 1495) the idea of his sentence, of noun and of verb is followed. Even at a much later time as early as 1693, a Greek grammar *Graeco-Latinum Compendium* written in Latin by Edward deeds defines sentence as given by DTh.[4] We understand from Gilbert Murry that at the boyhood of his uncle DTh's Greek Grammar was used at Merchant Taylor's School in London.[5]

It was Dionysius Thrax who first established the conventional grammatical terminology in Europe. These terminologies were translated and adopted by the Roman grammarians, and also by the Armenians and Syrians, and from the Syrians they travelled to the Arabs and from the Arabs to the Jews. These Greek grammatical terminologies as adopted and translated into Latin, were adopted to all medieval and modern Indo-European languages, and for that matter, to other groups of languages. Though with the growth of the Linguistic Science in the modern age all the terminologies are not quite adequate for all types of languages, they are quite applicable to the Indo-European languages.

It must be noted at the very outset that every work is to be judged in the context of the times in which it was written, and to consider the merit of a work also depends in the context of previous work on kindered topics. The purpose of writing this paper is therefore to show that the conception of grammar as it is understood today is not far different from that of Pāṇini and Dionysius Thrax, though we have passed nearly three thousand years between them and now. On the contrary, both in India and in Greece all types of language problems, discussed by them are divided into several compartments in modern linguistics.

The personal history of Dionysius Thrax is terribly shrouded in darkness. DTh's father was a Thracian, and hence he was called Dionysius Thrax. He lived at Alexandria, and was a disciple of Aristarchus (3rd/2nd cent. B.C.). In the second century B.C. Thrax wrote his Greek grammar in Rome to teach Greek to the Roman people. It was highly valued in antiquity. The work has not come down to us in its original form.

Pāṇini,[7] on the other hand, is a native of Salatura in Taxila in the North-Western part of ancient India. The time of Pāṇini is generally accepted as the 4th cent. B.C. or between the 5th and 4th cent. B.C.[8] Pāṇini's grammar is studied along with the *sūtras* of Kātyāyana (also known as Vararuci) and the commentary of Patañjali. These three names are collectively known as *tri-muni Vyākaraṇa*, 'the grammar of three sages'. Kātyāyana seems to have belonged to the Deccan

(Dākṣiṇātya) or somewhere very near to the Deccan. The date of Kātyāyana is approximately 250 B.C.[9] Patañjali, the first commentator of Pāṇini's *sūtras*, is said to have come from Midland (Madhyadeśa), and his date is generally accepted as 150 B.C.[10] Though these two later grammarians came to the arena of Sanskrit grammatical literature at a much later time than Pāṇini, they belong to the Pāṇinian group, because they have commented upon the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. Pāṇini is the original maker of the *sūtras* numbering 3983, whereas Kātyāyana, has added some more *sūtras* numbering two thousand in order to cover some forms or usages of Sanskrit which are not covered by Pāṇini. So from the study of the *sūtras* of Kātyāyana we can form our ideas for the development of Sanskrit from Pāṇini to Kātyāyana, and at the same time the *sūtras* of Kātyāyana help us to understand the variation in the Sanskrit language as belonging to two different regions. Patañjali is earliest commentator of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. So the study of Pāṇini means the study of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana along with the interpretation of Patañjali.

Thrax developed his linguistic scholarship in Alexandria at a time when there was a controversy between the analogists and the anomalists.[11] This controversy was actually started in Greece from the time of Plato (428-348 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Before this controversy there was another controversy which was known as naturalist and conventionalist. The outcome of this controversy is the origin of the two schools, known as, Stoics and Alexandrian. The relation of these three stages is shown in the following:

	Naturalists	**Vs.**	**Conventionalists**
First stage	Pythagoras, Herakleitos, Protagoras		Demokritos, the Epicureans
	Anomalists	**Vs.**	**Anagolists**
Second stage	Plato, Krates of Mallos		Aristotle, Aristarchus
	Stoics	**Vs.**	**Alexandrian School**
Third stage	Chrysippos		Zenodstus (4/3 B.C.), Dionysius Thrax (2 B.C.) Appollonius Dyxolus (A.D. 2) Herodian (A.D 2)

The Roman School
Marcus Terentius Varro (116/117 B.C.)
↓
Quintalian→Donatus→Priscian

This picture shows that there are three stages in the earliest development of linguistic thoughts and ideas in Greece. Though they are practically the offshoot

of one idea, the three stages have three different issues. Of the three stages of controversy, the real fight was between the anomalists and the analogists. This controversy between the anomalists and the analogists about the origin of language started in Greece from the time of Plato (428-348 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Though earlier than Plato and Aristotle there were thinkers like Pythagoras (6th cent. B.C.), Herakleitos (576-489 B.C.), Protagoras (5th cent. B.C.) and Demokritos (5th cent. B.C.), they contributed less to the problem of Anomaly and Analogy. The main issue between the Anomalists and the analogists was on the naturalness and unnaturalness of language.

Before the anomalist and analogist schools, there was another controversy on the origin of language which was known as naturalist and conventionalist. Pythagoras, Herakleitos and Protagoras were the naturalists. In their opinion, 'language had arisen by some inherent necessity'. The Greek term for this school is *phusei*, 'by nature'. In India, the same type of idea was advanced by a group of Naiyāyikas or logicians who used to say that the words and their meanings are *nitya*, 'constant', i.e. natural. As soon as words are originated the meanings of those words are also attached to them. Plato in his Kratulus has almost a follower of this view. He has advanced this theory by means of conversation between Socrates (5th/4th cent. B.C.) and one of his friends where the naturalists' view is established by means of arguments.

The other group, known as conventionalist, was headed by Demokritos (5th cent. B.C.). His idea was that 'language was a system of recognised convention. It was man who has attached the meaning to a word and the Greek term for this group is *thesei* 'by convention' or 'argument'. Their idea is that 'language had arisen by convention'. In later times, Aristotle was a great exponent of this view. The Indian conception of this view is *kārya-vāda*. In their opinions, words and their meanings are given by man. This view of Aristotle is still accepted or acknowledged by modern linguists and has become favourable for a long time.

This controversy has, in fact, resulted in the controversy between the anomalists and the analogists in the second stage which started from the fourth century B.C. The anomalists can be compared with the naturalists. Though Plato is the pioneer and the real founder of this controversy, it was Krates of Mallos who was a real mover of this view. The anomalists say that 'words and their meanings already existed through inherent necessity'. They further emphasize that 'language is marked by irregularities, ungoverned by laws or system.' This view did not flourish for long.

The analogists, on the other hand, can be compared with the conventionalists. Though Aristotle was the pioneer and the real mover of this idea, it was Aristarchus (3rd/2nd cent. B.C.) who really circulated this idea. In his opinion, 'language is a coherent system governed by laws and indicating by categories by like-forms'. In

course of time this idea has triumphed over the anomalists. In modern times what is known as phonetic correspondences is equivalent with the idea of analogist.

After this controversy the real grammatical study of language started by their followers. Though Stoics were the opponents of analogists, in analysing grammatical structure, both the troups actually followed Aristotle. It was the Stoic Chrysippos (280-206 B.C.) who followed the analytical method of Aristotle. But the real followers of Aristotle including his views were Zenodotus (4th/3rd cent. B.C.), Aristarchus (3rd/2nd cent. B.C.), Dionysius Thrax (2nd cent. B.C.) and Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd cent. A.D.) and his son Herodian.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the first century B.C., the Roman grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro (116/17 B.C.) was a follower of both the schools and thus he bridged the two systems into one.

It was against the background of this controversy that Dionysius Thrax developed his idea of grammar. Unlike Apollonius Dyscolus, Thrax never opens his grammar with an introduction or apology. He begins his book in a straightforward way. Let us briefly analyse Thrax's grammar.

The name of Dionysius Thrax's grammar is *hé grammatiké tekhné* which literally means 'The art relating to writing.' The name of the book is interpreted in two senses.[12] First, it may mean the phonetic and other values of letters including accentuation, pronunciation and the study of metre and music. That metre is a part of grammar is well carried out in England till the nineteenth century where prosody remained as a part of grammar. Secondly, *grammatiké* may also mean the skill in acquiring the knowledge of reading and writing. Before dealing with any other problems let me give the contents of Thrax's grammar.

There are 25 sections of his grammar and they are:

I Peri Grammatikés (on Grammar)
II Peri Anagnósóes (on Reading and Textual criticism)
III Peri Tonoi (on Accents)
IV Peri Stigmés (on Punctuation)
V Tini Diapherei Stigmé Hupostigmés (carrying over punctuation and commas)
VI Peri Phapsóidias (on Individual Books)
VII Peri Stoikheion (on Alphabet, letter)
VIII Peri Sullabés (on Syllables)
IX Peri Makras Sullabés (on long syllabes)
X Peri Brakheias Sullabés (on short syllables)
XI Peri Koinés Sullabés (on common syllables)

XII Peri Akheós (on words)
XIII Peri Logoi (on sentence)
XIV Peri Onomatos (on Noun)
XV Peri Rhématos (on verb)
XVI Peri Suzugias (on conjugation)
XVII Peri Tón Perispómenón (on circumflex accent in the last syllable)
XVIII Peri Tóne is mi (on *mi*-conjugation)
XIX Peri Metokhés (on participle)
XX Peri Arthoiou (on Article)
XXI Peri Antónumias (on Pronoun)
XXII Peri Prótotupón (on original or primitive)
XXIII Peri Protheseón (on Preposition)
XXIV Peri Epirrhématos (on Adverb)
XXV Peri Sundesmón (on Conjunction).

These sections, if arranged in modern way, generally cover the following topics of grammar:

I. General remarks on the scope and nature of grammar (Sect. I). The other two sections II and IV can be read along with the section I.

II. Phonetics and phonology of grammar. These include the discussions on
   1. Alphabet, letters, etc. (Sec. VII)
   2. Syllables (Sect. VIII, IX, X, XI)
   3. Accents (Sect. III)
   4. Punctuations (Sect. IV, V).

III. Word (Sect. XII).

IV. Sentence (Sect. XIII).

V. Morphology: Parts of speech.
   1. Noun (Sect. XIV)
   2. Verb (Sect. XV)
      (a) Conjugation (Sect. XVI, XVII, XVIII)
   3. Participles (Sect. XIX)
   4. Articles (Sect. XX)
   5. Pronoun (Sect. XXI)
   6. Preposition (Sect. XXIII)

7. Adverb (Sect. XXIV)
8. Conjunction (Sect. XXV).

VI. Original meaning/Etymology (Sect. XXII).

This section is not very clear. He has discussed only some words with their original meaning.

I. Peri Grammatikes

Dionysius Thrax begins his book on grammar thus: Grammatiké estin empeiria tón para poiétar's te kai sungrapheusin hos epi to polú legomenon. Mére dé autes eisin héks proton anagnosis entribes kata prosoidran, deuteron eksegesis katatous enuparkhontas poietikous tropous, triton gtosson te kai historion prokheiros apodosis, tetarton etumologras heuresis, pempton analogias eklogismos, hékton kusis poiematon, ho de kauiston esti panton ton en tei tékhnei.

"Grammar is the acquaintance with the general usages of poets and prose-writers. It has six divisions: first, reading aloud correctly with proper attention for the prosodies; second, explanation of the figurative expression (i.e. language) in the works of poets; third, explanation of difficult words, particularly those used in historical writing (etumologias heúresis); fifth, the working out of grammatical analogis (i.e., classifying of words which resemble each other in form); sixth, appreciation of literary compositions (i.e. literary criticism—*krisis poeimatōn*), which is the noblest part of grammar."[13]

From the above it appears that his description of the scope and nature of grammar is very wide and includes many subjects of grammar. It includes not only phonology, but also etymology and stylistics for proper appreciation of literature, The two terms of his description of grammar needs special attention, and these are *tékhne* and *empeirria.*

The word *tékhne* (< tikto, to produce) means 'skill', 'art', or 'a work of art'. In grammar it is used in an expanded meaning to imply the art of reading correctly and to be acquainted with the usages of poets and writers. In the earlier stage *tékhnɛ̄* was equalled with the study of particulars, it was never generalised. Michael[14] says, "It was more than unthinking routine (*tribɛ̄*) but less than pure, and therefore infallible knowledge (*epistɛ̄mɛ̄*)".

Whatever stages of development it might be, *tékhnɛ̄* is covered by what we understand today by the terms Phonology and grammar. Thrax's grammar includes etymology and stylistics to appreciate the study of literature, and Dionysius Thrax considers the last point as the highest part of grammatical studies (*Krisis poiɛ̄mátón*). On this point a scholiast[15] of DTh elaborately explains the point by saying that grammar, rhetoric and dialectic all deal with sentences:

tes mén dialektikēs talēthés tēs dē rhētorikēs to peithein, tes de grammatikes telos estin he Katalepsis ton logou, toutesle to didaskein ti semainei kai pos semainei, hoion dia poion meron ho logos deloutai.

"Dialectic seeks truth, rhetoric seeks persuasiveness and grammar seeks the comprehension of text, what it means, how it has its meaning, and by what parts it is made manifest".

DTh's main emphasis is on literature. He considers grammar as an exegesis for understanding the language of literature to its fullest extent. The same idea is also expressed by Durgacarya to be discussed later. But at modern times this conception of Grammar is not perhaps wholly accepted. In the West, grammar is originated for the study of classical literature as a 'subsidiary part of a larger field of scholarship',[16] like phonetics in India which grew for the preservation of the oral tradition of the Vedic text. According to DTh the province of *grammatikɛ* was far wider than its conception at modern times. It appears that the conception of grammar shows a change in its meaning as the word, *philologos* does today.

Another term *empeiria* is difficult to explain. *Empeiria* (= *em* + *peiro*) lit. means 'experience in' or acquainted with a thing'. It is sometimes equated with practical knowledge, *tékhnɛ* is a 'science' and is considered superior to *empeiria*. Some consider that *empeiria* admits "irregular forms that cannot be inferred by consistant rules (*logos*), but accepted by the tradition of usage (*phite parádoris*). Thus *tékhne* was linked with *analogia*. and *empeiria* with *anomalia*". On this point Robins[17] thinks that "there is perhaps an echo of this early criticism of Thrax's definition of grammar as an *empeiria*, in the assertion by Hjelmsler, that without an underlying general theory (*logos*) indiviseual grammatical descriptions of various languages can only be pragmatic (*empeiria*), and are not worthy of the name of science (*tekhne*)". *Empeiria* means the particulars of experience considered as the result of action, and *tekhne* to experience considered as the result of action retionally examined and analysed".[18] In the third stage, *tekhne* is more or less equivalent of episteme which stands for generalization.

The scholiast[19] of DTh considers grammar as of two types: (i) *mikra* or *Palīa grammatike*, and (ii) *megale* or *neotera grammatike*. The *mikra grammatike* in the old or restricted sense deals with reading aloud, writing, and the phonetic values of letters and their combination into syllables; the *megále grammatike* aims at correct study of Greek (*hellɛnismos*), a good written style, and the general study of literature.

What DTh means by correct reading is further explained in the section II of his grammar known as *peri anagnōsɛos*. DTh considers different types of literature, such as tragedy, comedy, elegy and epic. DTh thinks that these different types of literature are to be read differently with different accent and pause maintaining the

punctuation of the language. He further thinks that failure to respond properly in reading these different types will render the understanding of the text ridiculous. To understand the intention of the author means to understand the text. He says that there are three things necessary for reading a text: *hupokrisis* (delivery), *prosōidia* (prosody), and *diastole* (division of the text). With the science of reading, DTh goes on, is also connected Accent (Sect. III) and Punctuation (Sect. IV and V). He has listed three accents: *oxera* (accute), *barera* (grave) and *parispōmenos* (circumflex). For Puncuation he has mentioned marks, full stop, colon, and comma. In his opinion these accents and puncuation marks are phonetic in order to determine pitch and pause of a language necessary in reading a text.

In India the study of grammar started independently long before Greece. It is a fascinating subject to the Indians and is considered as the best and fruitful of all the ancillary texts (*ṣaḍaṅga*) of the Vedic, and Patañjali thinks that it is the first and foremost of all the *śāstras* (*pradhānaṁ ca ṣaḍangeṣu vyākaraṇam*). As grammar is the best of all sciences, it is to be studied for the sake of knowing language.

The Indian term for grammar is *vyākaraṇa* and *śabdānuśāsana*. Though the term *vyākaraṇa* was current at the time of Patañjali, he uses the term *śabdānuśāsana* at the beginning of his book which lit. means 'the regulation of word' for the science of grammar, instead of *vyākaraṇa* which is also used by him in the body of the book (*rakṣārthaṁ vedānām adhyeyaṁ vyākaraṇam*). The Indian authorities consider *śabdānuśāsana* a deeper significance than *vyākaraṇa* which is used in a general sense to signify a treatise (*śāstra*) that tells how to use words or language correctly as the etymological explanation of the term is considered (*vyākriyante vyutpādyante samyag arthavat tayā pratipādyante śabda aneneti vyākaraṇam*). In general, *vyākaraṇa* means 'an analysis of words in its component parts'. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VI. 4.7) the word *vyākṛtāvāk* is used to mean "the analysed word or speech". The derivative meaning of *vyākaraṇa* says that it is a 'science which dissolves word into elements (stems and suffixes and thereby brings out their exact meaning'.[20]

Kātyāyana, however, defines grammar as *lakṣya-lakṣane vyākaraṇam* which is explained by Patañjali thus: *lakṣyaṁ ca lakṣaṇaṁ caitat samuditaṁ vyākaraṇaṁ bhavati. Kiṁ punar lakṣyaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ ca? śabdo lakṣyam, sūtraṁ lakṣaṇam.* In this passage Patañjali thinks that word (*śabda*) is the target of a grammarian and the *sūtra* (*lakṣana*) is the method of expression for the justification of words. So grammar means both.

Durgācārya (10th/11th Cent. A.D.?)[21] in his commentary on the *Nirukta* has clearly explained that Nirukta is a kind of grammar, because without this the Vedic *mantras* cannot be understood (Cf. DTh's opinion on this point). The text runs thus:

> *athāpīdam antareṇa mantreṣvarthapratyayo na vidyate, arthaṁ apratīyato nātyantaṁ svarasaṁskāroddeśaḥ, tad idaṁ vidyā sthānaṁ vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyaṁ svartha-sādhakaṁ ca*

"Now without this (*Nirukta*) the exact meaning of the Vedic *mantras* is not properly understood and one who does not properly understand the meaning cannot conduct a thorough investigation of accent and grammatical form; hence this (*Nirukta*) is of the complement of grammar and a means of accomplishing one's own end". Durgācārya has further said that there are eight kinds of grammar (*vyākaraṇam aṣṭadhā*). One scholiast of DTh says that grammar is of two types (see above).

As Patañjali has said that *lakṣana* is nothing but *sūtra*, a *sūtra* has six qualities as enumerated by the following verses:

Svalpākṣaram asandigdham sāravad viśvatomukham /
aṣṭobham anavadyaṁ ca sūtraṁ sutravidoviduḥ //

"A *sūtra* is to be known as that which has the least number of syllables, without any ambiguity or doubt, full of essence or substance, a universal character, no meaningless sound, and without any fault".

There are six kinds of *sūtras*, and Goyīcandra (13th cent. A.D.)[22] has enumerated them as follows:

saṁjñā ca paribhāṣā ca vidhir niyama eva ca /
atideśo'dhikārasca ṣaḍ-vidhaṁ sūtra-lakṣaṇam //

"There are six kinds of *sūtra*, rule of technical term, canon of interpretation, prescriptive rule, restrictive rule, rule of prohibition and governing aphorism."

An Indian conception as in the Aristotelian sense, Grammar is an art, because it imitates the production of nature-by name they mean the popular usage. The rules of grammar are made in such a way that the popular usage of language is not ignored. Patañjali says that how far the barbarians' word (*maleccha-śabda*) are to be accepted in a language depends on the use of the word and its expansion.[23] In fact, the popular diversity of verbal forms is nicely harmonised by adopting the method of *anvaya* (agreement) and *vyatireka* (difference) as Kātyāyana says *siddhaṁ tvanayaya-vyatirekābhyām* (under Pā. I. 2.25). As language is natural and used by people, the grammatical rules are to be framed by natural way as we actually find in nature. The two maxims—*parjanyaval lakṣaṇa-pravṛttiḥ* and *eka-deśa-vikṛtam ananyavat* show that the grammarians lay emphasis on the method of grammar. To their mind 'the rules of grammar are like the downpour from clouds', and 'a thing does not become something else on account of its deformity in one particular part', and to illustrate this the common example they give is *Chinne pucche sva svaiva bhavati, na kākaḥ na gardhavaḥ*, i.e., 'a dog with its tail cut off does not change its identity, it does not become a crow, or an ass'. That grammar is an art—a method of representing the natural usage of language is also well attested by Nāgeśa (18th cent. A.D.) at a much later time: "Just as a man outlines the picture of an elephant on a piece of canvas,

so the grammarian splits up words into parts for the understanding of the unintelligent people". *rekhāgavaya-nyāyaḥ, rekhā-gavaya-nyāyenāpi śātram upāyaḥ ityapyāhuḥ—Śabdakaustubha*).[24]

So in India, as in Greece, the primary motive of writing a grammar was practical. Their main purpose was to understand the literature—in India it was perhaps mainly Vedic, and secondarily, other literatures and in Greece it started also for understanding Homer. Durgācārya in his commentary on the *Nirukta* mentions clearly that the *Nirukta* is essential for understanding the Vedic *mantras*. So also Aristarchus who did it for Homer. By the time Grammar was written both in India and in Greece, there were long standing literary documents before them. There literatures—religious or literary—became antique and archaic by the time of Pāṇini and Dionysius Thrax, and as a result it was difficult for the "common mass" to understand them. In order to make them intelligible to later generations, it was necessary to write a grammar book, and so Pāṇini and DTh did it for their respective languages—Pāṇini for Sanskrit and DTh for Greek. This type of explanation can be elicited from these statements. That is why DTh mentions that the 'appreciation of literary compositions *kircis poiɛimatōn*) is the noblest part of grammar'. Incidentally, I may mention that I can infer another reason also. When there are many dialects for one particular language in a country, a treatise like grammar is necessary to standardize the language. It is assumed that Pāṇini wrote the grammar of Sanskrit at a time when Sanskrit had many dialectal features. Pāṇini in his grammar standardized the language. He has also accepted some dialectal features in his grammar, because these features were so current and common at that time that Pāṇini could not avoid them, and ultimately these dialectal words or forms became alternative forms in Sanskrit. So also did DTh. When DTh wrote his grammar, there were many dialects in Greece, and DTh had also systematized them for the Greek language. And in both the cases the main purpose was to understand literature and to make the language free from chaos. In fact, the main purpose of the grammarians is not to restrict the free movement of the writers by prescribing rules for the languages, but to tell how to express, in a correct way, so that the meaning or sense of the word is not obscured. Grammar will serve two main purposes: to understand the literature in a better way, and to make the language free from dialectal chaos and confusion, and thereby a formal standardization of language is made. It seems that grammar was written for this purpose both in India and in Greece. Grammarians never strangle the life of a language by formulating rules for the correct use of language. It was never done by Pāṇini nor was by DTh. If we look upon the development of the science of grammar in India, we notice that most of the grammarians have emphasized that the sense of a language is more important than even the rules of grammar. Their method of treatment about grammatical quibbles can be based on three branches:

1. *Śabdasiddhi*: morphology or formation of words,
2. *Arthanirṇaya*: semantics or meaning of words,
3. *Śabdārthavicāra*: the connection between word and sense.

Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* has always emphasized these three elements while commenting on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini along with the *vārttika's* of Kātyāyana. At a later time the grammarians like Jayāditya and Vāmana, Bhaṭṭaji Dikṣita and Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa lay stress on the formation of words, and other schools of Sanskrit grammarians have simply followed the method of Pāṇini. But commentators like Vyāḍī(?) in his *Paribhāṣa-sucanā*, (?) Siradeva in his *Bṛhat-paribhāṣā-vṛtti*, and Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* explains the formative element from a morpho-semantic point of view which is culminated again in the writings of Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, Bhartṛhari and Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa belongs to all these branches of grammatical expositions.

It is important to note that though grammar was evolved independently both in India and in Greece, they expressed the same idea in their grammatical analysis and showed much profundity as well as high acuteness and intellectuality. Their contributions are such that even today we take resort to them for the grammatical terms and ideas.

In Europe this conception of grammar was shifted to a great extent in the medieval period. In that period emphasis is given to usage rather than literary form. In this period the main authors who tried to break off from the tradition of Thrax (and of Pāṇini) were Alcuin (735-804 A.D.), Aelfric (955-1020 A.D.), Hugo of St. Victor (died 1141) and John of Salisbury (1120-1180). Their main point of argument is that grammar is to be studied for "correct speaking". This "correct speaking" should be in accordance with what is customary among the educated people. Alcuin[25] lays stress on the correctness when he says—Grammatica est litteralis scientia, et est custos recte loquendi et scribendi; quae constat natura, ratione, auctoritate, consuctudine.

"Grammar is the art of letters, and the guardian of correct speaking and writing: it is fixed by nature, reason, authority and custom".

Aelfric thinks that correctness is not the only purpose of grammar, but also the study of literature. In his opinion, as we know, latin today is due to the contribution of grammar. He says:

> Grammatica . . . geopenad and gehylt ledenspræece, and nân man naef ledenbôca andgit befullon, buton he one craeft cunne.

"Grammar . . . makes Latin accessible, and guards it, and no man has properly grasped the meaning of Latin books unless he is master of this branch of learning".

Hugo of St. Victor has also emphasized the correct speaking as is customary among the educated people. In his opinion Grammar is

> Scientia recte loquendi sucundum liberalium litterarum instituta, quae in disciplinis post litteras communes inventa caeteris regula facta est et origo.

"Knowing how to speak correctly in accordance with what is customary among educated people. Among the subjects of instruction grammar was invented after the letters of the alphabet; it was made the source of the other subjects and prescribed rules for them."

One commentator (12th cent. A.D.) on Priscian has put it nicely. He says that the main purpose of a grammarian is "to teach his readers to be well able to speak grammatically, that is, to know how to fit case to case, to number to number, gender to gender".[26]

Another school, the speculative grammarians[27] in the middle ages in Europe pointed out first the universal nature of grammar. And this universal grammar is one of their distinctive and original notions. The pioneers of this idea are Peter Helias (c. 1150); Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) and Roger Bacon (1214-1294). But later speculative writers did not follow up this conception of grammar.

In the late thirteen century Martin of Dacia[28] added the conception of communication to the description of grammar. It is for the first time that a medieval grammarian mentions the importance of communication in grammar. This medieval idea will surprise the modern reader. In the opinion of Michael,[29] "grammar is fundamentally concerned with the expression and communication of ideas but this central position given to communication derives not from psychological thinking about language, but from logical". "When a particular language was examined from a logical point of view, the tendency was for its characteristics to be generalised; its grammar became grammar, that is universal grammar". This group of grammarians for the first time suggested logical analysis of language. In their opinion, unless grammar is logical, they cannot be universal.

In the renaissance period, the grammarians readmitted literature into their conception of grammar.[30] Perottus (1430-80) is the earliest exponent of this conception. This conception was not new, but for a long time the discussion of literary correctness in grammar was banished, and it came back again as a separate discipline. Another grammarian belonging to this group is Sanctius (1523-1601) who says that correctness is the first aim in studying grammar, but he has not altogether discarded the idea of usage as of lesser importance than reason. From this point of view, Sanctius is regarded as 'the first modern grammarian'.

In modern times, the definition of grammar does not differ much from the ancient ideas. The basic conception and principles are the same. Grammar is defined

as 'the art of speaking or writing a language with propriety or correctness, according to established usage." It is "the study or exposition of the principles which underlie the use of language in general".[31] It is also described as "a set of rules" accounting for the construction of language. This idea of grammar as "a set of rules" can be compared with the Indian conception of grammar as a *smṛiti-śāstra*.[32] When grammar is described as a *Smṛiti-Śāstra*, what it means by that is "a set of rules" that helps to use the "correct speech" in a language. It is prescriptive from that point of view. Hence we have different types of grammar: Prescriptive or Normative, Pedagogical, Generative and so on. Linguistically, it may be Descriptive (Synchronic), Historical (Diachronic), Comparative (Panchromic), and Philosophical or Psychological grammars.

In India as in Greece, grammar is basically prescriptive, it is "a set of rules" for the correct use understanding of a language. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the best example for that. Pāṇini has given some sets of rules for the formation of words and for the correct use of language. Accordingly, he has divided his grammar into several chapters and sections. Each division of chapters has some methods. It has eight chapters and each chapter has four *pādas* (feet), (i.e. 32 chapters in all), and in each sub-section there are several *sūtras* numbering 3983 in all. In this connection it will not be out of place here, if we give very briefly the contents of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for the purpose of knowing the types of topics he has described, comparing and contrasting them, if possible, with Dionysius Thrax.

The contents of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are vast and varied. It has a method of its own. Generally, the definitions of some grammatical terms are given first, e.g., the definitions of *Vṛiddhi*, *guṇa*, *samprasāraṇa* (cf. Ablaut), *savarṇa* (homogeneous sounds), *anunāsika* (nasals), *sarvanāma* (pronam), *avyaya* (indeclinables), *vibhāsā* (optional), *lopa* (elision), *upadhā* (penultimate), *pada* (inflected word), *kāraka* (case), *samāsa* (compound) and so on. All these terms are explained in a very succint manner. These definitions are necessary in order to understand different grammatical functions and to give a clear conception of what is meant by these terms which have a universality.

Pāṇini has also given some hints of how to interpret the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and these are known as *paribhāṣā*. For example, the *sūtra*: *ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā* (Pā. I. 1.49) explains the method of interpretation of words used in the genitive case in the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. It simply means "The sixth case-ending in a *sūtra* has the force of "in place of". For example, in the *sūtra iko yaṅ aci* (Pā. VI, 1.77) the word *ikaḥ* is a genitive case which means in place of *ik* which includes the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, and *ḷ* (both short and long). The *sūtra*, therefore, simply means the semivowels *y*, *v*, *r*, *l* are substituted in place of *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* (both short and long) when followed by a vowel; e.g., *dadhi* + *atra* = *dadhyatra*. In a similar way, the fifth case-ending (*tasmād ityuttarasya*-Pā. I. 1.67) and seventh case-ending (*tasminniti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*-Pā. I. 1.66) have some significance.

In phonology, Pāṇini has discussed elaborately the accent and *sandhi* systems. In DTh's book this is not done. Though the modern conception of ablaut, which is *guṇa*, *vṛiddhi* and *samprasāraṇa* in Sanskrit, is discussed throughout the grammar, there is no special chapter it. This phenomenon is mainly applicable in the primary (*kṛt*) and secondary (*taddhita*) suffices and also in declension and conjugation.

In morphology the declensional and conjugational systems are elaborately given. The declensional system is discussed in accordance with the stems ended in vowels or consonants. It is interesting to note that Pāṇini has given the case-terminations which are very near to our Indo-European case-systems. These case-systems as recorded by Pāṇini are more applicable to the consonant stems rather than vowels where some modification is noticed as allowed by phonetic rules. The declensional systems are not elaborate in DTh's grammar, nor are they any helpful to Indo-European grammar.

The conjugation system of Pāṇini is highly technical and elaborate. His discussion on the conjugational system is primarily based on two technical terms, such as, *sarvadhātuka* and *Ardhadhātuka* and these are quite akin to the modern verbal stem-systems commonly known as present, aorist and perfect stem-systems. The present stem-system can be equated with Pāṇini's *sarvadhātuka*, while the other are *ardha-dhātuka*. The perfect stem-system is the *abhyasta* (reduplication). The non-finish verbal forms are Pāṇini's *tumun* (infinitive), *śatṛ*, *śānac* (participles) and *nvamul*, tvā, yap (gerund). All these forms are also found in the Aorist and the perfect stem-systems.

In syntax Pāṇini's *Kāraka* theory is very elaborate and exhaustive. The meanings of different *kārakas* and their applications in sentences are treated in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. DTh has not said anything on syntax, while Pāṇini has discussed this most vital point of constructing Sanskrit sentences. Apart from this, he has given *sūtras* for the use of tenses and moods (*lakārarthanirṇaya*). Unlike DTh's grammar, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is very helpful to the students of Sanskrit learning.

From the above survey it is, at least, clear that most of the authorities have emphasized the "correct use" of language either in speaking or in writing. They have also taken into consideration the "understanding of written literature". The idea of a grammar is to unfurl the inner significance of the use of words in literature, to evaluate it critically and to analyse the language in a logical manner. Unless in a grammar there is any logic, it fails to have a universal appeal. The perfect grammar will have to aim at the logical conception of language. DTh's grammar, though very small, has given impetus to the following generations, while Pāṇini's grammar is so vast and elaborate that the subsequent writers have abridged their treatises to a great extent.

One point remains unsolved even today whether grammar will include dialectal forms as well and eschew all sorts of "ungrammatical words" of language,

or should grammar aim at only "correct usage" of language for standardization. On this point Jesperson's[33] view may be quoted:

> "Questions of correctness of speech crop up constantly in all countries. They play a great part in school-teaching. But one whose school days are over is still often faced with the question, if this or that spelling, this or that pronunciaton, is 'right'. He may waver between two forms, two words, two expressions, and would like to know which is to be preferred".

Later on he has analysed the views of Adolf Nareen *Spridda-Studien*, 1898) for the standards of correctness,"[34] which include-(1) the standard of authority, (2) the geographical standard, (3) the literary, (4) the aristocratic standard, (5) the democratic standard, (6) the logical standard, (7) the aesthetic standard, and finally concludes: "Decision by the majority brings its own doubts and difficulties, and considerations of logic and aesthetics (correct thinking and beautiful speaking) help us only in a small number of cases. Do we arrive then at the purely negative conclusion that the question is insoluble?"[35]

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6

Notes on the Archaeology of the Rarh Tract, West Bengal

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The present paper is based on the results of archaeological fieldwork conducted by the author in 1981-83 in the districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Purulia and Midnapur in West Bengal. The geographical term *Rarh* is generally applied to these districts which comprise the western part of West Bengal. The work was done, first on behalf of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Visvabharati University, and then on behalf of the archaeology and museum unit of the Department of History, Delhi University. It was largely a sample survey but such surveys constitute the first stage of any long-range archaeological programme. The basic interest of this area to the present author lies in the fact that it marks the eastern extension of the Chhotanagpur plateau, an important resource-bearing area in eastern India and thus of considerable archaeological interest. The work in West Bengal has been followed up by similar surveys in south Bihar and north Orissa. The basic reports on these surveys is available in *Puratattva* and *Man and Environment* from 1981-82 onwards.

These surveys are linked in a way to the work done by the Allahabad University in the central part of the Ganga valley and the adjacent Vindhyan uplands. Mirzapur is the easternmost district covered by the Allahabad University and the adjacent district of Palamau happens to be the westernmost district surveyed by the present

author. In fact, these surveys have led to a systematic understanding of the nature and stratigraphy of sites over a very large area extending from Palamau to Burdwan-Midnapur-Mayurbhanj-Keonjhar on the one hand and from Palamau to the Rajmahal hills on the other. The scope of the present paper, however, is only the work done in the West Bengal section of this total area.[1]

I. The Lithic Industries

The broad zone of distribution extends from the northernmost part of Birbhum to southwest Midnapur. The whole of the district of Purulia is included in this zone, but in the four other districts the distribution of the lithic sites falls in a belt running along the entire western section of these districts. If one remembers correctly, the prelude to *Anandamath* carries an evocative description of a widely extended and dense *sal* forest in this part of West Bengal. Only the vestiges of this forest which was once more or less uninterrupted now remain Patches of this occur at various points in Birbhum, beginning with its reddish northern tract abutting the Santal Parganas but notably between Ilambazar and Bolpur, if one leaves aside the plantation that has come up in the Deer Park, Santiniketan. In Burdwan across the Ajay the classic *sal* country must be the Ilambazar-Panagarh stretch, mostly depleted but still retaining some luxuriance near *Shyama rupar garh* and *Ichhai Ghosher Deul*. In Bankura its eastern fringe is provided by the Sonamukhi forest and the forests near Vishnupur. In the rest of the district the forest in Ranibandh P.S. is still fairly dense, although the Biharinath and Susunia hills have become sadly denuded. The road from Bankura town towards Taldangra and Simlipal also passes through some *sal* country. The hills and the open undulating land of Purulia constitute a distinctive area of their own, with the Ayodhya hills and the hills towards Tulin and Bandowan-Kuilapal-Manbazar constituting the major forested tracts. The deforestation in the western part of Midnapur, especially in the Belpahari-Kankrajhore areas, has been brutal, but the *sal* groves near Jhargram, especially those towards Lodhasuli, are still impressive and continue towards the Gopiballabhpur area in the extreme south-western part of the district, turning left from Fekoghat and crossing the Suvarnarekha. Midnapur has other forested patches too, and one remembers the jungle on the way to Garhbeta and Chandra Kona from the direction of Midnapur town.

What is important in that the above-mentioned distribution of *sal* forests in the five western districts of West Bengal adequately cover the distribution of its lithic industries. Birbhum is not known to have yielded any palaeolithic material but microliths are known from Nalhati and Santiniketan, among a few other places. In Burdwan the vicinity of *Egara Mile* constitutes an important prehistoric area where one can collect a large amount of prehistoric meterial (palaeoliths and microliths, some of them in fossil wood) and study the relevant stratigraphic profile. Palaeoliths are reasonably wide-spread in Bankura, near Damodarpur beyond Ekteshwar, the

Biharinath and Susunia hills, and the Kangsavati valley. We may mention in this context our own finds of middle palaeolithic tools in the Sonamukhi forest and lower palaeolithic tools in the Bhairavbanki valley and near Guniada hill near Bankura-Purulia border. Almost all the river valleys of Bankura contain microliths in large numbers. In Midnapur the occurrence of prehistoric tools is mainly in the Jhargram subdivision—in the Parihati-Sildah-Belpahari-Kankrajhore belt and the forests in the vicinity of Gopiballabhpur. The hills in the western section of Purulia are rich in prehistoric materials of all kinds, but microliths occur in its open section as well.

The stratigraphic profiles of the occurrences of prehistoric tools in West Bengal are of two kinds. The first type of these profiles has been studied by us in a number of places stretching from *Egara Mile* in the north to Nakbindhi-Patina in the south. The second type of these profiles has been reported by us only from the Terafeni reservoir bridge area near Sildah in Midnapur. Apart from these there is a large number of surface scatters, particularly of microliths. We consider the following prehistoric section as the dominant one in West Bengal.

Sandy deposit—microliths in and below it

Lateritic gravel deposit—more than a metre thick in many places, with lower palaeolithic implements occurring towards its base, middle palaeoliths occurring in its upper part and upper palaeoliths possibly occurring below its junction with the sandy deposit

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Mottled clay

Bedrock

The above-mentioned stratigraphy was first observed in the vicinity of *Egara Mile*. The lower palaeoliths occur towards the base of the lateritic gravel whereas the middle palaeolithic occurrences are in its upper section. The position of the upper palaeolithic tools in this section is somewhat uncertain because none has been found *in situ*, but this should occur below the junction of the lateritic gravel with the sandy deposit on top. The microliths occur on the surface of the lateritic gravel, but as our work at Paruldanga near Santiniketan demonstrated, these occur within the covering sandy deposit as well, thus indicating that the formation of this sandy deposit and the manufacture of the microliths were at least partly, if not wholly contemporaneous. This stratigraphy has been observed by us at *Egara Mile* in Burdwan and at Ganganir Math, Garhbeta, Parihati, Mohanpur-Satbati, Jagannathpur, Nakbindhi-Patina, etc. in Midnapur. This observation, as we discussed in our paper on the prehistoric stratigraphy in West Bengal, is supported by earlier observations on the sequence in the Kangsavati valley and the Damodarpur areas of

Bankura. This stratigraphy is also true of a large part of Singhbhum and some parts of the Santal Parganas, as our work in these districts has demonstrated. It must also be noted that this is not a river section, although in places the rivers have cut across this profile.

The second type of prehistoric stratigraphic profile available in West Bengal belongs to the classic Peninsular river section type—two cycles of gravel and silt. The present author has observed only one section of this type in West Bengal and named it "the Tarafeni reservoir bridge section". The section shows, from the bottom up, the succession of cemented gravel, lower silt, loose gravel, upper silt and surface alluvium. Our observations are the following:

"The total height of the section is on the average about 6 m. The cemented gravel shows in places a depth 1-2 m. It is highly cemented, and from the generally reddish colour of the deposit it appears that some ferruginous agency was responsible for this cementation. However, there are also some lime concretion patches. The cemented pebbles are mostly rounded and vary from medium to small in size. The comparatively loose second gravel seems to contain only small-sized pebbles and nodules and, as far as we have been able to ascertain during the limited time available to us, is exposed only in patches, although over on extensive area. Its thickness is lesser than that of the cemented gravel. Both the lower and upper silts and to be reddish in colour. The thickness of the upper silt is in places more than .5 m. The lower silt shows an invariably lesser thickness. The surface alluvium constitutes only a thin cover at the top."[2]

There are also many surface clusters of tools, not all of which come out of an eroded bed. In some cases the occurrences are centred around the raw material outcrops. One of the most interesting prehistoric situations in West Bengal is related to the occurrence of prehistoric tools in the Susunia area. The difficulty in saying anything positive about Susunia is that the work done by the directorate of archaeology of the government of West Bengal has never been properly published, but the site is still important and further intensive work in the area is likely to be fruitful provided careful excavations are undertaken to reveal the proper stratigraphy and other details. The area has been systematically robbed of stone tools and now there are no surface indications.

Two more general points may be noted in this context. First, although the upper palaeolithic material occurs at a number of places in West Bengal, the first well-defined upper palaeolithic industry was indentified by us at Dabha in the Ayodhya hills area of Purulia. Secondly, although a large number of microlithic clusters have been identified and studied in all the five districts under survey, nowhere could one come across anything other than the lithic material. No sign of microlithic haibtation could be noticed any where. This is a perplexing problem and will need careful

attention in future. Thirdly, a few microliths from Bankura were subjected to micro-wear analysis by Prakash Sinha and according to the preliminary information available some of these show signs of hafting and "silica polish".

The lower palaeolithic industry of West Bengal is dominated basically by bifaces and scrapers, made mostly of quartz/quartzite. The use of fossil wood is marked at *Egara Mile* and a single biface of fossil wood can also be seen in our Tarafeni collection. The West Bengal middle palaeolithic industry contains mostly scrapers, points and borers (numerically in that order). The break-up of the finished tools in the Dabha upper palaeolithic industry is the following—burins (3), gravettian points (2), side scrapers (3), end scrapers (2), retouched blades (3), retouched backed knives (3), borers (1), retouched flakes (4), retouched cores (3). The industry has thick blades in the length range of 10.2—3.3 cm. The breadth is 4.8 cm in many cases, although 1.8—3 cm breadth range is also common. The microliths possess a wide variety—scrapers of different types, lunates, points, burins, etc. Geometric types are virtually absent, the rare occurrences of triangles being the only exception. Among the lower palaeoliths chopper-chopping element is known from southwest Midnapur, and in fact even some microliths from this area in our collection contain pebble cortex. The reason is the common occurrence of pebbles as raw materials in this region.

An orthodox archaeologist like the present author could only observe the stratigraphical and typological details of these prehistoric occurrences. The stratigraphy, however, can be interpreted only when there is a systematic environmental research on this. This will need a joint team with environmental scientists. Once one solves the problem of the deposition of the lateritic gravel deposit which contains palaeolithic tools and the cover of the sandy deposit above with microliths, the prehistory of West Bengal will be far more intelligible than what it is now. Moreover, even in the field of the general distribution of lithic industries there is ample scope of studying the surface clusters in relation to their locational features and the ecotypes of those areas. One hopes that it will eventually be possible to undertake such studies.

The beginning of agriculture or the associated "neolithic technology" is not at all clear in West Bengal. Neolithic tools have been found in varying contexts, including the early historic level, but the occurrences which dominate attention are those associated with microliths in the Ayodhya Hills area and the Bhairavbanki valley. At three sites in the Ayodhya Hills area—Bersa, Dabha and Jilintar—and ten sites in the Bhairavbanki valley—Ramchandrapur, Raspal, Ladsol, Bordanga, Fulkusma, Sagarchak, Jemradanga, Patgara, Chapapal and Jugladanga—axes, ringstones, bolas stones, etc. are found associated with microliths. The implication of these extremely interesting occurrence could not be determined because none of the sites was worth an excavation. But the fact that such clusters occur on the surface is worth remem-

bering and may lead to the discovery of the stage of the beginning of cultivation in this region.

II. Hoards

Another major problem is related to the finds of "copper hoards" in this part of West Bengal.[3] The present author could examine is some detail the findspot of a hoard at Perua in Sabang P.S. (approach from *Debrar Mor*). A large number of pottery pieces could be recovered but this fine wheelmade pottery does not fit in the range of early pottery from West Bengal and we would unhesitatingly put it in the mediaeval period. Parihati is another "copper hoard" site in West Bengal. Whether the hoard was actually found at Parihati or not is strongly disputed among the villagers of Parihati itself, but what cannot be disputed is the occurrence of a large number of smelting hearths which can now be seen not merely in the Parihati market place but also virtually all over the village. These copper smelting hearths of Parihati, which suggest metallurgical activity on a wide scale in this region, have been studied by us and put in the medieval period. Incidentally, we could locate only one other Parihati-type village in the entire region—the village of Khana Mouda near Baharagora in the neighbouring Singhbhum district. Copper occurs in this part of West Bengal and we ourselves have seen remains of old mining at Chheda Pathar and comparatively modern mining shafts at Tamkhun. The point which deserves a a careful notice is that some of the "copper hoards" in this part of the country may very well belong to the mediaeval period. Our study of the findspots of the "copper hoards" in this part of the country makes us feel almost sure of this.

III. The Stratigraphy of the Black-and-Red Ware Sites

The distribution and stratigraphy of these sites in West Bengal has been made clear by excavations at Pandu Rajar Dhibi, Mahisdal, Bharatpur, etc. The present work chose for work a site called Bahiri near Bolpur in the Birbhum district. In addition, some sections were scraped at the site of Arara or Santaldanga in the Burdwan district, One of the noteworthy aspects of the black-and-red ware sites in West Bengal is that they are invariably located in the outskirts of, if not within, a modern village. This suggests that the basic settlement pattern of villages in these parts of West Bengal was laid during this period. Another aspect which deserves mention at this point is that the radiocarbon dates for these sites suggest a spread from the middle of the second millennium B.C. to the beginning of the regional early historic period in about the third century B.C. Moreover, from about 1000 B.C. onwards these sites seem to have acquired a familiarity with the smelting of iron ore.

The cultural details of this phase can be recounted very briefly—the pottery of at least four major groups (black-and-red, black, red and a possible dirty buff),

indications of wattle-and-daub houses in the form of mud house floors and burnt clay pieces with reed impressions, cultivation of rice, metal implements, beads of semi-precious stones, an extensive microlithic industry, a few terracotta objects, antler, etc. There was an uninterrupted stratigraphic continuity between this phase and the subsequent early historic period which, we believe could begin in this region only with the Mauryas in the third century B.C. We feel that c. 330 B.C. is a convenient chronological point for the beginning of early history in West Bengal. A few pieces of iron slag were found in the lowest phase of Bahiri which goes back to about 1000 B.C. There are 3 radiocarbon dates from this site—PRL 866: 905± 144 B.C., PRL—867: 610±150 B.C. and PRL—869: 660±180 B.C. There is only one date from Arara: PRL—931—910±120 B.C.

One of the significant points to be remembered about this black-and-red ware phase is that it continued for a very long time—from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. to c. 300 B.C. in West Bengal. It was also during this period that a link with the resource-bearing Chhotanagpur area came to develop. A small copper finger ring from Bahiri showed, on examination, 10% tin and this tin could have come only from the tin-bearing localities in the Hazaribagh-Giridih-Ranchi area. A good number of black-and-red ware sites have been excavated in West Bengal, and regrettably, none except one has yet been properly documented and published.

IV. The Early Historic Phase

The archaeological evidence of this phase comes from the districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, 24-Parganahs, Murshidabad, Maldah and Dinajpur. The last two districts are in north Bengal and thus outside the present author's survey area. There are at least three major city sites in the other districts—Chandraketugarh in the 24 Parganahs, Mangalkot in Burdwan, Tamluk in the coastal Midnapur and Kotasur in Birbhum. Chandraketugarh was excavated for many seasons by the Ashutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The report on this large and fortified early historic complex which also happens to be extremely rich in antiquities has not been published. Tamluk was never excavated properly. The present author's field-observations suggest that the ancient city of Tamralipta was located at the very spot where the modern Tamluk stands today. This is a serious hindrance to the large-scale excavations of this site. There is no indication of a fortification at Tamluk. Kotasur is a fortified and large settlement and one understands that the Visvabharati University has begun excavations here. Mangalkot is located on the bank of the Kunur river near its confluence with the Ajay. This is a major settlement but there is no indication of a fortification. The site seems to be very rich in antiquities and one understands that the Calcutta University has already spent two seasons excavating here. Among these sites only Kotasur and Mangalkot

may be said to be in the *Rarh* area. Of course, in the Bankura district the sites of Pokharna and Dihar seem to give the impression of being major early historical centres. Dihar has been excavated by the Calcutta University. The present author could clearly find early historical ringwells in the Damodar cliff section at Pokharna. Early historic pottery also is plentiful at this site. A careful scraping of the cliff section suggested two broad phases of early historic occupation—an earlier phase characterised by black-slipped ware and a grey ware type which is found with the N.B.P., and a later phase which seems to fall in the early centuries A.D. As far as the Rarh area is concerned, there were possibly two major early historical routes linking the area to the middle Gangetic valley. The first one followed the Ganga from Bihar with the Murshidabad district as its entry point in West Bengal. The route could have continued along the river to the Bhagirathi delta but there was a bifurcation of this route around Katwa. From Katwa the route swarved away from the Ganga and crossed the Ajay near Mangalkot. From Mangalkot the route travels straight south up to Arambagh via Burdwan, and from Arambagh this moves east and then turns south again up to Chandrakona. From Chandrakona a line goes to Tamluk via Chatal while a second line goes towards Kharagpur to join the direction towards Orissa. Another route is indicated by the Raghunathpur (in Purulia)—Ramgarh—Hazaribagh line towards the modern Aurangabad-Gaya areas. This is a comparatively difficult area but there could be through it a straight line of communication between, say, Tamluk and the middle Gangetic valley.

V. The Early Mediaeval Remains

The early mediaeval remains in Rarh show a major concentration in the upland areas of Bankura, Midnapur, Burdwan and Purulia. The temples of Dihar and Bahulara (Bankura) and *Ichhai Choser Deul* (Burdwan) are major examples of *Rekha Deul* of 10th-12th century A. D. in West Bengal. Possibly of a slightly later period are the temple complexes such as Boram and Pakbira in Purulia. These are mostly Jaina remains not all of which have been adequately studied, but this leads us to a major problem. This part of *Rarh* does not have any early historical deposit and by this region we mean the western sections of Bankura, Midnapur, Purulia, Burdwan and Birbhum. These areas were deeply forested till recently and our explorations in these areas have revealed a rich harvest of microlithic occurrences. We have tried to suggest that this part of West Bengal did not emerge into the historical light till the 10th-13th centuries A.D. It is likely that the Jainas played a major role in this. The nature of the Jaina penetration in the Chhotanagpur plateau will need a detailed study.

Notes and References

1. Please see *Puratattva* 10 (1981), pp. 25-32; *ibid.*, pp. 83-86; *Man and Environment* 6 (1982), pp. 111-149; *ibid.*, pp. 150-152; *Puratattva* 11 (1982), pp.39-48; *Man and Environment* 7 (1983), pp. 131-141; *Puratattva* 12 (1983), pp. 161-163; *Man and Environment* 8 (1984), pp. 39-48; *The Calcutta Review* 1 (1984), pp. 41-63; *ibid.* 2, pp. 20-25, *Man and Environment* 9 (1985), pp. 128-150, *Man and Environment* 10 (1986), pp. 141-149, *Man and Environment* 11 (1987), pp. 117-121, *Man and Environment* 12 (1988) pp. 29-53, *Ibid.* 197-201, *Ibid*, 203-2; *The Calcutta Review* (1987), pp. 56-68; also the article on Pakbira in A. Ghosh Memorial Volume (1987).
2. *Man and Environment* 8 (1984), p. 41.
3. *Puratattva* 9 (1980), pp. 97-100.

7

The Asokan Stone Pillar at Allahabad

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

This Aśokan monolith now stands at Allahabad inside the Fort, near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The polished shaft of this pillar measures 35 feet. According to the information recorded by Lieutenant T.S. Burt, the rough hewn base below the polished portion, measured 7 feet 7 inches. Thus the total length of this pillar is 42 feet 7 inches which is equal to that of the other pillars, at various places. In design also the Allahabad pillar is like others.

It bears six of the famous seven pillar edicts of Aśoka. Besides it bears his edict censuring schism in the Buddhist community, which is addressed to the Ministers at Kauśāmbī, as also edict regarding the pious donations of Aśoka's second queen Kāruvākī. The pillar was made use of by later rulers for engraving their own records. The most important of these for the student of ancient Indian history, is the lengthy eulogy of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, composed by his minister of foreign affairs Hariṣeṇa. The Mughal emperor Jahangir, also caused to be engraved his inscription which has destroyed the third and fourth pillar edicts of Aśoka.

This monolith has a chequered and interesting history spreading over two thousand years during which it has witnessed many vicissitudes. As already

noted one of the edicts of Aśoka engraved on it is addressed to the Ministers of Kauśāmbī, which is famous as the capital of king Udayana, during the fifth century before Christ, though at present it is in ruins and is represented by the small village of Kosam, some 28 miles north-west of Allahabad, on the river Yamunā. The presence of this Aśokan epigraph on this pillar shows that it was set up originally at Kauśāmbī which appears to have been the seat of a provincial administration in Aśoka's empire. General Sir Alexander Cunningham expressed the view that the pillar was brought from Kauśāmbī to Allahabad by the Tughlak emperor Ferozeshah, who is known to have brought another Aśokan pillar from Topra in Jagadhari Tehsil of Ambala, to Delhi.[2] However Dr. E. Hultzsch did not agree with Cunningham's view. He pointed out that, "while Delhi was the capital of Ferozshah, Allahabad was founded or rather refounded two centuries after him by Akbar. This ruler may have removed from Kosam, the Allahabad pillar on which inscriptions of his favourite Birbal and of his son Jahangir are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kosam when the inscription of Samudragupta was incised upon it."[3]

However Dr. Hultzsch has overlooked the important fact that the pillar had definitely been removed to Prayāga before Akbar began taking any interest in the place. Firstly we find that Abul Fazl who records in detail all the activities of Akbar in the work *Akbarnamah* does not say anything about the transportation of the pillar from Kosam to Allahabad. Secondly, this pillar bears an inscription dated Saṁvat 1632 or A.D. 1575, recording the visit of Akbar's courtier Birbal, but Akbar began taking interest in Prayāga after that date. According to Abul Fazl himself, Akbar built the fort in A.D. 1583 and named the town as Ilāhābād or Ilāhābās, and made it the capital of a *Subāh* (province).[4] Since the pillar was at Prayāga, as many as eight years before Prayāga becoming Ilahabad and being made the capital of a province, its removal to this place can not be attributed to Akbar. Of course Badauni, does record the foundation of the fort being laid in A.H. 982 or A.D. 1574, but V.A. Smith has rightly rejected Badauni's statement, saying that the latter is "ill-informed, for the time was certainly not feasible for this. Neither Nizamuddin nor Abul Fazl mentions this."[5] Thirdly, an English traveller, William Finch who visited Allahabad in A.D. 1611, records in the account of his travels that the pillar "seemth to have been placed by Alexander or some other conqueror."[6] This shows that even in A.D. 1611, no body in Allahabad informed Finch, that the pillar had been set up there by Akbar who brought it here from Kosam. Finally the issue is clinched both against Ferozeshah and Akbar having brought the pillar to Allahabad by the following irrefutable evidence. Among the mass of later scribblings on the pillar we come across certain dates in the *Saṁvat*-presumably the Vikrama Era. In most cases those dates include in their details the mention of the month of Māgha, which, as is well-known is the most sacred month for a bath at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. These dates can thus be taken as the dates of the

visit of various pilgrims to the confluence. These Saṁvat dates run from 1297 to 1398, or A.D. 1240 to 1341. Both of these, the earliest as well as the latest, fall before the reign periods both of Ferozeshah as well as Akbar. The removal of the pillar by any of these rulers is definitely ruled out by the fact that the pillar stood at the sacred confluence long before any of the Muslim kings came into power.

Rao Sahib C.S. Krishnaswami and Amalanand Ghosh discussed this question of the original site of the pillar and its removal, at some length. They have arrived at the following conclusion that "There is not prima facie difficulty in thinking that the pillar is *in situ*."[7] But the difficulty is very much there and is quite obvious. The pillar bears an edict of Aśoka addressed to the *Mahāmātras* of Kauśāmbī, which was a city of great importance in the time of the Buddha who resides there on several occasions. One of its monasteries—The Ghoṣitārāma Vihāra is very famous in the history of Buddhism.[8] So it was but proper that the edict of Aśoka should have been promulgated at a place where there was a large community of the Buddhists. The edict specifically refers to the punishment for *Saṁgha-bheda* or causing schism in the Saṁgha. The pillar with such an edict must have been put up at Kauśāmbī and most probably in the precincts of the Ghoṣitārāma Vihāra. There was absolutely no point in Aśoka setting up the pillar at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga which is never known to have been an important centre of Buddhism like Kauśāmbī definitely was. It is idle to suggest that the inscription on the Allahabad pillar may be another copy of the Kauśāmbī edict, for we find that the pillar now standing at Kauśāmbī bears no Aśokan inscription. We must also take note of the fact that the so called Queen's edict on the Allahabad pillar refers to the benefactions of Aśoka's second queen Kāruvākī, namely mango-groves, gardens, and almshouses. The queen must have made these benefactions for the benefit of the Buddhist community, which existed in a large number at Kauśāmbī. Therefore taking all these facts into consideration, it must be held that the pillar originally stood at Kauśāmbī and must have been brought to Prayāga, from that ancient centre of Buddhism—the city of Kauśāmbī which was perhaps decaying fast. It does not figure prominently in the Gupta age.

That Prayāga had little importance for the Buddhists, is indicated by the accounts of the two great Chinese pilgrims, Fahien and Hiuen Tsang, Fahien makes no mention of Prayāga at all, while he records his visit to Kauśāmbī and its famous Ghoṣitārāma Vihāra. Hiuen Tsang too "noted with regret that Buddhists were in the minority, and passed on to Kauśāmbī where he was shown mementos of the Buddha's visit, of Vasubandhu's writing and of Asaṅga's life."[9] Hiuen Tsang's remarks cannot be treated as casual, for he stayed at Prayāga. with the emperor Harṣavarddhana, on the occasion of Harṣa's famous assembly at this place. It is therefore abundantly clear that Prayāga enjoyed neither any sanctity nor any importance amongst the Buddhists, and there appears to be no reason why Aśoka should have set up the pillar bearing an edict specially concerning the Buddhist community

(the Saṁgha) at that place. We must, therefore, conclude that the pillar must have originally stood at Kauśāmbī, a seat of the highest provincial authority in Aśoka's administration.

Coming to the question as to who removed the pillar to the confluence at Prayāga, we may examine the following factual evidence to find an answer. Out of the various inscriptions on this pillar other than those of Aśoka, the earliest in point of time is that of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta whose eloquent eulogy composed by his minister of foreign affairs is engraved on it. Therefore, it stands to reason that the pillar was removed from Kauśāmbī which by now had lost its political importance, to Prayāga, a place of the highest religious sanctity in the eyes of the Vaiṣṇava emperor Samudragupta. There could have also been the additional consideration of Samudragupta's achievements receiving far greater publicity at the sacred junction of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which is visited by thousand of Hindu pilgrims in the month of Māgha every year. It is likely that the pillar had fallen down at its original site at Kauśāmbī, and Samudragupta considered it proper to preserve it by removing it to a place which enjoyed great importance in his time.[10]

We may now briefly narrate the history of this pillar subsequent to its being set up by Samudragupta at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The face that there are no scribblings on the pillar up to the Vikram year 1297 or A.D. 1240, indicates that the pillar was standing in a vertical position. It was thrown down shortly before that date. Incidently we know that the Muslim adventurer, Muhammad Khilji, son of Bakhtyar had carried out several successful plundering raids in eastern U.P. and Bihar, sometimes about A.D. 1197, and had destroyed the Buddhist universities of Nālandā and Uddantapur. It is not unlikely that this Muslim zealot was also responsible for throwing down the pillar which looked like a sign of Hindu arrogance. From the close of the twelfth century of the Christian era up to A.D. 1575 the pillar seems to have remained lying on the ground, and might have been raised up in that year when Akbar's courtier Birbal recorded on it his visit to Prayāga. From that date up to the advent of the British rule, it remained standing in the fort area. It was overthrown by general Kyd in A.D. 1798 as it stood in the way of the new line of ramparts near the main gate of the fort. In A.D. 1834 when Lt. T.S. Burt saw it, it was lying 'half buried in the ground! On a representation by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it was set up in its present position in 1838. The present pedestal was designed and the work executed under the supervision of Captain Edwards Smith of the Royal Engineers. The pillar was crowned with a new capital which however subsequently fell down.

Notes and References

1. The notable pillars are now standing at Kotla Ferozeshah at Delhi; Lauriya Araraj and Lauriya Nandangarh, and Rampura in Champaran District of Bihar, and Rummendei in Nepal territory.
2. Cunningham, *CII*, I, first ed., 1877, 39.
3. Hultzsch, *CII*, I, (1929), XX.
4. *Akbarnamah*, trans. Beveridge, III, 616-17, and 516x.
5. V.A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1935, 699.
6. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, IV, 67.
7. *JRAS*, 1935, 697-706.
8. Recent archaeological excavations at Kosam, the present village close to which are the extensive remains of the ancient Kauśāmbī, have brought to light the remains of this great monastery. See Report by G.R. Sharma.
9. P.V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 270.
10. James Prinsep was almost sure that the pillar had fallen down sometimes after Aśoka. He noticed certain letters which in his opinion were pre-Gupta and which could not have been engraved while the pillar was standing, *JASB*, VI, 967f. However Fleet does not consider these letters so early, and therefore constituting no proof of the falling down of the pillar. *CII*, III (1888), 10 f.n.

8

The Shell Script

AMITABHA BHATTACHARYYA

Inscriptions in Shell characters were first noticed by James Prinsep in 1836 on a brass trident from Barahat now in the district of Uttarkashi in U.P.[1] The following year he described the inscription in the same characters in the Nagarjuni caves of the Barabar hills as 'illegible' and as a 'rude style of writing'[2] and those on the famous Allahabad pillar as merely a series of 'ill-drawn shanks or shells.'[3] Later discoveries, however, invalidated Prinsep's apprehension. That the so-called shanks or shells were letters and that they formed a distinct style of writing had been clearly recognised by Beglar, Cunningham and others.[4] Bereft of the notices in the form of reports, the epigraphs in Shell characters had remained to some extent neglected, partly due to their obscure nature and partly to their being badly damaged and effaced by the ravages of nature and man.

Although the inscriptions had been known to them neither Bühler[5] nor G.H. Ojha[6] made any cognizance of the epigraphs in their celebrated works on Indian palaeography. Even Prof. A.H. Dani does not make any reference to the 'Shell Script' in his '*Indian Palaeography*' which had been published in 1963 and is considered to be a standard work on the subject. C. Sivaramamurti[7] and D.C. Sircar briefly discussed the Shell Script. According to D.C. Sircar the characters are really ornamented forms of letters of the local alphabets. He further comments that 'in most cases the letters cannot be recognised owing to the profusion of ornamentation'.[8]

Richard Saloman's *Shell Inscripions*[9] may be categorically described as the initial attempt at making a thorough and systematic study of the problem concerned. The monograph deals with the geographical and sectarian distribution, dating and the language and contents of the inscriptions in Shell characters. Richard Saloman's investigations brought to light some important factors relevant to the study of the problem concerned. The geographical distribution of the sites yielding inscriptions in Shell script clearly proves that the script concerned was not confined to a particular locality or region. It was used in a wider area stretching from Akhnur (Jammu and Kashmir) in the north to Sandhur (Karnataka) in the south and from Susunia (West Bengal) in the east to Junagarh (Gujarat) in the west. No Shell inscription has as yet come to light from the country of Bangladesh and from Assam and the adjoining states. The exterritoriality of the Shell Script is proved by the discovery of inscriptions in Shell characters from Indonesia.[10] The main concentration of the Shell inscriptions lie in the states of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

The Shell inscriptions, which have survived, are inscribed on cave walls, stone pillars, bare rocky ground, stairways leading to hill tops. In most cases the antiquity of the places or relics yielding epigraphs in Shell characters can be postulated in the light of the palaeography of the accompanying inscriptions in Brāhmī. No writing in Shell character has so far been found on copper plates recording grant of land. Nor it has been found on objects bearing inscriptions in Kharoshṭī.

Several scholars made attempts at deciphering a Shell inscription, *viz.*, that of Ci-Aruton.[11] Richard Saloman also has given tentative readings of some inscriptions in Shell characters.[12] Thus, epigraphs in Shell characters were known to us. But none of them had been deciphered convincingly. It was in 1983 that Prof. B.N. Mukherjee had a chance to examine closely the inscription on the back of the stone horse from Khairigarh, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.[13] It was taken to be the replica of the horse sacrificed during the performance of the Horse Sacrifice by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.[14] The inscriptions on the back and right hip of the horse, which look almost like floral designs, have been read by Prof. Mukherjee as *Śrī-Mahendrāditya* and *vichurṇita-śrī-putra* respectively.[15] The sculpture also bears an inscription consisting of three lines on the neck of the horse. V.A. Smith read it as . . . *dda Guttasya deyadhamma*.[16] B.N. Mukherjee restores the concluding word of l. 1 as *aśv (a)rasa*, that of l. 2 as *yājino* and the conjunct *sya* at the end of l. 3.[17] In spite of being badly mutilated, the epigraph can be attributed, on palaeographical grounds, to the Gupta period.[18] With regard to the Shell inscription on the back of the horse R. Saloman makes a very useful observation. According to him 'the inscription is so neatly and perfectly integrated into the form of the horse that there can be no doubt that it was planned and executed together with the statue itself.[19] Among the Gupta emperors who had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice Kumāragupta I bore the epithet Mahendrāditya. The sculpture concerned can be easily compared to the representation of the sacrificial horse on the obverse

of the Aśvamedha type of coins issued by Kumāragupta I.[20] The cumulative evidence thus proves that the stone horse is the replica of the animal sacrificed during the performance of the Aśvamedha by the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I.[21] The contemporaneity of the sculpture and the sets of the inscriptions in Brāhmī and Shell characters can be easily postulated. The eye copy of the recognizable Shell characters indicates their comparable forms in Gupta Brāhmī.[22] The Shell characters thus can be described as derivatives of Brāhmī. R. Saloman convincingly remarks that '*śaṅkhalipi* did in fact have its origin in some form of Brāhmī, probably that of the early or middle Gupta period'.[23]

In a review of Prof. Mukherjee's article on the decipherment of the Shell inscriptions inscribed on the stone horse from Khairigarh, Dr. Saloman observes that the Shell script is still 'undeciphered' and that he has prepared 'charts of the alphabet' concerned.[24] These observations, however, appear to be contradictory to each other. If the Shell script had really its origin in Gupta Brāhmī and if the preparation of the chart of the alphabet concerned is possible, then the script can no longer be regarded as undeciphered. Dr. Saloman further alleges that Prof. Mukherjee had read the relevant inscriptions 'upside down'.[25]

From the method followed by Prof. Mukherjee in deciphering the inscriptions in Shell characters, it appears that the letters slant down diagonally from upper left to lower right and sometimes betray even a west-east orientation as perceptible in *vi* and *ta* of the inscription *vichurṇita-śrīputra*.[26] The reading appears to be justified and attested to by the representation of the severed head of the goat.[27] It should be mentioned that the term *Śrīputra* sometimes stands for a 'goat with auspicious marks'[28] and that there are prescriptions for the slaughter of a goat as a part of the accessories to the horse sacrifice.[29] Thus Richard Saloman's allegation that Prof. B.N. Mukherjee had read the inscription 'upside down' may be summarily rejected.

In fact, the Shell inscriptions on the stone horse from Khairigarh have provided us with the vital clues regarding the method to be followed in deciphering the epigraphs in the script concerned. The method which Prof. Mukherjee had pursued in unravelling the secret of Shell script has yielded further results. It has been possible to read several other inscriptions written in the script under discussion. Richard Saloman's contention that the Shell script derives its origin from Brāhmī of the Gupta period can no longer be upheld. We have now a few inscriptions which can be dated back to an earlier period. The most important of them is the short inscription on a railing adjacent to the eastern gate at Bharhut, now preserved in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It has been read by Prof. Mukherjee as *Savachare* 20 (or 80) *phuva vuchavo*, i.e., *Saṁvatsare* 20 (or 80) *pūrva utsavaḥ*.[30] This is the only inscription in Shell script so far deciphered which bears a date. The

recognisable characters can be compared to those in Brāhmī of the 1st-2nd century A.D. The year 20 or 80, therefore, may be ascribed to the Śaka era whose initial year corresponded to 78 A.D.[31] Thus the Shell script had its existence in the first or second century of the Christian Era. The Shell inscription on the Lala Bhagat pillar which has been read as *Bālapyāditya* also points to the prevalence of the script in the 1st century A.D.[32] There are, no doubt objects of an earlier period which bear epigraphs in Shell characters like the Aśokan pillars at Vaiśāli, Lauriya Araraj and the Allahabad pillar which had been shifted from Kosam. The accompanying Shell inscriptions inscribed on these pillars, however, cannot claim as high an antiquity as that of the Maurya period.

From a comparative study of the Shell characters and the materials which bear them, it appears that the Shell script continued to be used atleast up to the end of the 8th century A.D. though its use in the ninth or tenth century may not be altogether ruled out.[33]

All the places yielding inscriptions in Shell script have religious importance and were frequently visited by pilgrims. Nevertheless, the Shell script does not appear to have had been exclusively reserved for inscribing or writing down magical formulae belonging to one esoteric doctrine or the other. The inscriptions reading *Śrī-Mahendrāditya* and *Taliṇḍasya*, on the stone horse in the Lucknow Museum and on the pillar at Rajaona respectively, have nothing to do with any religious creed. The hypothesis, however, does not rule out the possibility of the Shell script being associated with a particular creed or creeds. We may quote here a passage from the *Mudrārākshasa* of Viśākhadatta which has been referred to by Dr. T.P. Verma in different context with the observation that probably a script existed in ancient India which is now lost to us.[34] Dr. Verma, however, does not refer to the Shell script. The relevant passage is the following; *Śrotriy-āksharāni prayatna-likhitāny=api niyatam=asphuṭāni bhavanti*,[35] i.e., in spite of all care being taken the letters written by a Śrotriya always remain obscure. It may be noted that the drama was composed within the period to which Shell inscriptions have been ascribed.[36] We may add further that there are inscriptions in Shell script pertaining to the performance of a religious rite in which the Śrotriyas took a leading role.[37] It is true that we are yet to attain that stage from which a final judgement can be pronounced. But the reference to the obscure writing of the Śrotriyas in the *Mudrārākshasa* should be borne in mind in course of further investigation into the problem.

One of the salient features of the Shell inscriptions, so far noticed, is their shortness. No such epigraph consists of more than nine letters.[38] The inscription on the Bharhut pillar, noticed by Prof. Mukherjee, however, has the numerical notation for 20 or 80 in addition to nine letters. The cave of the Susuniya hill in the Bankura district of West Bengal which bears the famous inscription of Chandravarman, has three inscriptions in Shell characters. By the application of the method followed by

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee we have been able to read one of them as *Sabara-gṛiha-yāvat*. A few more Shell letters precede the inscription which can be read as *Jayanta-vṛittaṁ*. It appears that these two are not separate inscriptions. On the other hand, they are the contents of the same inscription which may be read as *Jayanta-vṛittaṁ sabara-gṛiha-yāvat* meaning 'the victorious circle up to the abode of the Sabara (Śabara).' It may be mentioned that the cave bears the representation of a Chakra and that the cave was dedicated in honour of Chakrasvāmin as mentioned in the accompanying Brāhmī inscription of the 4th century A.D.[39] If the reading of the Shell inscription be correct, then here we have the longest inscription in Shell script comprising two compounded words and fifteen letters.

All the inscriptions in Shell characters do not belong to the same style. Separate styles are perceptible in the inscriptions even from the same site. In one inscription from the Kheri hill the long accentuated flourish either upward or downward charaterises the letters.[40] In another inscription from the same site, however, the letters look like shells leaning diagonally from upper left to lower right.[41] They betray the same line of development as that of the Brāhmī alphabets. It is possible to date the inscriptions in Shell script by comparing the recognisable characters with their counterparts in Brāhmī.

In this case, however, we have to distinguish between an ornate Brāhmī and the Shell script. There are Brāhmī inscriptions which betray the tendency on the part of the artisans or engravers to add flourishes, particularly, to the medial vowel marks. But the letters stand there perpendicularly on their axis. Reference may be made to the Banskhera copper plate of the time of Harsha[42] and a short inscription from the Mundeshvari hill, noticed by Saloman,[43] which bear evidence to this effect. Thus all inscriptions consisting of letters with unusual flourishes cannot be described as Shell inscriptions. The Shell characters have invariably an anti-clockwise or clockwise orientation which vary from 45 to 30 degree. In these inscriptions all possible tricks had been carefully contrived in order to conceal the intended word or expression in a veil of mystery and to make them unintelligible to the laymen. The desired object was successfully achieved by effecting the orientation of the letters and by adding flourishes and superfluous strokes around the letters. In a specimen from Eran the letters in simple Brāhmī have been set within conch-like designs,[44] which can be read as *Śrī-Kuverasvāmī* (?).

There is no reference to *Śaṅkhalipi* in any of the literary texts of ancient India. It is only a Sanskritised or Indianised form of the expression *Shell script* which was coined by James Prinsep. Several texts of ancient India record the list of the scripts which were known to the ancient Indians.[45] A comparative study of the lists of scripts mentioned in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, *Lalitavistara* and the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* indicates that several criteria had been considered for categorising the scripts. They are, to begin with, broadly classified into Brāhmī, Kharoshṭī, Chīna etc.

according to the system of writing from left to right or from right to left or even vertically. Then they are classified into Aṅga-lipi, Vaṅga-lipi, Draviḍa-lipi etc. according to their regional development, into Pushpa-lipi, Pushkarasārin etc. according to the appearance of the letters, into Avamūrdha and Vyatastā according to the orientation of the letters, into Utkshepa and Nikshepa according to their upward or downward projection, and into Śāstrāvarta-lipi and Lekha-lipi according to their subject matter. Thus a script which is Brāhmī can also be Aṅga-lipi, Pushpa-lipi, Avamūrdha-lipi and Śāstrāvarta-lipi in accordance with the region, appearance, orientation and subject matter respectively. In fact which had been described as looking like shells by Prinsep may also be described as having the appearance of flowers or lotus buds.[46] Prof. B.N. Mukherjee, however, prefers the term *Vyatastā* or *Avamūrdha* and observes that conch like letters do not make their appearance before the post-Gupta period.

The study of the Shell script is still in its infancy. The formula given by Prof. B.N. Mukherjee has been yielding decisive results. Proper documentation of the Shell inscriptions is now an imperative. The decipherment of the inscriptions is, no doubt, an onerous task. The full picture is expected to emerge in near future with the publication of more inscriptions in Shell characters.

Notes and References

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, p. 347 and pl. IX.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 679 and pl. XXXV, nos. 9-10.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 967, pl. LVI, no. 16.
4. *Archaeological Survey of India*, VIII, *Report on a Tour Through the Bengal Provinces*, Calcutta, 1878, p. 178. See also *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, XV, p. 25, n. 2.
5. *Indische Palaeographie*, Grundiss, Strassbourg, 1896.
6. *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, 2nd edn., Ajmer, 1918.
7. *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, Madras, 1952, pp. 37-38.
8. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, IV, pp. 116-17. See also B. Chhabra in M.S. Vats. *The Gupta Temples* at *Deogarh*, Delhi, 1952, pp. 28-29; H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, I, Calcutta, 1971, p. 4.
9. *Shell Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1980.
10. J. Ph. Vogel, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of* JAVA, *Publicaes van den Oudhi Kundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch—Indie*, I, 1925, p. 25; *Epigraphia Indica*, XXII, pp. 4-5; *Brahmavidyā*, XLVI, pp. 93-172.
11. *Ibid.*
12. R. Saloman, More New Inscriptions from Muddesvari (Muṇḍeśvarī), *Studies In Indology*, D.C. Sircar Felicitation Volume, Delhi, 1983, pp 73-78.
13. Amina Kar, The Secret of the Shell Script, *Literary Supplement*, *The Sunday Statesman*, November 13, 1983.
14. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, p. 98; J. G. Williams, *The Art of The Gupta Empire*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 25.

15. B.N. Mukherjee, Decipherment of Shell Script, *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, No. 31, June 1983, pp. 16-18, 21.
16. See n. 14.
17. B.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 23, n. 19.
19. R. Saloman, *Shell Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1980, p. 16.
20. B.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and Figs. 1 and 20.
21. The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Kumāragupta I had been known to us from his gold coins. The Shell inscriptions concerned corroborate the numismatic evidence.
22. B.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6 and 17.
23. R. Saloman, *Shell In scriptions*, Calcutta, 1980, p. 66.
24. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 107, No. 2, pp. 313-16.
25. *Ibid.*
26. B.N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, Fig. 17.
27. *Ibid.*, Fig. 19.
28. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Edn., p. 1098, under *Śrī*, cf. *śriyaḥ putraḥ*.
29. *Ṛgveda*, I, 162, 9 and 18. *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, XXIII, 33-38. See also P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Pt. II, Poona, 1941, p. 1235.
30. B.N. Mukherjee, Present State of Research on the Shell Script, *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, XV, p. 32.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.* pp. 36-37.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
34. T.P. Verma, *The Palaeography of the Brāhmī Script in North India*, Varanasi, 1971, p. 7.
35. *Mudrārākshasa*, Act I.
36. The exact date of Viśākhadatta is not known to us. We agree with the view that he must be considered as one of the older group of dramatists who succeeded Kālidāsa and that he lived before the end of the ninth century A.D. (M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, III, pt. I, tr. by Subhadra Jha, Delhi, 1963, p. 233, translator's note.)
37. We are referring here to the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Kumāragupta I.
38. R. Saloman, *Shell Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1980, p. 52.
39. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 133.
40. R. Saloman, op. cit., Figs. 6.
41. *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.
42. *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 210-11.
43. *Studies in Indology*, D.C. Sircar Felicitation Volume, pl. 3. For 'Ornate Brāhmī' see R. Saloman, *Shell Inscriptions*, p. 47.
44. R. Saloman, *Shell Inscriptions*, Fig. 13.
45. R.G. Basak (ed), *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, I, Calcutta, 1963, p. 160; P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Lalitavistara*, Darbhanga, 1958, p. 88; *Bhagavatīsūtra*, V; *Samavāyāṅgasūtra*, XVIII. According to the tradition, recorded in the *Lalitavistara*, the Buddha was acquainted with all the scripts mentioned in this text. As such, if the so-called Shell script be identified with any of the scritps mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* then we can presume the existence of the script concerned in the sixth century B.C. Needless to say that the presumption is not vouchsafed by extant remains.
46. K.P. Jayswal described the script as *Pushkarasārin*. But he ascribed it to a person called Pushkarasāra who, according to him, had invented the script (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXII, pp. 4-5).

9

Agricultural Guild

M.D. SAMPATH

The agricultural organisation has a long history in the Economy of South India. This witnessed the vicissitudes of different reign periods south of Deccan particularly in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnāṭaka and Tamilnāḍu. We know that a number of mercantile organisations wielded their influence to augment the economic growth of this part of the Peninsula. The agricultural guild came to the scene on account of the gradual rise in cultivation as evidenced from a number of epigraphs. Agriculturists formed an important class of citizens among the society. South India was a predominantly agricultural land from very early times. The life of the people was centred around agricultural activities and agricultural landed properties. Tilling was the main activity and life [*vāḻu* (Tamil), *bāḷu* (Kannaḍa) and *batuku* (Telugu)] of the people. Since the term *bāḷu* in Kannaḍa signifies 'land' it also signifies 'life and subsistence'. For the sake of subsistance, most of the people took to agriculture and it is their real efforts that brought deforestation in several areas. Inscriptions in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil not only speak of such lands but also of the fallow lands (Tamil: *kaḷḷi*) that were brought under cultivation.[1] Along with the process of land deforestation and land utilisation, a greater extent of area in several regions of Tamilnāḍu were brought under cultivation. We have instances to show that from the period of Choḷa Parāntaka I, if not earlier in Tamil country, lands affected by floods and breaches in the embankment of Kāvēri river were reclaimed for cultivation. (*vayakkiṇa*). This process would have consumed a good amount

of labour investment. The Allūr village met the flood damages resulting in the accretion of sand deposits. Both this place and the south bank of the river received additional damages preventing the clearance of sand and thus they were lying fallow for long. Allūr lying close to Kāraikuḍi was damaged by floods earlier than Kāraikuḍi and Taṇḍurai which were breached by Kāvērī floods approximately hundred years earlier to the period of Kulottuṅga I (acc. 1070 A.D.). (*Viḷattūrnāṭṭu āḷvār Tiruvaraṅgadēvar Tirumaḍaippaḷḷippuramāna Taṇḍuraiyilum Kāraikkuḍiyilum āru-uḍaindu meṇaliṭṭu-nūru-samvarsarattin urdeśappaḍi*). Such lands which have been lying uncultivated for a long time were reclaimed during the reign period of Kulottuṅga as evidenced from Śrīraṅgam inscriptions (*payir—erindupāl—kiḍanda.....Kāraikkuḍi—maṇaliḍu—nilam..... Tuṇḍūrai maṇaliḍu nilam.....kalliy—ērriṇa—maṇṇilai nīkki.....tirutti tān vēṇḍum payir—śeydum*).[2]

Thus this brings to our mind the reclamation and the process of lands made fit for cultivation in an intensive way in the Kāvērī belt of Tamilnāḍu.

Like the Kāvērī fed area in Karnāṭaka, the area of South Kanara, on the west coast, commenced its agricultural activity by preparing the land which was lying fallow. References to the use of the expression *haḍalu* meaning 'a fallow land' or 'a waste rice field' are not wanting from the early and medieval periods. The more lands that were brought under cultivation by the tenants of the soil or agriculturists enhanced the status of the society. The Agriculturists felt the need of the hour to promote production or output of the agricultural produces. With the advancement of the growth of agricultural activities, the agriculturists organised a body which is referred to in the Tamil inscriptions of 11-12th centuries as *Cittiramēḷi* organisation. This organisation is represented by its symbol *mēḷi* or *mēḷi*.

This term used in literature also denotes the '*plough*'. The word *mēḷi* figuring in Tamil inscriptions corresponds to the Kannaḍa and Telugu expressions *mēḷi*, *mēṭi*, *mēṇti*, *mēḍi*, etc. It is a Dravidian word and thus different from the Sanskrit *mēṭhi*. The Sanskrit term is applied in the sense of 'a pillar at the threshing floor'. The other word that is applied to the threshing floor in Sanskrit is *khalya*, to which the Vala inscription[3] of Sukētuvarman of Śaka 322 refers. An undated Rāṣṭrakūṭa record from Śiragaṁbi refers to the setting up of a *mēḷi*. Perhaps the term *mēṭi* of the Kannaḍa inscriptions of 9th century from Dharwad region has been taken to stand for the agriculturists who represent the organisation.[4] It may be said that this word along with numerical division stand for 'a guild'. But it may not be out of place to suggest here that the setting up of *mēḷi* in this context may signify the affiliation given to an organisation. Much has been discussed about the connotation *mēḷi* or *mēḷi* elsewhere by me[5] and by Sri K.G. Krishnan.[6] The numeral reminds us of the different mercantile guilds like the *Tiśaiy-āyirattu-aiññurruvar*, Ayyāvoḷi-500 which were powerful organisations in Tamilnāḍu and Karnāṭaka respectively.

References to the organisation of cultivators (*okkalu*) along with numerical distinctions occur in the inscriptions of Karnāṭaka. An inscription of Āḷuvarasa II,[7] from Udiyāvara is not dated but palaeographically belongs to the middle of 8th century and records some grant, the details of which are lost, to the god Sambukal-ladēva by a number of donors, including the seventy-tenants of Udiyāpura (*Udiyapu-radanakarad-elpatt-okkalu*).[8] Another inscription from this place belonging to Vijayāditya Āḷupēndra[9] records that during Arakella's headmanship of the district, the king confirmed the gift of one half of the tolls levied in the cities of Pombulcha and Udayapura to six persons who were agricultural tenants (*okkalu*).[10] The numerical distinction in association with agriculturists represents the organisation. Dr. Ramesh drew my attention to the existence of a village name Nāppokkalu near Appaṅgāla in Coorg District of Karnāṭaka. In Koḍagu and Tuḷu languages it is called Nālpattokkalu and Nālvatokkalu respectively. Therefore, it may be suggested that the agricultural organisation had its beginning and even to a certain extent taken shape as early as the middle of eighth century in Karnāṭaka during the time of Āḷuvarasa II. The second record discussed above, though not accompanied by numeral, yet indicates the trend of agricultural activity and in a limited context the members figuring therein as representatives of the guild. The revenue amount conferred by no less than the ruler himself on the individuals who appear to stand for a guild of agricultural tenants (*okkalu*) illustrates the privileged status enjoyed by them in the society. One more instance from Karnāṭaka that relates to the executive authority vested on the agricultural organisation can be witnessed from Suḍi inscription[11] during the reign period of Cāḷukyas Somēśvara I in 1050 A.D. The ministers granted to various others including the eighty agriculturists (*eṇbatt= okkalu*), the renewal of the corporate constitution. Almost nearer to this date a record from Gabbūr in Devardurg Taluk in Raichur District dated in the 8th regnal year (1082-83 A.D.) of Vikramāditya VI refers to the grant of the income from the levy of one *haṇa* on every *kuṇṭeya-mēḷi* by the *mēḷi-sāsiravaru* to the deity Mahāliṅga Mēḷeśvara installed by them. The deity named Mēḷeśvara and the revenue term *kuṇṭeya-mēḷi* are quite interesting. Thus this guild has set its foot first in Karnāṭaka even before the formation of *Cittiramēḷi* in Tamil country.

The term Cittiramēḷi, representing the agriculturist organisation appears in the Tamil inscriptions from about the middle of 11th century only. It had its own *praśasti* in Sanskrit and *meykīrtti* in Tamil. This was short during the reign period of Rājēndra II and grew in length in course of time during the subsequent centuries. A record of this king from Tāmaraipākkam in North Arcot District of Tamilnāḍu gives the *meykīrtti* of this organisation in a shorter but in an incomplete form running as follows:

Śrīmad—bhūdēvi—putrāṇām cātur—varṇya kulōdbhavam sarvalōka—hit—ārthāya—Citramēḷasya—śāsanam Śrī Bhūmidēvikku makkaḷ—āgi aram vaḷarak—

Kalī madiyach — ceṅgōlē deyvamāgat — tiśaiy — anaittuñ — ceviḍu — paḍāmaic — Cittiramēḷi".

The *praśasti* in Sanskrit also appears in the Tiṭṭaiguḍi inscription of Rājādhirāja II dated in the 4th year of his reign. Subsequently a record from the Trivikrama temple at Tirukōyilūr in South Arcot District[12] introduces the *Sanskrit praśasti* and the full or an elaborate *meykīrtti* of this guild. The Sanskrit version found here runs as follows:

"*Śrīmatāṁ bhūmi—putrāṇām Śrīmat gō—kṣīra—jīvinām sarvalōka—hitan=nyāyam citramēḷasya śāsanam jīatām jagatām—ētat pālanam rāṣṭra—pōṣaṇam śāsanam bhūmi—putrāṇām cātur—varṇya—kulōdbhavam*".

Though we do not have any of these *praśastis* in Karnāṭaka during the 8th-9th centuries A.D., it was symbolically represented by the erection of a plough along with the usage of the term *mēḷi*. This is reflected in the Sanskrit tradition where the Yādava prince Balarāma had plough as his weapon (*halāyudha*). This plough had come to be recognised in the society in the course of centuries and treated with all reverence. The word Cittiramēḷi means the 'picturesque plough' which is referred to in the Tirukkoyilūr inscription as their deity (*citramēliyē-deyvam—āga*). The phrase *ceṅgōlēdeivam—āga* indicates their righteous sceptre as the deity

The characteristic *praśasti* of this organisation available so far are similar in their versions in the three places *viz.*, Tirukkoyilūr, Tiṭṭaguḍī and Pirāṇmalai.[13] The members of this guild are described as the children of the earth depending for their livelihood on cow's milk; as bent upon justice for the welfare of the entire universe. They are further described as having born from the fourth caste (*cātur-varṇya*). Another passage *jīyatām-jagatām-ētat-pālanam* conveys the idea that this organisation gives protection to the entire world and for the growth of the country (*rāshṭra*). From the Tamil portion of the same record we come to know that the members had sound knowledge of fine Tamil and Sanskrit (*vaḍakalai*) and became proficient in law (*nīti*). As aons of the goddess Lakṣmī they wore a garland of never fading fragrant flowers, shed light in all directions and protected the good with sweet words and warded off the wicked with harsh words. Further they are eulogised as the elements like Vātarāsaṉ, the wind-god and Varuṇa, the god of the waters, god Indra and the damsels (*magaḷīr*) of the quarters and are stated to be at the service of this body. The activities of the guild brought riches due to the harvest of crops for the growth of charity and decay of sins. The symbol of royalty is indicated by their royal sceptre leading them. *Cittiramēḷi* is referred to as their deity. The evergreen pure gold served as their fence (*vēli*). They convened the body and conducted their deliberations (*samaya*) with patience and sympathy. Not only they became fervent upholders of justice but also attained proficiency in the three

Tamils *viz., iyal* (literature), *iśai* (music) and *nāṭakam* (drama) which formed a garland (*mālai*) to them.

The Cittiramēḷi or Citramēḷi of the inscriptions from Tamil country as stated earlier stands for 'a picturesque plough'. The suffix 'Periyanāḍu' is always found mentioned with Cittiramēḷi in their Tamil *meykīrtti*. It bore the name of *Citramēḷi-periyanāṭṭāra* apparently from the ploughshare which they worshipped and which also was adopted by them as their standard. Both seems to indicate the agricultural organisation in a wider sense of the term. The members of this body are referred to as *Periyanāṭṭār*. The body *Periyanāḍu* is a bigger agricultural organisation which began to play a dominant role and enjoyed the status of the *sabhai* or the assembly in the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Just as the village assembly the Periyanāḍu either alone or along with *Tiśai-Āyirattu-aiññūṟṟuvar* also used to meet in the temple—*maṇḍapas* and conduct their deliberations. They wielded influence in the sphere of society, law, temple administration and economic developments. Also they coordinated with other organisations such as *ainuṟṟuvaṉ—perunīraviyār, muṇai-vīrado-ḍiyār, tiśaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuvar*, etc., in a closed circuit but nevertheless with distinction on a broader level as envisaged in the Pirāṇmāḷai and Sarkārperiyapāḷayam epigraphs. The growing trend in the field of economic activities that necessitated the communion of these bodies, keeping in view of the agricultural productivity and distribution.

Two inscriptions[14] of Rājēndra II dated in the 5th (1057 A.D.) and 10th regnal year (1062 A.D.) respectively from Tāmaraipākkam and Tirumalai in North Arcot District refer to *Cittiramēḷi-perukkaḷar*. They rendered justice by settling a dispute between the two brothers resulting in the death of the elder. The younger in expiation of the mistake committed by him in the killing of the elder, was asked to provide for half a lamp to the deity Agnīśvaramuḍaiyār of Tāmaraippākkam.

The other record from[15] beginning with the *praśasti*, '*Iraṭṭapāḍi-Elarai-ilakkamum*', seems to register the assignment, made by the body called *Cittiramēḷi-perukkaḷar*, as agreed to by the *nāḍu*, of the shares of the produce of *piśānāk-kaḍamai* and *kārkkaḍamai* from both the crops from the lands under *dēvadāṉa* and *paḷḷicchandam* in the village. Though the composition of the body called *perukkaḷar* is not clear, it is interesting to note that the consent of the *nāḍu* was obtained regarding the assignment of the produce. This record seems to afford one of the early references to the important organisation called *cittramēḷi*. The relationship of the *nāḍu* with *cittiramēḷi* which was called *periya-nāḍu* is defined in an inscription from Nellore.[16] The expression used in the two records from North Arcot area is *perukkaḷar* meaning 'bigger court of justice' (*perum+kaḷar*). As fully qualified in the *Maṇunūl* and *Nāṇmarai* and extolled as *uttamanītiyar—peruṅ—kīrtti*, they have delivered judgement for social security and prosperity. There is every reason to believe that

a member of their family should have been a representative of this body. Though the king was a powerful law giver, the guild must have acted in the interest of the society. The righteous sceptre as a symbol of their royalty is well-neigh attested to by the active role of this organisation in matters of judiciary.

The powers enjoyed by them in matters relating to the land transactions of the temple are forthcoming from the inscriptional evidences available in the areas of their influence and control of agricultural activities from Āndhra, Karnāṭaka and Tamilnāḍu. It is already seen in the Tāmaraipākkam inscription about the decisions taken by Cittiramēḷi-perukkaḷar for the *status quo* to be maintained in respect of the *devadāṇa* and *paḷḷicchandam* lands of the village as agreed to by the *nāḍu*. Also the inscriptions from Koḍumurti[17] Mēḍikurti in Anantapur District of Andhra-Pradesh give an idea about the powers of this body. The *sthānapati* Vyāpakadēva undertook the grant of the village from the minister of the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa dated Śaka 1149 (1227 A.D.) as he looked after the affairs of the temple of Citramēḍi Lalitēśvaradeva. The Aṇbil record[18] of Rājarāja II dated in his 19th regnal year (1164-65 A.D.) refers to the involvement of this body in the restoration of a previous grant made over to Amudamoḷipperumpaḷḷi, a Jaina temple at Triuviḍaikkuḍi in Poigaināḍu. During the succeeding period of Rājādhirāja II dated in his 4th year (1167 A.D.) this guild which had come in active co-operation with *Tiśai-Āyirattuaiññūrruvar* institutes the image of Bhūdēvi and granted the levies to the Viṣṇu temple at Tiṭṭaikuḍi.[19] The foundation of Kodaṇḍarāma-caturvēdimaṅgalam after the name of the king is referred to in a record[20] from Veṅgūr, in South Arcot District which registers a sale of land to the Brāhmaṇa colonising that settlement by the Bhūmiputtirar *alias Nattamakkaḷ* belonged to the Veḷḷāḷa community as can be seen from the *praśasti* which is found as preamble in some of their records, especially the one from Tirukkoyilūr.[21] It may be remarked that the Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya[22] who also bore this surname was a patron of this agricultural community. From the present inscription it looks as if the community had a corporate existence, and acted in that capacity in selling the lands to the *Bhaṭṭas* of the *agaram*, and in setting it apart for the maintenance of the *Pugalālaiyaṇ alias Bhūmiputtiraṇ-tirumaṇḍapam* in the same village. This body also bore the name of Citramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār, apparently from the plough-share which they worshipped and which was also adopted by them as their standard.

The inscriptions referring to the transactions of the guild mention the involvement of persons belonging to *bhaṭṭas*, *veḷḷas*, *śeṭṭi*, etc. The ownerships of lands were in the hands of all the four castes (*cāturvarṇa*) thus signifying the privileged position enjoyed by the guild. This goes against the theory that the tillers of the soil alone were the members of the guild.

The agricultural guild besides the agricultural activities also extended their sphere of activity into the field of trade and commerce. A record from Mukundanūr (*Sarkārperiyapāḷayam*)[23] in Perunturai taluk of Periyār district speaks of the different organisations that have come together to coordinate their activities. The group of bodies involved with an idea to promote the agricultural and commercial prosperity included *citramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār*, members of *māḍa-vīdi-padineṭṭup-paṭṭaṇam, muppattiraṇḍu-vaḷarpuram, Aruvattunāṅgu-kaḍigai-tāvaḷam* (*ghaṭikā-sthāna*=like *śālai* in Rājarāja's record), *śeṭṭis, śeṭṭivīraputra, nāṅgu-diśai—padineṇ—viṣaiyattōm, padineṇ-viṣaiya-perunūraviyār, tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūrruvar, Ainnūrruvan-perunīraviyār, nāṭṭu-śeṭṭi, muṇai—vīrakōḍiyār, arupattunāṅgu-muṇai, etc.*

The word like *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam* meaning *ghaṭikā-sthāna* wherein the studies included *vēda, dharma*, etc., Dr. Stein[24] interpreted this term as an urban place Inscriptions show that they not only served as vēdic or educational institution but also for the study of defence subjects. Another interesting expression is *peru-nīraviyār* which could be taken to mean a body concerned with the regulation of irrigational facilities to the cultivable lands. We hear of a *vāriyam* (committee) looking after the function of maintaining lakes (*eri-vāriyam*) from the records of the Coḷas, etc. as in Uttaramallūr inscription.

The Mukundanūr record refers to the taxes levied on different objects, which were made over to a temple of Kurakkutaḷi.

Dr. Stein explains that the class of supra-local authorities was separated from their peasant bases and origins as seen in the collaboration of the *periyanāṭṭār* with trade and artisan groups. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of this transitional period of the 12th-13th centuries that groups which before had no separate cooperative existence now enjoyed increasingly independent identification, the powerful agricultural citramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār, the itinerant, mercantile *tiśai-āyirattu-aiññūrruvar* or *nānādēśi*, artisans (*rathakāras*) or Kammāḷar. The relationship between citramēḷi and merchant guild was mainly economy based unlike political power based suggested by Hall and independant of each other as construed by Dr. Stein.

The *periyanāṭṭār* played an intermediary role between the state and the local assembly. They enjoyed higher status as it embraced several associated bodies. The agricultural guild helped the peasant community to trade their produces.

Thus the organisation of the agricultural guild was a powerful body which built up its own traditions and wide net-work of activities. It grew into prominance after about the 12th-13th centuries to serve the agricultural class and other communities.

Notes and References

1. *SII.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 690 and 695.
2. *SII.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 59 etc.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp. 52-54.
4. Progress of *K.R.I.*, 1953-57, pp. 62-68 and *AREp.*, 1960-61, Introduction pp. 24-25.
5. Prof. P.B. Desai, Felicitation Volume (1971), pp. 314-19, Dharwad.
6. *Journal of the Madras University* Vol. LXIV, No. 1 Jan. 1982, in his Śaṅkara-Pārvati Endowment Lectures delivered in 1978-79.
7. K.V. Ramesh: *A History of South Kanara*, p. 68.
8. *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 279.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 23-24 and plate.
10. *A History of South Kanara*, p. 85.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 76-77 and plate.
12. *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 129.
13. *QJMS.*, Vol. XLV.
14. *AREp.*, 1974, No. p. B 183.
15. *AREp.*, 1977-78, No. B 276.
16. *SII.*, Vol. V, No. 496, *Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*, *JAHRS*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 171-72.
17. *AREp.*, 1953-54, No. B 14 and plate facing p. 22.
18. *SII.*, Vol. VIII, No. 198.
19. *SII.*, Vol. VIII, No. 291.
20. *AREp.*, 1936-37, No. B 209.
21. *Ibid.*, 1900, No. 117.
22. *Ibid.*, 1903, No. 75.
23. Dr. Stein: *Peasants, State and Society*.
24. *Ibid.*

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Two Inscriptions of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI from Valaballary

MADHAV N. KATTI & N.N. SWAMY

The inscriptions[1] edited below were copied by Shri N.N. Swamy during his tour of the Raichur District, in the year 1978-79. They are kept near the plinth of the Rāmaliṅgēśvarasvāmi temple situated on the banks of river Tuṅgabhadrā at Vaḷaballāry, Sindhanur Taluk, Raichur District, Karnataka and are being edited here for the first time. The top portion of the first record is a little effaced, due to the surface being used for sharpening the agricultural implements by the villagers. But, fortunately the important portion of the text of the first and complete text of the second epigraph are in a very good state of preservation, as they were concealed under the earth.

The first record is dated in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year 20, Yuva, Pushya ba. 11, Sunday, *Uttarāyaṇa saṁkramaṇa* which corresponds to A.D. 1095, December 25, the weekday being Tuesday instead of Sunday. The second record is dated in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year 42, Hēmaḷaṁbi, Pushya, Amāvāsya, Monday which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1117, December 24; a day before the *Makara-saṅkramaṇa*.

Both the inscriptions are in Kannaḍa language and script the texts being in prose, throughout in case of the former, and except invocatory and imprecatory verses, in the case of the later record.

The Palaeography of the records is very much regular for the period to which they belong and they can be compared with those from Doṇi[2] and Yali-Sīrūr[3] inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. However, the following points deserve notice. *Anusvāra* is used in the place of *anunāsika* as in *aṁdu* (in the word *saṁkramaṇa-daṁdu*, line No. 19) in the first, and *bɛṁṭeya* (line no. 14-15) in the second. The following orthographical peculiarities are worth noticing here, the letters preceded by *r* are doubled as in the cases of *sarvvādhyaksha* in line No. 13 in the first record and *ā-chandrārkka* in line Nos. (6-7) in the second.

The importance of these records lies in the fact that they bring to light new evidence pertaining to the political, socio-economic and cultural history of Karnataka.

The purpose of the first record is to register, a gift of income from various taxes to god Mūlasthānadēva in the *agrahāra* of *Pṙiya-Beḷḷahāra*, for the purpose of daily offerings, perpetual lamp, dance, music concert etc., by one Kēsirāja, who was incharge of *achchu-pannāya* (the officer incharge of mint), and Mādirāja. The grant was made on the exhortation of *Mahāpradhāna, sandhivigrahika, sarvvādhyaksha, mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍa-nāyaka* Mahādēva-bhaṭṭopādhyāya. Amongst the gifted objects, Lokkipaṇa (lines 22-23) is interesting. This word evidently indicates coins of a particular denomination. It is possible that the coins may have the figure of Lakshmī on one side, (Lakshmi>Lakumī>Lakki<Lokki) and hence the name Lokki-paṇa.[4]

The second epigraph registers the grant of 10 *mattars* of land, measured in the Ādityadēvara-gaḍiṁbada-kolu, to god Kēśavadēva, who was installed by Bālabhāskaradēva, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-Saṁkrānti* for the daily food offerings by *mahā-sāmanta, Kāḷañjarapuravarādhīśvara, piriyabɛṁbṭeya* Vasantanāyaka and the gifted land was entrusted to the 120 *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra Piriya-Beḷḷahāṛa*.

The former record is important in as much as it furnishes the details pertaining to the feudatory viz. Mahādeva-bhaṭṭopādhyāya, for whom the earliest reference is provided by this epigraph. The inscription from Doṇi, Muṇḍargipēṭha Taluk, Dharwar District, Karnataka (which has been referred to above), mentions a feudatory by name Mahādevabhaṭṭa who is stated to be incharge of the office of *manevergaḍe* of the same king, *viz.* Vikramāditya VI. In the record under discussion, the feudatory Mahādeva-bhaṭṭopādhyāya is referred to as *mahāpradhāna, sandhi-vigrahika* and *sarvvādhyaksha* (the minister-in-chief, holding also the portfolios of war and peace and looking after the overall administration of the State). The two records belong to the reign of the same Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya. Mahādevabhaṭṭa referred to as *manevergaḍe* in the Doṇi inscription, in all probability, is the

same as Mahādeva-bhaṭṭopādhyāya of our record. If that is so, we have to assume that he was promoted as *mahāpradhāna, sandhivigrāhi, sarvādhyaksha* by the time of our record.

Kēsirāja *daṇḍanāyaka* referred to in the inscription, appears to be the same as his name sake in the Koṇḍugūḷi[5] inscription. The Koṇḍugūḷi inscription is dated in A.D. 1107. In that he has been eulogised as "*samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-sāmantādhipati-mahā prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka dushṭavidvishṭa-vidhēyaka vājikulārṇṇava-pārijāta sukaviśukachūta-bandhu-vana-vasanta vachanaśrī-vadhūkānta sāhitya-sarōruha-madhubrata satya-satya-brata Haracharaṇa-rajō-rañjit-ōttamaṅgan=ayyana-siṅga nāmādi samasta praśasti-sahitaṁ Śrīman-mahāpradhānaṁ herilāḷa sandhivigrahi daṇḍanāyakaṁ* Kēśirājarasa. In our record he is mentioned as Kēsirāja *daṇḍanāyaka* only. Therefore, we have to assume that our inscription addresses him in a general way as *daṇḍanāyaka*, without referring to his other titles and epithets: Mādirāja mentioned in our record, it is possible, was the brother of Kēsirāja. This has to be proved by future discoveries giving their parentage and we may be optimistic about coming across such inscriptions.

In the second epigraph a new feudatory viz. *mahā-sāmanta Kāḷāñjara-puravarādhīśvara priyabeṁṭeya* Vasantanāyaka is introduced for the first time. The epithet *Kāḷāñjara-puravarādhīśvara* frequently occurs in the Kalachura inscriptions from Karnataka. Therefore, Vasantanāyaka evidently belonged to this lineage and this inscription thus adds an important evidence to the history of Karnataka. The other epithets *mahā-sāmanta* and *priyabēṇṭeya* indicate that he was an important feudatory and was the officer incharge of the royal huntsmen. Another interesting but at the same time important epithet is that he is referred to as *chittachamatukāra* (*chamatkāra*) i.e. as the one who used to cause wonder in the mind of King Vikramāditya VI.

Amongst the geographical names, mentioned in the record, Kalyāṇa is the same as modern Basavakalyāṇa with Taluk headquarters of the same name in Bidar District and Jayantīpura is the same as Vaijayanti i.e., modern Banavāsi in North Kanara District of Karnataka. The next place mentioned is piriya-Beḷḷa-hāṛa. It is rather difficult to analyse the etymological derivation of this word. This place can however be safely indentified with the present day Bellary, the District Headquarters in Karnataka.

Regarding the name of the find spot, it is easy to explain Vaḷa-Baḷḷāri as Baḷḷāri which is situated within or encircled. It is interesting to mention here that the place is encircled by the Tuṅgabhadrā river. Taking this context into consideration, a suggestion can also be made that the name of the place can owe its derivation to the words *hoḷe* and Baḷḷāri, i.e. Baḷḷāri situated near the river (i.e. Tuṅgabhadrā) and subsequently corrupted to Vaḷe-Baḷḷāri>Vaḷa-Baḷḷāri>Valaballāri.

Text[6] of the first record

1. Svasti | Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrīpru(ṛi)
2. thu(th) vi-vallabha-mahārājādhirā-
3. jaṁ parameśvara-pramabhaṭṭāraka-Satyā-
4. śraya-kuḷa-tiḷaka-Chāḷuky-ābharaṇaṁ
5. śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalladēvaru (a) Vijaya rā-
6. jayam=a(u)ttarottarābhivṛiddhī-pravarddhamānam-
7. āchaṁdrārkka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttuṁ=ire, Kalyāṇada nele vi-
8. ḍinoḷu suka-saṁkatā (sukha-saṁkathā)-
   vinodadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttum=i[re*] ‖
9. Svasti Yama=niyama—svādhyāya—dhyāna—dhāraṇa—mon-ā
10. [nu]shṭā(thā)nā(a) parāyaṇa vivēka—nārāyaṇa kavi-gama—
11. [ki]ge—prasa[7] (pa)nna samasta guṇayukta nishkapaṭa-vineya
12. di . . . . . satya—rādhēyaru . . . . . kuḷa-vā(va)sishṭha (śishṭha)ru sa(ma)ra saṁtushṭha
13. [ru] Śrīman—mahā—pradhāna—saṁdhi—vigrāhika sarvvādhyakshaṁ ma [ha]
14. [Pra*] [cha]ṁḍa—daṇḍanāyaka Ma[hā]dēva-bhaṭṭopādhyāya [ra]
15. [be]sadiṁ | Svasti—samasta nija—nāmāṁka-māḷikā-prasa(śa)sti sahi[taṁ]
16. Śrimad—achchupan—āyada—daṇḍanā[ya*]ka Kēsirājanuṁ Madira[januṁ]
17. Svasti Śrī Chāḷukya Vikrama—varshada 20 Yuva samvatsarada
18. Pushya bahuḷa 11, Ādivāram=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkra[ma]—
19. ṇad—aṁdu agrahāraṁ piriya—Beḷḷahāra mūla
20. sthāna dēvargge nivēdya akhaṇḍa—naṁdādīvige[gaṁ]
21. gāndharvvak=end biṭṭa[muḍi]pu hēṛi(ṛin)ge vēru 1 ke.
22. lokkipaṇaṁ 3 vīsa 10 int=aravaṭṭada hēṛu 2
23. lokkipaṇa[ṁ]2 vī 10 maṅgaḷa mahā[Śrī]
24. antu tiṁgaḷa hēṛu 2 dakshiṇa so. .
25. Gaṁgeya taḍiyal sāyira . .
26. naṁ sāyira brāhmaṇarggaṁ dānaṁ geyda
27. [Pha]laṁ=akku naḍasidargge—dharmma—

Text[8] of the second record

1. Ōm[‖ *]Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ vishṇor=vvārāhaṁ—rosham=utta—
2. maṁ [| *]dakshiṇ—onnata—daṁshṭr—āgra—viśrāṁta bhuvanat-trayaṁ ‖ [9]

3. Svasti samasta bhuva-āśraya śrī-pṛithvī-vallabha—mahā rā-
4. jādhirāja—paramēśvara—paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśrayakuḷa—
5. tiḷaka Chāḷuky—ābharaṇa Śrīmat=Tribhuvana-malladēvara
6. Vijaya—rājyam=uttarottar-ābhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā—chaṁ—
7. drārkka—taraṁ saluttuṁ=ire Jayaṁtīpurada-nele-vīḍino—
8. ḷu sukha—saṁkathā—vinodadiṁ rājyaṁ geyyuttum=ire ‖ Tat-pāda
9. padmopajīvigaḷ-appa Svasti samadhigata-paṁcha-[mahāśabda][10]—mahā-sāmantaṁ
10. Vijaya—lakshmīkāṁtaṁ Kāḷāṁjara—puravarādhīśvaram [dhī]radhi(di)
11. bhuja māhēsva (śva)raṁ sallalita [samuda]ya-guṇa-ganottuṁgaṁ—go
12. tra pavitraṁ sujanaika—mitraṁ [vīradi] Pārtha saujanyaratana[ṁ*] Śrī—
13. mat—Tribhuvanamalladēvara chitta—chamatukāran=ēkāṁga—vīra—nā
14. mādi samasta prasa(śa)sti sahitam Śrī manu mahā-sāmaṁta piriya—bēṁ—
15. ṭeya Vesaṁtanāyaka ‖ Śrīmat-Chāḷukya—Vikrama varsha [da[11] nālvattera-
16. ḍa[ne[12]] ya Hēmaḷambi samvatsarada Paushyad=amāvāse—Somavā-
17. radaṁd=uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāṁṭi—nimittaṁ Śrī Bālabhāskaradēvaru
18. pratishṭhe māḍida śrī Kēsa(śa)va-devarigaṁ ni(nai)vēdyake(kke) śrīmad=Ā
19. ditya-dēvara gaḍimbada Kolalu biṭṭa Kariya nelaṁ matta-
20. ru hattu śrimad=agrahāra Piriya-Beḷḷahāra[da][13] Mahājanaṁ
21. nūrirppadimbaru rakshisuvaru[‖ *] Intī-darmmamaṁ prati
22. pāḷisidargge Śrī Vāraṇasiyalu sāsirvvaru brā-
23. -hmaṇargge sāyi [ra][14] kavileya[15] dānaṁ māḍida phalam=akkuṁ
24. i(ī)darmmaman=aḷidargge[16] sāyira kavileyumaṁ brāhmaṇaru-
25. [ma]n-aḷida pāpaṁ akkuṁ | Svadattaṁ(āṁ) para-dattam(āṁ) vāyo harē-
26. tu(ta) vasuṁdharāṁ [| *] sa(sha)shṭhir-vvarsha sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyām jā-
27. yatē krimiḥ[17] ‖ Mahā Śrī Śrī baredaṁ[18] Dē[vojam]
28. Bhojaṇārya.

Notes and References

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, No. 168 and 169. They are edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy).
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, pt. II, Ins. No. 140 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V Bl. Ins. No 116.

3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, pt. II Ins. No. 167 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Sk. Ins. No. 114.
4. The place Lakkiguṇḍi, which was a mint, must have been named after Lakshmī (i.e. Lokki) and thus Lokki-paṇa may also suggest its connection with this place.
5. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, Ins. No. 69 pp. 82. ff.
6. From the estampages of *A.R. Ep.*, B. 168 of 1978-79.
7. Written in smaller size above.
8. From the estampage of *A.R. Ep.*, B. No. 169 of 1978-79.
9. *Anusṭhubh*.
10. Mahā-śabda these two words are missing.
11. '*da*' is missing.
12. '*ne*' is missing.
13. "*da*' is missing.
14. '*ra*' is missing.
15. To be read as. *kavileyumaṁ*.
16. To be read as *aḷidavargge*.
17. *Anushṭubh* metre.
18. To be read as '*baredōm*' *De*[*vōjaṁ*].

11

The Decorous Aspect of Ancient Indian Coins & Seals

K.D. BAJPAI

Various aspects of ancient Indian coins have been studied by foreign and Indian scholars. The study of seals and sealings has attracted attention of lesser number of scholars than those who have worked on coins. Apart from their historical importance, coins, seals and sealings throw valuable light on various aspects of culture. These include economic, social and religious aspects, script, language and fine arts.

As in the sculptural and pictorial art, so also in the preparation of coins, the aesthetic side was given its due place. A study of ancient and early medieval Indian coins and seals would reveal this. Three chief methods for preparation of coins were current in this country: punching, moulding and die-striking. From the pre-Mauryan times onwards coins were prepared by one of these methods. The moulding method was also adopted for preparation of clay seals and sealings. While preparing those of metal, the die-striking device was also adhered to. The seals and sealings, obtained from several Harappan sites, indicate the use of soft stones for the purpose. This continued during the early and medieval periods when stones of various types, metals, ivory and other media were used for the preparation of seals and sealings.

The decorative aspect of Indian numismatic art offers an interesting study. Like sculpture, painting and other Indian arts, the numismatic field also is rich in

regard to various types of decorative patterns. These patterns are generally based on mythology, geography, sacramental practices and symbols, geometrical designs and folklore.

Indian mythology, as represented in literature and art, can broadly be classified under the following categories[1], taking into account the chronological sequence and the themes to be delineated.

I. *Myths woven around the Vedic deities representing mainly the manifestations of Nature and the ritualistic aspects.* In the Brāhmaṇas and the works such as the *Brihaddevatā* the significance of these myths are explained. Some of them are elaborately treated in the Purāṇic works.

II. *Myths associated with the settled life in the āśramas and with their Rishis.* The Āraṇyakas and the Upanishads contain significant references to them, mentioning various anecdotes connected with Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Yājñavalkya and others.

III. *Those related to the epics and the Purāṇas.* Here the germs of *avatāravāda* also take their roots. Rāma, Krishṇa and several other personalities are eulogized in these works as ideal heroes.

IV. *Popular stories.* They are those of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, Rishyaśriṅga and Śāntā, Nanda-Sundarī, Śurpaka-Kumudvatī, etc.

V. *The world of animals, birds and the inanimate objects of nature.* Some of the myths related to them go back to the Proto-historic times. The myths put under these five categories are portrayed realistically in Indian art in the plastic or pictorial forms or in the symbolic form.

The purpose of these myths in literature and art is generally four-fold.

1. Propagation of the established ethical principles.
2. Teaching of social behaviour.
3. To attain a wide experience of the world.
4. To widen the horizon of learning and encouraging free thought.

On account of the growth of the Āgamic literature, and particularly due to the development of the Tāntric influence, the mythology—Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina—became more complicated. This is discernible in the art of India after the 7th century A.D. It is confirmed by the contemporary literary and inscriptional evidences.

We may exemplify the portrayal of some myths in Indian art. Let us first take up the most powerful Vedic deity, Indra, and his association with the earth. In ancient lore we come across the direct allegorical references to the fertility of the earth with the pouring of rains. The popular *Gajalakṣmī* aspect of Indian art represents the earth in the form of the goddess; and her *abhisheka* by two elephants

pouring water over her alludes to Indra, the god of rains. This motif became extremely popular throughout the country from about c. 200 B.C. to the late medieval times. In the art of the Guptas, the early and later Chālukyas, the Pālas, the Gangas, the Colas and of several other dynasties and regions, this motif can be seen as a very popular one.

The representation of several Vedic deities, both in the human and symbolic forms, can be seen in Indian sculptures, coins, seals and sealings. The myths associated with them were also portrayed in art in various forms. Clay was the cheapest and easily available medium for carving figures. From different parts of the country, especially from the north-west and north India, a large number of clay images, representing the mahīmātā or lokamātā, have been discovered. Some of these go back to the time of the Harappan culture. During the historical times, from the Maurya period onwards, clay was profusely used for the preparation of images, both of the religious and secular character. Stone, metal, ivory and wood were also utilized for this purpose. The portrayal of the figures of the Brahmanical deities, of the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas and the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and various myths connected with them is noticed in the art of different parts of the country. A good number of such relics are known also from Central Asia, Afghanistan, China, Japan, Śrīlanka, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia.

Indian symbology in its variegated forms had its wide impact on different art forms. The Vedic literature contains valuable material on symbology. A large number of seals and sealings from the Harappan sites furnish sumptuous material representing symbols and decorative patterns. Symbology of various types is met with in Indian art. Several symbols are known in archaic rock-paintings and in the Chalcolithic terracotta figures, seals and sealings. In the rock-paintings we get the symbols of Sun, Moon, stars, fire, hill, *svastika*, tree, pot, etc. These and a few other symbols occur on coins, seals and sealings. At the initial stage these symbols are shown in the natural forms of the sun, moon, fire, etc. Later on, they assume human forms. We may take the example of Sūrya. On the coins of the Pancāla kings Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra we get the representation of Sūrya, both in the natural and in the human forms. Similar is the case with Agni (fire god).

Besides Sūrya and Agni several other Vedic-Purāṇic deities are represented on the coins of the Pancāla rulers and also on the coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Kṣaharāta-Kṣatrapas, the Kushāṇas, the Yaudheyas, the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, the Guptas, etc. The figures of Śākyamuni Buddha and of Bodhisattva Maitreya on the coins of Kanishka-I of the Kushāṇa dynasty are quite significant in this respect. Besides the human and geometrical symbols, the figures of some animals, birds, etc. also occur on sculptures, coins, seals and sealings. Some decorated female figurines in art, occurring from the period of the Harappan culture to the Śuṅga period, have been identified with Mother Goddess. Similarly, a good number of figures of birds,

snakes, elephants, horses, bulls, etc. seem to represent cult objects or elements associated with different cults, which assumed importance during the early historical period. At the same time, the decorative sense of some of these objects cannot be ruled out.[2]

The evolution of the bird *garuḍa* in art can be cited here. The early depiction of this bird is seen on the coins of the Gupta ruler, Rāmagupta (last quarter of the fourth century A.D.). So far the present author has identified more than two thousand coins of Rāmagupta. Various forms of Garuḍa have been noticed on them. Garuḍa is usually shown as a bird, sometimes with outstretched wings. It has also been depicted on several coins in the human form, having one or three heads (as in the case of Śiva or Kārttikeya). If we compare the forms of Garuḍa on the coins of Candragupta-II or Kumāragupta-I of the same dynasty, we find a close similarity. The carving of Garuḍa in the *Śeṣaśāyī* cave at Udaigiri (Dist. Vidisha, M.P.) is of a similar type. On the same lines one can trace the evolution in the iconography of Śiva, Kārttikeya (Skanda-Kumāra), Viśākha, Mahāsena, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Buddha, Bodhisattva Maitreya, etc. The depiction of several of these deities is found on the coins and seals and also on the stone, metal, terracotta and other media of art.[3]

On the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians, the Kushāṇas and the Indo-Sassanids a number of Indian deities are depicted. Mention may be made of Lakṣmī, Agni, Indra, Śiva, Umā, Skanda and Gaṇeśa. Their figures on coins, seals and sealings are important not only for the study of their iconographic features but also for the study of aesthetics. On a few coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Hermios we get the depiction of Gaṇeśa, which shows that by the beginning of the 1st century A.D. the image of Gaṇeśa was portrayed on some coins of the foreign rulers. On some copper coins of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles, of the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., are noticed the figures of Kriṣṇa and Balarāma with their usual *āyudhas*. The two deities are shown clad in interesting drapery. This drapery is similar to one found on the unique 4-handed inscribed figure of Viṣṇu known from Malhār (Dist. Bilaspur in M.P.). This is the earliest stone image of Viṣṇu so far known in India and can be assigned to early 2nd century B.C. A few years ago figures of Kriṣṇa and Balarāma, with their names written in the Kharoṣṭī script, have been discovered at Chilas in the Gilgit area of present Pakistan. The decorative features of these figures can be compared with those found on the coins of Agathocles and on the image from Malhār.

Mention may also be made here of some interesting *Janapada* coins from Mathurā, Ujjain, Vidisha, Eraṇ, Kauśāmbī and a few other sites. Similarly, the coins of Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, the Mālavas, the Audumbaras, etc. are also important. If we compare the portrayal of the figure of Śiva on the coins of the Kushāṇas with that found on the coins of the Yaudheyas, a striking similarity is noticed. The contemporary coins of the Yaudheyas bear almost the same traits in the depiction of Śiva as are found on the Kushāṇa coins.

Passing on to the times of the Guptas, one can discern much more numismatic material for the study of art, particularly in the context of the developed aesthetic sense of the Gupta age. Later on we come to the time of Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.). Some years ago I published a gold coin of this ruler.[4] On the reverse of the coin is a fine depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on their bull Nandī. Pārvatī is all attention to her Lord. The delineation of their bodies is perfect. On a recently discovered stone panel of Śiva-Pārvatī from Kanauj (Dist. Farrukhabad in U.P.) assignable to the 7th century A.D., one can notice a striking similarity in the figures of the two deities. This can lead to the presumption that the same artist was probably responsible for the preparation of the stone sculpture and the coin device of the gold coin referred to above.

While tracing the depiction of Śiva on the coins, seals and sealings from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. to the 7th century A.D. the evolutionary change can be clearly marked. If we compare the form of Śiva found on the Ujjayinī coins or on those of the Kushāṇa emperor Vima Kadphises or Kanishka-I, with the figure of Śiva on the gold coin of Harṣavardhana, we can notice the change due to the development in the iconographic form of the deity.

On ancient Indian coins, besides the portrayal of gods and goddesses we have some secular depictions. On some coins of the Sātavāhana king Yajñaśrī Sātkarṇi, there is the depiction of a boat. This form of boat can be compared with the portrayal of boat in rock-paintings or in the Indus Valley art or with the boat occurring in the Ajanta paintings.

As regards the technique of ancient Indian coins it may be observed that the three chief methods of their preparation (besides the fourth repousse method) were all indigenous. The die-striking method was known in the country before India came into contact with the Greek coinage. This is proved by the die-struck coin of Dharmapāla from Eran (Dist. Sagar), the *Hiraññasame* coin minted at Taxila and a good number of such early coins known from the Betwa valley of central India.[5]

Later on, the refined Greek technique of well engraved dies had its impact on the coins of north-western India. This is borne out from the study of the silver tribal coins of the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, the Vriṣṇis, and the Vaimakis.[6] Similarly, the inter-relation between the silver currency of the Kṣatrapas and that of the Indian ruling dynasties—the Sātavāhanas, the Traikūṭas, the Guptas, the Maukharis and the Puṣyabhūtis is clearly discernible.

The Indian ruling powers and mint-masters were conversant not only with the religious and mythological beliefs but also with their geographical background and traditional decorative patterns. This can be seen on ancient Indian coins. For example, while adopting the technique, size and weight of the Kṣatrapa coinage chiefly due to political reasons, the Indian proto-types evince remarkable originality

in the human features, drapery, symbology and ornamental patterns, besides the use of Indian scripts and languages. Apart from this, it can also be noticed on a considerably good number of coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushāṇas that they borrowed several features of Indian pantheons and the Indian decorative patterns. These patterns include *cakra*, tree-in-railing, weapons, ornaments and the floral designs.

Indian punch-marked silver coins bear some ornamental devices, such as Sun, *cakra*, taurine, *svastika*, *ṣaḍara-cakra*, tree, animals and birds. The cast coins indicate the patterns of moon on hill, hollow tree with prominent leaves and animals with well defined anatomy.

The tribal coins, found in different regions of the country, show more advanced techniques in the field of decorative motifs. The *janapada* coins of Takṣaśilā, of the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and of the Ujjayini-Vidiśā-Eraṇ region clearly attest to this. The portrayal of the figures of Lakṣmī holding flower, and of *puṣpa-vedikā*, *nāga-vedikā*, *matsya-dhvaja* and of grape-creepers are remarkable aesthetic and decorative points of view.[7] On a *Vaṭasvaka* coin, a goddess is gracefully standing before a *candra-meru*.[8] On the coins of the Yaudheyas the depiction of Devasenā in a *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* pose is also quite attractive.[9] On the coins of the Malwa region (from Ujjain, Vidiśā and Eraṇ) assignable to a period between 2nd c. B.C. and 1st c. A.D., are carved several interesting scenes, such as fishes in a pond and the *Vajra*-symbol, along with various decorative motifs of *svastika* and *nandipada*. The figures of Śiva with Pārvatī, Śiva naṭeśa, one or three-faced Śiva holding ghaṭa and of the three deities together are significant. Some *janapada* coins from Ujjain and Vidiśā represent beautiful figures of Lakṣmī in sitting or standing postures. On the coins from Eraṇ, the depiction of elephant, horse, river with fish and tortoise, of mountain, tree in rail and of full blown lotuses indicate high skill on the part of the die-engravers.

In Indian art the depiction of Gaja-Lakṣmī (elephants anointing the goddess of riches) became an auspicious as well as decorative symbol. The figure can be seen on the coins of Ayodhya, Mathura, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā and Ujjayinī and those of the Sātavāhanas and others. The Śaka rulers of Mathura also represented her on their coins. Other female deities on ancient coins are: Umā, Bhadrā, Devasenā, Phālgunī, Durgā, Gaṅgā, Devī of Puṣkalāvatī, etc. The Yakṣas and Nāgas also found their place on some ancient coins and sealings.[10]

Animals and birds, including the mythical creatures (*ihāmṛigas*) occur profusely on the coins. Apart from the four chief animals—bull, elephant, horse and lion—deer, rhino and some other animals are also depicted on the coins; snake, fish, tortoise, peacock, garuda, etc. find suitable place on them. The objects, such as hills, rivers, ponds, trees, creepers and flowers represent both the geographical and ornamental aspects. It is instructive to note that the particular trees occur on the coins of the

respective regions, for example, palm on Ayodhya coins, Kadamba on the Mathura coins and the Pipal tree on the Vidiśā—Eraṇ coins. The general depiction of *Kalpa-vrikṣa* on ancient coins and seals, as on sculpture is also significant.

The auspicious symbols such as *svastika, Śrīvatsa, ghaṭa, padma, nandipada* and *vajra* can also be seen as decorative motifs on ancient coins and sealings. On some of the Sātavāhana coins, the chain of the *vajra* symbol is seen as forming an interesting decorative pattern. Similar is the case with other symbols. Sometimes the blank space is artistically filled in by symbols, particularly by *svastika, śrīvatsa, Maṅgala-ghaṭa,* Sun, crescent and stars. The bead-border (*maṇimala*) was utilized to enhance the ornamental beauty of the coins. Such borders can be seen on the coins of the Yaudheyas, the Kotas, the Kṣatrapas, the Ābhīras, the Guptas, etc.

Other ornamental devices were formed by full blown lotuses (as on the Kārṣāpana coins of Malwa), by stairs (as on the Magha coins) or by creepers (as on the Taxila coins). The *ghaṭa* as a decorative pattern is found on the Kuṇinda, Yaudheya and Mālava coins. Dancing peacock was utilized by the Guptas, the Maukharis the Puṣyabhūtis, etc. as a decorative motif on their coins. The ornamental temples seen on the coins of the Audumbaras, the Trigartas and the Maghas are also quite interesting. The temple on the Audumbara coins consists of double *Vedikā*, a *harmikā* and *śikhara*.

During the Gupta period an unsurpassed excellence was reached in the fabric and entire composition of the obverse and reverse of the coins, particularly in those of gold. The human and other figures and the ornamental devices on these coins show anatomical perfection, grace and beauty. As in the literature of the period, so also in the art-devices, including coinage, one can see the ideals of beauty and tranquility. The figures of kings and queens, of the male and female deities and various other details have been delineated tastefully on the Gupta coins. Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty and wealth, feeding the bird peacock or scattering coins on one of the coin types of Kumāragupta-I is an eloquent tribute to the happy life of the times. A large number of decorative patterns on the coins and seals of the Gupta period furnish valuable material for art history. The word *rūpākriti*, written on the couch-type gold coin of Candragupta-II, is significant in the context of artistic creativity.

The coins of the early medieval period retain certain decorative features of the past. These are: the bead border and other usual patterns, fire-worship, the figure of Lakṣmī and the animal motifs. In so far as the aesthetic side is concerned, there is a marked deterioration in these coins.

So far as the historical seals and sealings are concerned, they do not exhibit the refined technique and composition of their counterparts discovered at the Harappan sites. Even then, we find some interesting ornamental devices in the historical seals and sealings, mostly made of baked clay. Their chief provenances are: Takṣaśilā, Sunet, Mathura, Ahicchattra, Eran, Vidiśā, Bhīṭā, Kauśāmbī, Rajghat, Kumarhar, Basārh,

Nalanda and Tamluk. From several sites in the western and southern India also some valuable material has been obtained. The time limit of these seals and sealings can be bracketted between c. 3rd century B.C. and 1000 A.D.

In regard to the ornamentation, the seals and sealings of the Gupta period indicate certain elements of originality and decorative superiority akin to the contemporary art-objects of other categories. This is clearly seen on the specimens known from Sunet, Mathura, Eran, Rajghat and several other sites. From Sunet near Ludhiana two circular sealings have been found representing the same scene. The scene is probably of *dohada*, wherein a dainty damsel is holding the branch of a tree and is in the posture of striking its trunk with her left foot. The tree is in full blossom. The lady stands in *tribhanga*, encircling the branch of the tree with her left hand. Her dangling down right hand is feeding a bird, which stands near her left foot below. The tree seems to represent red Aśoka (*raktāśoka*), the blossoming of which, according to the Indian poetic convention, is attributed to its striking by a young damsel.

Blossoming trees are also in sealings from Mathura, Kausambi, Basarh and other sites. On the well-known sealing from Kumarhar, mentioning *ārogya-vihāra* (hospital of monastery) a flowering tree is worth notice.

Beautiful decorative designs of *Gajalakṣmī*, *makara*, *dancing peacock*, meru and *maṅgala-ghaṭa* are noticed on several sealings from Rajghat near Varanasi. The figures of Lakṣmī, the bestower of wealth, can be seen on the sealings from Basarh, Bhita, Ahicchattra and Nalanda. On some of these can be seen the fine representations of *maṅgala-ghaṭa*, *śaṅkha* and other objects. The standing figure of Lakṣmī on an inscribed Gupta sealing from Eran is remarkable for the delicate delineation of her bodily form.

Notes and References

1. Bajpai, K.D., *History & Culture of Madhya Pradesh* (Ahmedabad, 1984), pp. 81-2; see also J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (2*nd* ed., 1956), pp. 155-57; Chatterji, Bhaskar, *Coins & Icons: A Study of Myths* (Cal., 1977), pp. 19-86.
2. Bajpai, 'Religious Background of Ancient Indian Art', *Prajñā Bhāratī* (Patna, 1983), Vol. III, pp. 43-47; Bandyopadhyay, S. 'Gajalakṣmī', *Religious Life in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1972).
3. Banerjea, *Ibid*, pp. 113-55; Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* (N. Delhi, 1976), pp. 132-49.
4. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, pp. 103-6; pl. X, 1.
5. D.C. Sircar, *Journal of Anc. Ind. History*, Vol. IV, p. 180; Bajpai, *History and Culture of M.P.*, pp. 46-53; Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 17-18 pl. *II*, pp. 51.
6. See A.N. Lahiri, 'Impact of Indo-Greek Coins', *Foreign Elements in Indian Indigenous Coins* (Varanasi, 1982), pp. 1-8.

7. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1936), pp. 221-229, pls. 32 to 34.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 264, pl, 39, 2.
9. Bajpai, *Ind. Num. Stu.*, pp. 26-36, pl. II to IV.
10. Whitehead, *Ibid*, p. 17, pl. II, 45.
11. Bajpai, 'New Sātavāhana Coins', *Ind. Num. Studies*, pp. 114-19.
12. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 122-25, pl. XV, 1-11; Bajpai, *Ibid*, pp. 67-71.
13. For a detailed study on the ornamental aspect of seals and sealings, See Thaplyal, K.K., *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972), pp. 265-81 and illustrations.
14. *Ibid.*, pl. XXX, figs. 4 and 8.
15. See Agrawala, V.S., *Varanasi Seals and Sealings* (Varanasi, 1984), figs. 1-20, 26, 33-60, 93-111, 193-252.
16. Singh, O.P., *Religion and Iconography of Early Indian Coins* (Varanasi, 1978), pp. 17-30 and plates.

12

The Satamana Metallic Currency

D.K. GANGULY

The mention of the *Śatamāna* in a few *Brāhmaṇa* and some comparatively later works and the meagre information provided about it in these texts have given rise to a series of controversies among numismatists. An attempt has been made in the following pages to review some of the important and yet unresolved issues, relating to the *Śatamāna* in the light of the literary and archaeological data at our disposal.

Identity of the Satamana

The identity of the *Śatamāna*, for instance, is one such issue that has evoked divergent views from different scholars. A. Cunningham[1] advocates that the *Śatamāna* was at first a measure of gold dust or a gold ingot but subsequently came to be circulated as a class of silver coins. D.R. Bhandarkar[2] takes the *Śatamāna* to be a coin which is believed to have been current even during the early Vedic period. A.S. Altekar[3] identifies the *Śatamāna* as a coin which he suggests to have been in circulation during the age of the later *Saṁhitas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* but was subsequently reduced to a currency for accounting. A similar view has been propounded by V.S. Agrawala[4] when he asserts that though circulated in the later Vedic and the Sūtra period as a coin, the *Śatamāna* served as a money of account (*vyavahārika Śatamāna*) from the post-Śuṅga period onwards. All the above-mentioned numismatists, barring A. Cunningham, are unanimous in identifying the *Śatamāna* as a coin,

though some are inclined to suggest that it gradually petered out to be a money of account. The view, equating the *Śatamāna* with a class of coins seems to be based on the following fourfold line of arguments.

1. The *Śatamāna* finds mention in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts as a sacrificial fee, rather than an ornament, to be offered by the kings to the Brāhmaṇ priests on important occasions like the *Rājasūya*.
2. The term *vṛtta*, round, as applied to the *Śatamāna* by the commentator Sāyaṇa, when considered in the context of the rotundity of the vast majority of Indian coins, would unmistakably point it out to be a coin.
3. Pāṇini's[5] aphorism *śatamāna-viṁśatika-sahasra-vasanād=aṇ*, implying that an article, purchased in exchange of one *Śatamāna*, is called *Śatamāna*, (*Śatamānena krītaṁ Śatamānam*) alludes to the prevalence of *Śatamāna* class of coins.[6]
4. The literary evidence about the existence of the *Śatamāna* coin and its submultiples like the *Ardha-Śatamāna*, *Pāda Śatamāna* and *Pādārdha Śatamāna* is corroborated by the discovery of actual coins from different parts of India. The bent bar pieces from Taxila,[7] weighing 175 grains may be equated with the *Śatamānas*, those discovered from the ancient Kośala region,[8] weighing between 75 and 79 grains, are the same as the *Ardha Śatamānas*, the coins of the Paila hoard,[9] weighing 44 grains, and those of the Lucknow Museum,[10] weighing around 42 grains are identified with the *Pāda Śatamānas*, and the Sonpur[11] silver punch-marked coins, each weighing about 21 grains, represent the so-called *Pādārdha Śatamānas*, also called *Śāṇas*.

None of the aforesaid arguments, however, does conclusively prove the circulation in ancient India of a coin-type called *Śatamāna*.

First, the mention of the *Śatamāna* as a sacrificial fee in favour of the Brāhmaṇ priests does not conclusively prove that it was a coin. That it was not an ornament admits of no doubt. Sāyaṇa, while commenting on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, describes the *Śatamāna* as a round plate, a suggestion which is usually discarded by scholars. The evidence of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts is so meagre as to warrant for a definite idea about the *Śatamāna* which might have been a metallic ingot of a definite weight rather than a coin.

Secondly, Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the *Śatamāna* as being round in shape does not adequately prove that the *Śatamāna* was a coin especially when it stands contradicted by Sāyaṇa's very explanation of it as a round plate. Further, rotundity is not a definite characteristic of early Indian coins which are occasionally found to be square or rectangular in shape. Moreover, the lump of silver or gold or a metallic ingot could well have assumed round shape.

Thirdly, the statement that an article purchased in exchange of one *Śatamāna* merely shows the latter as being used as a medium of exchange by the time of Pāṇini but does not prove the existence of a class of coins called *Śatamāna*. Such a conclusion assumes significance when it is remembered that the term *vasana*, occurring in the same aphorism of Pāṇini definitely refers to a piece of cloth which without being a coin was also used as a medium of exchange. Pāṇini also refers to other mediums of exchange like *go-puccha*[12] (*go-pucchena krītaṁ gaupucchikam*) and *dvyañjali*[13] (*dvābhyām añjalibhyāṁ krītaḥ*) which are generally interpreted in the sense of the cow and two handfuls respectively.

Fourthly, the view which seeks to identify the alleged *Śatamāna* coin and its suggested submultiples with some excavated coins is based on an erroneous notion about the *Śatamāna* measure. Even if the weight of the *Śatamāna* as estimated by the protagonists of this view be held as correct, doubt still persists whether the above groups of coins were based on the *Śatamāna* or any other well-known measure.[14]

Scholars like S.K. Chakraborty,[15] D.C. Sircar and P.L. Gupta are inclined to take the *Śatamāna* in the sense of an unstamped metallic ingot of a definite weight rather than a coin properly so called. The arguments cited in favour of this theory are the following:

1. No gold or silver coins, properly to be identified as the *Śatamānas*, have so far been discovered from any part of India.
2. In view of the synonymous use of *Śatamāna* and *Rūpya Pala* in some of the well-known lexicons including *Amarakoṣa*, the so-called *Rūpya Pala*, mentioned in several medieval Orissan epigraphs in the context of the specification of the fixed revenue payable to the state annually, corresponds to the old *Śatamāna*. The Madras Museum copper plate grant[16] while recording the gift of a village mentions the fixed annual revenue of 10 *Rūpyaka Palas*, 2 *Ādya Maṣas* and 4 *Guñjas*. The fraction of a *Rūpya Pala* or an *Ādya Maṣa* in 4 *Guñjās* could not probably have been a coin. *Rūpya Pala* is evidently used here in the sense of a specified quantity, i.e. one *Pala*, of silver.

But this *argumentum exsilentio* is not a positive evidence to disprove the existence of the so-called *Śatamāna* coins.

Secondly, the supposition denying the existence of so light a coin as weighing 4 *Guñjas* is invalidated by the *Cāmara* and *Cinā* types of early Orissan coins,[17] weighing 4 *Ratīs* each. Mention may also be made in this connection of the South Indian gold *fanams*, averaging 5.75 grains and approximating the weight of the *Māna* measure. Further, it does not seem improbable that the value of such a light coin could be paid in terms of cowrie-shells which gained circulation in Orissa and other parts of India as a medium of exchange in small scale transactions.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that both the theories seeking to identify the *Śatamāna* as a coin or a metallic currency in the form of an ingot or a globule of a definite measure are open to some serious objections. The identity of the *Śatamāna* may, however, admit of as many as the following four alternative suggestions:

1. The *Śatamāna* was a coin.
2. The *Śatamāna* was a metallic currency in the form of an ingot or a globule of a definite measure.
3. The *Śatamāna* was first circulated as a coin but was later on turned into a metallic currency of a definite weight.
4. The *Śatamāna* was first a metallic currency to be subsequently developed into a coin.

It is worth remembering that whenever the *Śatamāna* is mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts it is invariably referred to as a special gift made over by a royal personage in favour of an officiating priest. This would leave the impression that the use of the *Śatamāna* was restricted to some select occasions, involving the elites of the society. This restricted use of the *Śatamāna* as well as lack of any reference in the *Brāhmaṇa* works to it in connection with the price of any commodity distinguish it from a coin which has wider circulation and official face value in commercial transactions. There is no definite evidence in favour of the use of silver or copper coins in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* when barter seems to have been the characteristic of the day. Although coins came to be issued in India in all probability in the sixth century B.C., the cow continued to be a measure of value even in the days of the celebrated grammarians Pāṇini[18] and Patañjali.[19] The large number of the punch marked coins discovered from different parts of India would show how wide was the circulation of coins in Indian society during the pre-Christian centuries. And yet no gold or silver coins of the *Śatamāna* weight standard have as yet been unearthed. Secondly, the lexicographer Amara has explained *Śatamāna* as a *Rūpya Pala*, meaning a *Pala* of silver. *Pala* denotes a measure and not a coin. In *Amarabhāratī*, *Śatamāna* and *Āḍhaka* are used as interchangeable terms. *Āḍhaka* like *Pala* is a measure rather than a coin. It is worth observing that Sāyaṇa describes the *Śatamāna* as a *pātra* which is often used as a synonym of *Āḍhaka*.[20] It may accordingly be presumed that the *Śatamāna*, mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* and other texts as a royal gift in favour of a Brāhmaṇ priest, was actually metallic lump in the form of an ingot or a globule[21] which by virture of its exchange value in commercial transactions, had assumed the character of a metallic currency.

Metrology of the Satamana Measure

The metrology of the *Śatamāna* measure has, likewise, raged a great deal of controversy among numismatists. A.B. Keith[22] asserts that the *Śatamāna* weighs

one hundred *Kṛṣṇalas* or *Raktikas* or *Guñja* berries. The same is also the view of D.R. Bhandarkar[23] who accepts Sāyaṇa's version of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to mean that the measure was one hundred *Mānas* or *Guñja* berries in weight. V.S. Agarwal[24] relying on a statement that *Śatamāna* was made of one hundred *Raktikā* seeds (*Suvarṇa-raktikā-śatena ekaṁ śatamānaṁ bhavati*), occurring in Karka's commentary on the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, observes that the *Śatamāna* weighs one hundred *Raktikā* seeds. An identical view has been expressed by A.S. Altekar[25] when he surmises that the *Śatamāna* weighs one hundred *Ratīs*. Doubts persist over the exact weight of a *Raktikā* berry, Cunningham,[26] Elliot,[27] Bhandarkar,[28] Smith[29] and D.C. Sircar[30] taking it to be 1.83, 1.68, 1.75, 1.825 and 1.83 grains respectively. If D.R. Bhandarkar's computation of the weight of a *Raktikā* seed as 1.75 grains, endorsed by S.K. Chakraborty and A.S. Altekar, be relied upon, the *Śatamāna*, when believed to have corresponded to one hundred *Raktikās* in weight, would weigh 175 grains.

There are, however, some serious difficulties in the way of acceptance of the view ascribing the weight of one hundred *Ratīs* to the *Śatamāna* measure. As is well-known, the term *śatamāna* which is used both in masculine and neuter genders, admits of being interpreted in more ways than one. When applied to a human or divine being as an adjective, the term means 'honoured by one hundred men' (*śataloka-pūjaḥ*) but when used as a weight measure, it implies 'measuring one hundred' (*śataṁ mānamasya*). The suggestion interpreting *māna* and *raktikā* as interchangeable terms is supported by some later writers like Karka and Sāyaṇa but not substained by early writers including the authors of the *Brāhmaṇa* works.

The interpretation of Karka and Sāyaṇa, identifying the *Māna* measure with the *Raktikā* or *Guñja* berry stands contradicted by the testimony of Manu[31] who while specifying the weight of the *Śatamāna* observes:

Dve kṛṣṇale samadhṛte vijñeyo raupya-māṣakaḥ ||
Te ṣoḍaśa syād-dharaṇaṁ purāṇañ-c-aiva rājataṁ |
Kārṣāpaṇas-tu vijñeyas-tāmrikaḥ kārṣikaḥ paṇaḥ ||
Dharaṇāni daśa jñeyāḥ Śatamānas-tu rājataḥ |

The above citation from Manu would give us the following equations:

2 *Kṛṣṇalas*	= 1 *Raupya Māṣa*	
16 *Raupya Māṣas*	= 1 *Dharaṇa/Purāṇa*	= 32 *Kṛṣṇalas*
10 *Dharaṇas*	= 1 *Śatamāna*	= 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*

A similar estimate of the *Śatamāna* measure is met within the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*[32] which is believed by some scholars to have been composed around the fifth century A.D.:

Dve kṛṣṇale rūpa-māṣo dharaṇaṁ ṣoḍaś-aiva tu |
Śatamānaṁ tu daśabhir-dharaṇaiḥ palam-eva tu ||

Thus Yājñavalkya agrees with Manu in identifying the *Śatamāna* measure as weighing 320 *Kṛṣṇalas* but unlike the latter he equates the *Pala* measure with the *Śatamāna*. As is evident from the verse quoted below, Manu[33] also speaks of the *Pala* measure as weighing 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*.

Pañca-kṛṣṇalako māṣas-te suvarṇas-tu ṣoḍaśa |
Palam suvarṇas-catvāraḥ palāni dharaṇaṁ daśa ||

Besides those of Manu[34] and Yājñavalkya there are other works that would tend to imply that the *Śatamāna* measure weighs 320 *Ratīs*.

First, *Vaijayantī*,[35] composed by Yādavaprakāśa speaks of the *Śatamāna*, also called *Pala*, as being composed of ten *Dharaṇas* or 160 *Māṣas* or 320 *Guñjas* or *Ratīs*

(*Rūpya māṣo dvi-guñjo vā dharaṇaṁ ṣoḍaś-c-aiva te |*
Śatamānaṁ tu daśabhir-dharaṇaiḥ palam-eva ca ||).

Secondly, while specifying the weight of the *Śāṇa* measure, *Vaidyakaparibhāṣa* and Gaṅgādhara's commentary on the *Caraka Saṁhitā* unanimously point out that it is made of four *Māṣas*, each of which is further comprised of ten *Guñjas* or *Ratīs* in weight. This mode of calculation would make the *Śāṇa* measure equal to forty *Ratīs* in weight, and when it is remembered that the *Vanaparvan*[36] of the *Mahābhārata* expressly mentions the *Śāṇa* as being one-eight of the *Śatamāna* (*Aṣṭau Śāṇaḥ Śatamānaṁ bhavanti*), there is hardly any difficulty in treating the evidence of *Vaidyakaparibhāṣā* and Gaṅgādhara's commentary as indirectly proving the equivalence of the *Śatamāna* measure to 320 *Ratīs* in weight.

There are evidently two divergent views about the actual weight of the *Śatamāna* measure, one estimating the weight as 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*, and the other as 100 *Kṛṣṇalas*. The following suggestions may be offered by way of explaining this discrepancy:

First, the *Śatamāna* weighed 100 *Kṛṣṇalas*;

Secondly, the *Śatamāna* weighed 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*;

Thirdly, though first started as a weight measure of 100 *Kṛṣṇalas*, the *Śatamāna* came to weigh subsequently 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*; and

Finally, though it originally weighed 320 *Kṛṣṇalas*, the weight of the *Śatamāna* was subseqently reduced to 100 *Kṛṣṇalas*.

The acceptance of the first presumption would imply the preference of a casual, incidental reference to a clear, specific statement of Manu and Yājñavalkya, made in the context of a systematic treatment of the different metallic measures, current in ancient India. The suggestion about a subsequent rise in the *Śatamāna* weight system presupposes the comparative cheapness of gold and especially of silver in later ages but of this there is hardly any positive evidence. Even the fourth alternative, envisaging subsequent reduction in the weight of the *Śatamāna* does not seem to be

valid, for, the *Śatamāna* came to be closely associated in later years with silver, and any reduction in its weight system would indicate a rise in the value of silver as compared to gold. But this goes counter to our knowledge that the ratio between silver and gold during the Gupta and post-Gupta period was generally 16 : 1. Judged in this context the view, ascribing the weight of 320 *Kṛṣṇalas* to the *Śatamāna* measure may provisionally be accepted for the present.

It is, therefore, evident that the unit i.e., one-hundredth part of the *Śatamāna* measure corresponds to 3.20 *Kṛṣṇalas* or *Ratīs* or 5.8 grains. This is approximately the weight of the *Mañjāḍi* seed, supposed by V.A. Smith,[37] W. Elliot[38] and A. Cunningham[39] to weigh 5, 4.8 and 5.726 grains respectively. As pointed out by D.C. Sircar[40] a name of measure like *Mṛḍa* or *Pṛḍa* or *Pruḍ*, occurring in the Vedic and post-Vedic works,[41] might have been the ancient nomenclature of the modern *Mañjāḍi* seed.

Metal

A cloud of uncertainty prevails over the question whether the *Śatamāna* was a measure of gold or of silver or of both the metals especially in the age as depicted in the *Brāhamaṇa* texts. Whereas A.S. Altekar[42] is inclined to relate the measure only to gold, D.C. Sircar[43] associates it with gold as well as silver.

The solution to this problem lies in the correct interpretation of the passages of the *Brāhmaṇa* works, referring to the *Śatamāna*. The following two passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[44] are worth considering in this context:

1. *Hiraṇyaṁ dakṣiṇā suvarṇaṁ Śatamānam |*
2. *Catvāri ca suvarṇāni Śatamānāni hiraṇyāni ||*

The lack of unanimity among scholars as regards the exact meaning of the terms *hiraṇyam* and *suvarṇam*, occurring in the above two and several other passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[45] has rendered the correct interpretation of the passages a difficult proposition. D.R. Bhandarkar[46] interprets the terms *hiraṇya* and *suvarṇa* to mean gold and a coin, as distinct from the so-called *Śatamāna* series, respectively. Julius Eggeling, while translating these passages into English, has taken these expressions as synonyms of gold. A.S. Altekar[47] and V.S. Agrawala[48] have, likewise, interpreted the term *hiraṇya* to signify gold in opposition to D.C. Sircar's view identifying the word with both gold and silver.

But difficulties of various kinds crop up when an attempt is made to interpret the above two passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the light of any of the suggestions thus advanced. The synonymous use of the two words in one and the same passage, so enthusiastically upheld by Julius Eggeling, is obviously unwarranted. The suggestion of A.S. Altekar and V.S. Agrawala would lead us to the absurd

proposition that the term *hiraṇyam* in singular number is used in the earlier of the two passages as qualifying the nouns *suvarṇam* and *śatamānam*. The expression *catvāri* i.e., four, as preceding *suvarṇāni śatamānāni* would seem to imply that *suvarṇa* is used in the latter passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as an adjective of *śatamāna*, rather than a distinct entity. The acceptance of D.C. Sircar's suggestion that the term *hiraṇya* denotes both gold and silver would, likewise, complicate the interpretation of the above two passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. What seems to be a reasonable presumption is that the term *suvarṇa* is used in these passages in the sense of gold, qualifying the *Śatamāna*. The expression *suvarṇāni śatamānāni* may accordingly be interpreted to mean the *Śatamānas* of gold. The term *hiraṇya* appears to have been employed in the sense of brightness, lustre, etc., and the passages, cited above, admit of being interpreted as follows:

1. 'The lustrous, gold *Śatamāna* is the fee'.
2. 'The four lustrous, gold *Śatamānas* are the fee'.

The association of the *Śatamāna* with *suvarṇa*, as attested to by the above and several other passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* would imply that it was a measure of gold.

Secondly, the *Śatamāna* is described in one of the passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[49] as *rajata* i.e., made of silver. The express statement in one of the commentaries that of the couple of the *Śatamānas*, mentioned in a certain passage of the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*,[50] one was gold, and the other silver,[51] would clearly reveal that the *Śatamāna* ingots as referred to in the later Vedic works, were made of both gold and silver.

It is evident from the express statement of Manu, associating the *Śatamāna* with silver (*Śatamānas-tu rājataḥ*) that the *Śatamāna* came to be used as a measure of silver only from about the first or the second century A.D.[52] The commentator Kṣīrasvāmin's synonymous use of the terms *śatamāna* and *rūpya-pala* shows how the *Śatamāna* measure was especially associated with silver in later years.

Notes and References

1. *Coins of Ancient India* (Varanasi, 1963), p. 47.
2. *Lecture on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 58.
3. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 21-22. A.S. Altekar (*Ibid.*, p. 18) identifies the *Śatamānas* as coins, and yet he is doubtful whether they bore any stamp or inscription.
4. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 153.
5. V. 1, 27.
6. While advancing an additional argument in favour of his view that the *Śatamānas* were coins, D.R. Bhandarkar points out that the *Jātaka* and earlier texts refer to at least six denominations like *Niṣka, Kṛṣṇala, Suvarṇa, Śatamāna, Māṣaka* and *Kārṣāpaṇa*. If they were simply money

weights, one or two denominations would have been quite adequate for one and the same country. But if six different denominations of coins could be employed for one and the same country, one fails to understand why the same number of denominations of money weights would be inappropriate for the same geo-political unit. Further, D.R. Bhandarkar speaks of one and the same country but completely overlooks the vast extent of the country, its innumerable political divisions, and the wide span of time, he deals with.

7. *MASI*, No. 59, pp. 1-2.
8. *JNSI*, III, p. 51.
9. *Ibid.*, II, p. 27.
10. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 21. These coins have been published by Durga Prasad in *Numismatic Supplement*, XLV, pp. 9-13.
11. *JNSI*, XV, p. 21.
12. V. I, 19. D.R. Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 169) interprets *gopuccha* in the sense of the tail of the cow. But as pointed out by V.S. Agrawala (*India As Known To Pāṇini* [Varanasi, 1963], p. 248), *gopuccha* indicates the cow itself.
13. *Kāsikā* on V, 4, p. 102.
14. John Allan (*Catalogue of The Coins of Ancient India* [In the British Museum], London, 1936, p. XIII) thinks that the so-called Taxila bars were based on the Achaemenid *siglos*.
15. Explaining the reason why the *Śatamāna* cannot be deemed to be a coin, S.K. Chakraborty (*op. cit.*, p. 67) observes that the high value of the metal stood in the way of its use as a coin. Since the *Śatamānas* were made of both gold and silver, this observation does not seem to be valid.
16. *EI*, XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.
17. D.C. Sircar, *Studies In Indian Coins* (Delhi, 1963), p. 65; *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, I, pp. 132, 153.
18. V. 1, 19.
19. Patañjali (I, 2, 44) refers to a higher unit of five cows as the medium of exchange (*Pañcabhirgobhiḥ Krītaḥ pañcaguḥ*).
20. *Kalpasthāna* XII, 94.
21. A definite reference to the use of gold globules or bars, weighing one *Kṛṣṇala*, is found in a passage of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I, 9, 6, 7). Such objects were presented by the king to the participants in the chariot race at the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice. It is worth noticing that the tribute of the Indian satrapy was paid to Darius in gold dust (Herodotus, III, 94).
22. *The Vedic Index*, II, p. 152.
23. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
24. *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 151.
25. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 21.
26. *Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1981), p. 45.
27. *Coins of Southern India* (1886), p. 49.
28. *Op. cit.*,, p. 212.
29. *Catalogue of The Coins In The Indian Museum*, Calcutta, I, p. 134.
30. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
31. VIII, 135-37.
32. I, 365.
33. VIII, 134.
34. V.S. Agrawal (*JNSI*, XVIII, p. 153) believes that Manu does not refer to an actual silver piece weighing 320 *Raktikās* for the reason that no numismatic evidence about the actual finding of a silver *Śatamāna* of the same weight has been encountered as yet.
35. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

36. 134, 14.
37. *Op. cit.*, p. 310.
38. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
39. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
41. *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, XI, 1; XIII,10; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III, 4, 1, 4; *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III, 1, 123.
42. *JNSI*, XV, p. 16. The *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* has the passage *Śatamānaṁ dakṣiṇā sauvarṇam* which A.S. Altekar (*JNSI*, XV, p. 20) wrongly translates as a *dakṣiṇā* of hundred gold *Śatamānas*'. The passage means 'the fee of one *Śatamāna* of gold'.
43. Moti Chandra (*JNSI*, XVI, p. 9) interprets *hiraṇya* in the sense of gold which, as he suggests, was called yellowish (*harita*) and whitish (*rajata*). The suggestion that gold was called *rajata* is curious.
44. XIII, 2, 3, 2; XIII, 4, 1, 13.
45. V, 4, 3, 24; V, 4, 3, 26; V, 5, 5, 16; XII, 7, 2, 13; XIII, 4, 2, 7; XIII, 4, 2, 10; XIII, 4, 2, 13.
46. *Op. cit.*, p 57.
47. *JNSI* XV, p. 16.
48. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 151.
49. XIII, 4, 2, 13. *Rajataṁ hiraṇyaṁ dakṣiṇā nānā-rūpatayā Śatamānaṁ bhavati śatāyur-vai puruṣaḥ /*
50. 16, 2, 17.
51. *Ekaṁ rajata-Śatamānaṁ dvitīyaṁ suvarṇa-śatamānaṁ.*
52. It is generally believed that in ancient India there was scarcity of silver which is supposed to have been imported from Western Asia.

13

An Indian Imitation of an Augustean denarius

PETER BERGHAUS

During the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.) the denarius was struck in various mints in Italy, Gaul (France), Spain and Asia Minor. The average weight of this Augustean silver coin is ca. 3.60—3.85 g. The mint output in some of the mints, especially that of Lugdunum (Lyons), must have been enormous during the reign of Augustus. It is quite possible, that auxiliary mints supplemented the abundance of minting, especially of the very common series, showing on the reverse Caius and Lucius, the two young Caesares and adopted sons of Augustus.

The Caius and Lucius Caesares series has a wide spread. They have been found not only within the frontiers of the Roman Empire and in Roman Castles in Free Germany, east of the Rhine river, there are finds and hoards as well far away from their country of origin. In Europe a specimen has come northwards as far as Norway. On the other hand there is an abundance of this type in the South of the Soviet Union, especially in Georgia.

In Indian hoards the most common Roman silver coins are the Caius and Lucius Caesares denarius also and the denarius of the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) out of the mint of Lugdunum, showing on the reverse a seated female figure, surrounded by the legend PONTIF MAXIM (Pontifex Maximus). There is a great

abundance of hoards and stray finds of these types in Andhra Pradesh (e.g. Akkenpalli, Nalgonda Taluk), Tamil Nadu (especially in the Coimbatore District) and in Kerala. Other coin types of Augustus are scarce in India.

There is just one exception, a hoard, containing Augustus denarii previous to the common Caius and Lucius series, which are dated to the time 2 B.C.—14 A.D., namely the hoard from Eyyal, Cochin District, Kerala, unearthed in 1945. It contained, as far as the coins could be documented, 12 gold and 105 silver coins, among which were 34 Punch-marked coins. The youngest coin of the hoard is an aureus of the Roman Emperor Trajanus (98-117 A.D.), thus dating the deposit to the early 2nd century. Out of the Roman silver coins, of which most of the early ones are broken or fragments, 4 date to the time of the Roman Republic and 49 to Octavian/Augustus. Among the Augustean denarii the Caius and Lucius type is not represented, a unique fact for the Indian situation. The hoard, quite unusual again, just contained the earlier types, mostly from Gaulish and Spanish mints. Thus the Eyyal hoard has a single position among the Indian finds and hoards.

It is a great surprise, that one of the earlier Augustus denarii has been imitated, apparently in India:

Fig. 1. Imitation of Augustean denarius. 2 : 1.
Private collection.

Obv. Laureate head right. No legend.

Rev. Round shield, inscribed CEV in one line, between two laurel-branches;

$\frac{\text{SP}}{\text{QR}}$ left and right, just above and below the shield; CAESAR above, NIPMSTVS below.

Silver. 6.87 g.→

Private collection.

The coin, of which the find circumstances unfortunately are not known, is a slightly barbarous imitation of a denarius of Augustus, struek ca. 19-18 B.C. in

an "Uncertain Spanish mint" (Colonia Caesaraugusta?) or in the Gaulish mint of Nemausus (Nimes):

Fig. 2. Denarius of Augustus. 2 : 1.
Munzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (GDR).

Obv. Head of Augustus, laureate, right. No legend.

Rev. Round shield, inscribed CLV (Clipeus Virtutis) in one line, between two laurel-branches;

SP
QR (Senatus Populusque Romanus) left and right, just above and below the shield: CAESAR above F F, AVGUSTVS below.

Cohen 50. Ric I^1 270. RIC I^2 36a. BMC 322. Robertson 148.

This coin type reflects the honour, given to Augustus by the Senate and the people of Rome (SPQR=Senatus populusque Romanus): 'Laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti sunt publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est atque clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus" (The entrance of my house has been ornamented with laurel-branches publicly, the civic crown has been fixed above my door and a golden shield has been put in the curia Iulia), as it is reported by Augustus himself in the Res gesta Divi Augusti (Monumentum Ancyranum), chapter 34.

Fig. 3. Denarius of Augustus. 2 : 1.
From the Eyyal hoard.
Trivandrum, Directorate of Archaeology.

This commemorative type, which is rather scarce, does not occur too often in Indian finds. One fragmentary denarius of this type was in the Eyyal hoard, quoted above. On the other hand there is no specimen preserved in the otherwise rich collection of Roman coins of the Government Museum, Madras nor in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, or the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

It is rather strange, that this rare type has been imitated in India. The imitation, weighing nearly twice as much as the ordinary type, now in the possession of an Indian collector, has been acquired from an Indian antique dealer. No whereabouts of the previous provenance are known. It refers apparently in style and lettering from the original: the portrait of Augustus has been transformed into a female head. On the reverse the laurel-branches are slightly degenerated. The Latininscriptions were of some problems to the Indian die-cutter; Out of CLV he engraved CEV, out of AVGVSTVS he made NIPMSTVS.

The meaning of the imitation is not easy to understand. Why was a rare type copied, why is its weight much too high? The forthcoming documentation of the Roman coins, found in India, might solve the mystery. With all reserve the present writer supposes an origin in South India, perhaps in Kerala or Tamil Nadu.

Fig. 4. Denarius of Augustus. 2 : 1
Stuttgart, Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum.

Fig. 5. Imitation of Augustean denarius. 2 : 1.
Stuttgart, Wurttembergisches Landesmuseum, ex Ernst Unger coll.

The common Agustus denarius of the Caius and Lucius Caesares type has been imitated in all the regions beyond the Roman Imperial frontiers, where they circulated. The earliest reproduction of such barbarous imitations dates as early as 1592: Tilemann Friese, Müntz Spiegel, Das ist: Ein New und Wol ausgeführter Bericht von der Müntz, Frankfurt 1592. The level of degeneration of these imitations varies from slight changes to absolutely barbarous and incomprehensible styles. The whole extension is represented in Indian hoards and finds, especially in the Akkenpalle (Nalgonda) hoard from Andhra Pradesh, which contained among 722 Augustean denarii 24 imitations (and among 771 Tiberius denarii 31 imitations). Other imitations of Indian origin are preserved in the Department of coins in the British Museum. The Indian imitations of Roman denarii reflect the popularity of this foreign money in the country.

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Photographs: Author. All coins are reproduced enlarged twice.

14

The Herat Hoard: Late Indo-Parthian Bronze Drachms with seated Archer Revrerse

(*Plate* 1)

RAYMOND J. HEBERT

In view of B.N. Mukherjee's early and continuing interest in Indo-Parthian history and numismatics, I thought it appropriate to present him with this paper and to wish him long life and continued success with his researches.

Late in 1986, the U.S. National Numismatic Collection was offered a group of 374 Indo-Parthian bronze coins for study and possible acquisition. The owner indicated that the pieces were the "pick" (about 5%) of a hoard of 7,500 coins unearthed in the citadel of Herat early in 1973 and in his possession since then. He wrote that he had selected out all the unusual varieties as well as a good number of die duplicates, that he had "passed over about nineteen for every one (he) chose". We should then assume that the material sent to us was skewed towards the later issues, presuming that the earlier issues would not have been as well preserved and have been passed over. Of the 374 pieces, we weighed and photographed all, and kept for our trays some sixty pieces.

The basic features of the pieces were the ruler's head to the left (in a few instances to the right) on the obverse, and a seated archer, legends, and symbols on the reverse. The coins could be classified into three types with several sub-types as follows:

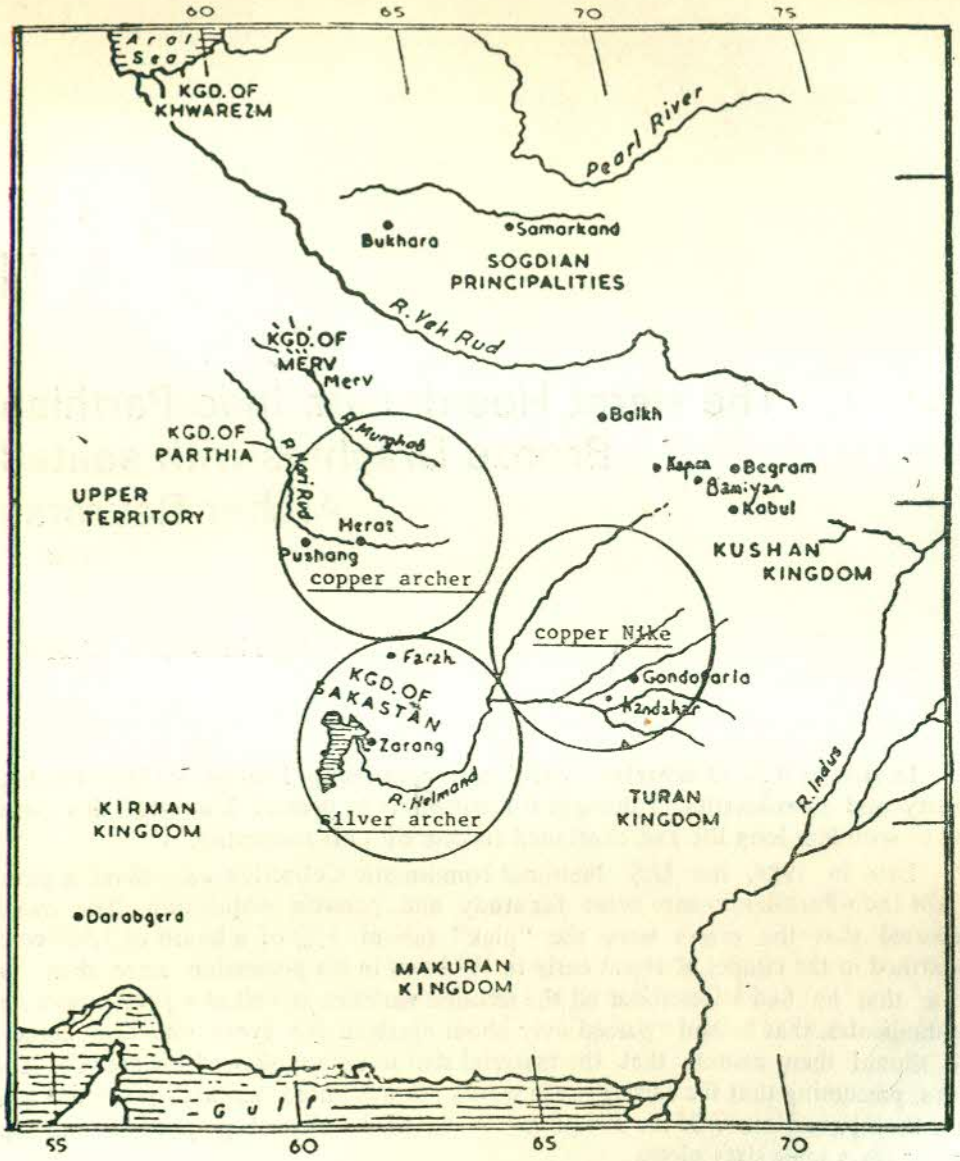


Fig. 1 The three areas where the coins of Sanabares probably were issued (after Frye)

Simonetta, and following him, Mitchiner, saw in the copper archer-type pieces a Sanabares II, and dated them immediately after the silver archer-type of Sanabares I.[2]

I.	Beardless head, bun-like headdress, legend	82 pieces (21%)
II.	Bearded head, bun-like headdresss, legend	28 pieces (0.7%)
IIIa.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	124 pieces (33%)
IIIb.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	118 pieces (31%)
IIIc.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	17 pieces (4%)
IIId.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	2 pieces (0.5%)
IIIe.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	2 pieces (0.5%)
IIIf.	Bearded head, flattish headdress, sideburns	1 piece (0.2%)

Dobbins,[1] in plotting the geographical distribution of mintage, noted of the three principal types of the coinage of Sanabares that (a) the Bust/standing Nike in copper "probably belongs to southern Arachosia, the Kandahār region, where the Nike coinage of the Gondophares dynasty is found abundantly,"; (b) the Arsakid seated archer type in silver of good style "may belong to Seistan where also the Arsakid type coins of the Gondophares dynasty are found probably to be dated in the second half of the first century A.D.," and (c) the Arsakid seated archer type in copper of crude workmanship "may be the variety found in the Merv regions, and the Merv-Herāt area is about the only place where they could be assigned. . . The copper archer type should represent another district influenced by both the 'debased area' and Arsakid coinage, and the district west of Kābul is a llkely location."

The types and their descriptions with indications are as follows:

Type I

Obverse

Beardless bust to left, diadem of string of six or seven pearls with one loop, and two ends hanging down, holding short hair, above diadem, indicated by five or six diagonal bars to the left; hair below diadem, in a bun, indicated by five or six bars to left; torque around lower neck.

Reverse

Helmeted ruler, seated right on a *curule* chair holding bow; under bow, for Merv; above bow, the Gondopharan symbol: to the left of the ruler, reading clock-wise, a legend.

82 pieces; mean weight: 3.16 grams, range: 1.864-4.461 grams; 09% of the die axes are at six o'clock or 5:30 o'clock, 90% of die axes are at 11:30, 12:00 or 12:30 o'clock.

Type II

Bearded bust to left; diadem and head hair as Type I; neat short beard indicated by six or seven vertical lines.	As type I

28 pieces; mean weight: 3.307 grams; range: 2.322-4.684 grams; 10% of the die axes are at 5:30 or 6:00 o'clock; 89% of die axes are at 11:30, 12:00, or 12:30 o'clock.

Type IIIa

Bearded bust to left, diadem of two or more rarely three strings with one loop, and two ends hanging down, holding short hair, above diadem, indicated by five or six vertical bars, each with a dot above; hair below diadem and over ear, indicated by three or four wavy vertical lines; pointed beard indicated by four or five vertical lines.	Helmeted ruler, seated right on a pedestal chair, holding bow; under bow, for Merv; above bow, the Gondopharan symbol ; behind the ruler's back, another symbol

124 pieces; mean weight: 2.736 grams; Range: 1.327-4.146 grams; 2% of the die axes are at 6:00 or 5:30 o'clock, 97% of the die axes are at 11:30, 12:00 or 12:30 o'clock.

Type IIIb

As Type IIIa, but hair below diadem and over ear, indicated by four or five wavy horizontal lines.	As Type IIIa

118 pieces; Mean weight: 3.224 grams; Range: 1.472—4.145 grams; 100% of the die axes are at 11:30 or 12:00 o'clock.

Type IIIc

As Type IIIa, but hair below diadem and over ear, indicated by four or five vertical wavy lines beneath which are one, two or three horizontal wavy lines.	As Type IIIa

17 pieces; mean weight: 2.855 grams; range: 2.163—3.319 grams; 100% of the die axes are at 11:30 or 12:00 o'clock.

Type IIId

As Type IIIc, but bust to the right; all other features debased and crude.	As Type IIIc, but helmeted ruler seated to left; all other features extremely debased and crude

2 pieces; mean weight 3.465 grams; range: 3.446—3.485 grams; 50% of the die axes are at 5:30 o'clock, 50% of the die axes are at 12:00 o'clock.

Type IIIe

Type IIIc, but bust to the right; all other features extremely debased and crude.	As Type IIIc, but extremely debased and crude.

2 pieces; mean 2.352 grams; range: 2.084—2.621 grams; 100% of the die axes are at 11:30 o'clock.

Type IIIf

The bust and diadem have been reduced to four horizontal bars	The pedestal chair and the seated archer are reduced to a group of horizontal and vertical bars

1 piece; mean weight 3.525 grams. Die axis is at 5:30 o'clock.

It is clear from a study of the die axes that the coins were struck with fixed dies as were the Parthian coins. Sellwood, writing of Parthian mint technique, says, "For the most part obverse and reverse die axes were intended to be coincident, as with modern usage, but since the dies were hand held, variations of $\pm 45°$ are quite normal."[3]

The reverses (the seated archer side) of the flans are sometimes concave. Flans seem to have been cast "en chaeplet" in molds as can be seen when one blank flan was broken off from another. The dies were slightly larger than the flans so that no one coin has the complete design.

Judging from the wide range in weights, there seems to have been no standard. Mitchiner[4] gives a weight of *c.* 3.6 grams for this series. Mean weights of the Herat hoard were as follows:

Type I	3.160 grams (82 pieces)	Type IIIc	2.855 grams (17 pieces)
Type II	3.307 grams (28 pieces)	Type IIId	3.465 grams (2 pieces)
Type IIIa	2.736 grams (124 pieces)	Type IIIe	2.352 grams (2 pieces)
Type IIIb	3.224 grams (118 pieces)	Type IIIf	3.525 grams (1 piece)

The legends are not all clear, but there are enough pieces so that one can with some confidence read a part, if not all, of them.[5]

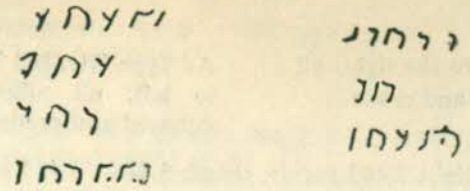


Fig. 2. Legends from coins of Type I

We must conclude that before the definitive work on the coins of this dynasty is written, many more hoards such as the Herat hoard will have to be studied.*

Notes and References

1. p. 135, K. Walton Dobbins, "Sanabares and the Gondophares Dynasty, "*Numismatic Chronicle* Ser. 7 Vol. 11 (1971). In this article, he tries to prove that the styles of the silver and copper coins of Sanabares with Arsacid types suggest that they were struck before the coins of the Arsacid Volageses I, A.D. 51-78. He believes that the Pahlavi legends on the copper coins of Gondophares and the absence of Pahlavi on the copper coins of Sanabares suggest, since there is no convincing evidence that there was more than one king with each of these names, that Sanabares was the earlier of the two. Sanabares was the predecessor of the Indo-Parthian Orthagnes, brother of Gondophares, ca A.D. 25-55, and the contemporary of the Arsacid Phraataces, ca. 2 B.C.—A.D. 4. R.C. Senior, in a personal communication of March 25, 1988, writes that "Apart from a group with Pahlavi or Kharoshthi (uncertain) legends all these coins have the name SANABARES or a corruption of the same. I believe it may be a dynastic name as title, not just one ruler. "He adds that Joe Cribb has been working extensively on the series so that we may look forward to some interesting conclusions.

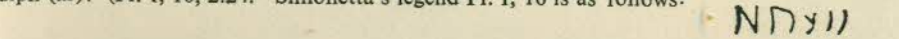
2. A.M. Simonetta, "An Essay on the so-called Indo-Greek Coinage," *East and West* Vol. 8, No. 1, April, 1957, pp. 44-66, and "A New Essay on the Indo-Greeks. The Śakas and the Pahlavas, "*East and West N.S.*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Sept. 1958), pp. 154-183, and p. 348, Michāel Mitchiner, *The Ancient and Classical World 600 B.C.—A.D. 650*. London 1978. More recently, however, Simonetta seems to have modified his earlier beliefs. In a manuscript he sent me, ("The Chronology of NW India in the 1st century A.D. and its possible verification") he wrote "In East Afghanistan and especially in Herat these coins are associated in hoards with a large number of drachms of Sanabares and of another king using the Gondopharean symbol," and (p. 360, "Numismatic provinces and the debasement of the Parthian coinage," *South Asian Archaeology* 1979, "The small copper drachms shown in Fig. 4 occur commonly in the Herat area and many are intermediate between the larger "barbarous" drachms of Vologases I and the copper drachms of Sanabares (Fig. 5, 1-12). Sellwood and myself believe after the study of a hoard of some 130 such coins bought in Herat, that these coins were at least supposed to be coins of Vologases I and of Pacorus II and their occurrence in Herat may be explained by the end, in face of the growing Kushan menace, of any autonomy that Aria may have previously enjoyed." I have had the opportunity to read a manuscript, *A Hoard of Coins from Eastern Parthia with an Appendix of other Iranian coins* by Heidemarie Koch, in which she describes a find of 266 copper coins now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, most of which are of the seated archer type.

One comes away from reading studies of the Indo-Parthian coinage with the recollection of such qualifiers as "uncertain, possible, scanty, may have, apparently, etc." There are several theories as to names of rulers and their chronological sequence which seem to be built on houses of cards which could collapse with the discovery of new material. Dobbins phrases it well in his "Vonones, Maues and Hermaios. The Imperial Coinage of Mithridates II," *East and West*, 30, 1-4 (1980), pp. 31-53, when, he says "The history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands is shrouded behind a veil of silence and contradictions which could hardly be more difficult to penetrate if the peoples of ancient times had consciously conspired to confuse posterity."

Another student, David W. MacDowall, in "The Dynasty of the Later Indo-Parthian," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 7, Vol. 5 (1965) p. 137, writes "The history of the later Indo-Parthian dynasty still remains obscure, even in broad outline."

It is interesting, I think, that none of these pieces were found in the Herat Museum, according to D.W. MacDowall and M. Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic coins in Herat Museum," *Afghan Studies* (1972) 2, 45-53, who writes "Yet the Indo-Parthian copper tetradrachms found in Arachosia and Seistan are missing from Herat and so are the copper drachms of the house of Sanabares so common at Merv."

3. p. 9, David Sellwood, *The Coinage of Parthia*. London 1980.
4. p. 365, nos. 2647-2662, *op. cit.* Koch, *op. cit.* noted that "The weight varies as a rule between 3.5 and 4 grams, indicating that they were to be regarded as drachmas. The weight of an Attic drachma was 4.1 grams, a figure that could be reduced by wear."
5. Plate I, no. 6, p. 47, Alberto Simonetta, "An Essay on the so-called "Indo-Greek" Coinage: *East and West*, VIII: 1 (April 1957). Simonetta writes "A last Indo-parthian king, new to the list of these rulers, is represented by five coins in the British Museum (plates 4, 24-28). [These pieces resemble my Type I]. On one of them the name of this ruler is given in Pahlavic as Vindiph (ar)? (Pl. I, 16; 2.24." Simonetta's legend Pl. 1, 16 is as follows:



Concerning this Vindiph (ar)?—his Gondophares II, Simonetta continues: "The coins of Gondophares II may be distinguished from those of Sanabares II by the following characters: (a) bust beardless or very short bearded; (b) archer on the reverse rather thick bodied, and with almost facing shoulders, on one coin (Pl. 4, 25) he is wearing a sort of himation; (c) the archer is sitting on a two footed seat, instead on or a column; (d) in front of the archer: Gondopharian symbol." The reading is problematic and one which I would not wish to dispute at this time.

Photos courtesy Charles Rand, NNC Staff Photographer.

15

The Coins of Some Later Imperial Guptas : A Review

NISAR AHMAD

I

A gold coin of the Archer type, bearing the word *Samudra* as the name of the issuer, under the left arm of the king, on the obverse, and, the epithet *Parākrama* on the reverse, has a weight higher than the usual coin weights of the illustrious Samudragupta and typologically resembles with those of the Later Imperial Gupta rulers. Hence it is considered as the specimen of another prince who named himself and adopted the epithet after the great Gupta emperor[1]. This coin has, on the obverse, the representation, in inferior execution, of the standing king to left, holding bow and arrow, and the garuḍa-standard, and, on the reverse, it contains the goddess Lakṣmī, holding noose, and lotus along with a usual Gupta symbol. Here both the feet of the goddess is shown in one, in somewhat pillow style, as that we find on the coins of Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II; and, the hair-band on her head is identical to that represented on a few specimens of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta.

The coin was originally in the collection of Gaya Prasad Gauri Shankar but now it is in the coin-cabinet of the State Museum, Lucknow. According to Gnpta

(P.L.) it weighs 136.0 but as per its description by Pandeya, 135.5 grains. The coin was clipped at the lower right side by the Sarraf to ascertain its gold content. The loss of the original weight because of this clipping is estimated as 6 or 7 grains. Hence it would have weighed 142 or 143 grains conforming to the weight standard of Kumāragupta II. In view of Gupta, it contains 10% less gold than that of the coins of Skandagupta. But his observation is not based on the scientific examination. Perhaps, this coin, too, had more or less the same purity.

Gupta once thought it to be a genuine piece and argued to accept the historicity of the issuer as Samudragupta II but later, perhaps being guided by the doubt raised by Altekar[3], he does not include him in the chronology of the imperial Guptas. The reason put forth by him is that the placement of Candragupta III (we call him Candragupta IV) between Skandagupta and Vainyagupta leaves no space for Samudragupta II; and, besides, he needs the other supporting evidence. But surprisingly enough the existence of this Candragupta is conceived on the numismatic record alone.[5] Altekar also believes it to be an ancient forgery. But as this specimen belonged to pre-Vainyagupta period, can we presume the minting of the forged pieces on the model of the earlier ones. But on the later heavy weight standard and the regular coins of the successors of Skandagupta as coeval without any cognizent reason? The suggestion of Altekar that 'no definite conclusion can at present be drawn about the attribution of this type' is untenable.

Its resemblance in type, style, weight and gold content with the issues of Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II makes it certain that he was a Later Imperial Gupta prince; and, the non-appearance of his name in the epigraphical document in no way refrains us in accepting his historicity. He, in all probability was a claimant. As his coin was purchased at Lucknow, he might have governed over the region which was situated in the north-west of Varanasi; and his contemporary Kumāragupta II ruled over the rest parts of the Gupta empire.[6]

Now we describe the coin as follows:

Obv: King standing to left, nimbate, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand; garuḍa-standard behind the right arm, on left. *Samudra* under the left arm.

Rev: Goddess Lakṣmī seated facing on lotus, nimbate, holding *pāśa* (noose) in right hand and lotus in left hand. Symbol on the left top, Legend:

Par (*a*) *kramaḥ* on the right.

Weight: 136 grains.

Size: 0.8 inches.

II

Kumāragupta II, known from the Sārnāth inscription of G. E. 154 (473 A.D.), is credited to have coined some gold pieces of the Archer type. So far five specimens, identical in execution, are assigned to him[7]. They show, on the obverse, the image of the king holding bow and arrow as well as the royal emblem and the alphabet *ku*. Evidently this letter is the initial of the ruler as it is used on some of the coins of Kumāragupta I. Of the obverse circular legend, only the letter *pta* at XI O' Clock is readable which can also be restored as *Kumāraguptaḥ*. Their reverses bear the portrait of the goddess whose legs are drawn in somewhat pillow style, as on the piece of Samudragupta II, and the legend Kramāditya. These coins have their weights varying from 139. 35 to 143.0 grains but predominantly they weigh below 140.0 grains. Their size is 0.8 and in one case 0.82 inches.

Smith (V.A.) was first to report the coin of Yeaman collection, now BMC No. 571, of this monarch but he placed it under the issues of Kumāragupta I[8], the son and successor of Candragupta II. But it cannot be attributed to him because of its inferior workmanship and the heavy weight which became prevalent from the time of Skandagupta and onwards. Allan (J.) catalogues it along with the British Museum Coin (No. 570) of Barstow collection as the class I of Kumāragupta II[9] whom he considered as the son of Narasiṁhagupta who is known from the Bhitari seal[10]. But the discovery of the Sārnāth inscription of G.E. 154[11], which contained the name of the reigning emperor as Kumāragupta, led scholars to differentiate between Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription and his namesake of the Bhitari seal, placing the latter after Vainyagupta who ruled in G.E. 188=507 A.D.

Subsequently, Gupta (P.L.) rightly assigns these two British Museum coins to Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription, calling him Kumāragupta II, on the factor of the distinguished features of these coins forming class I which are uncommon with those of class II of BMC, catalogued under Kumāragupta II; he attributes the specimens of the latter to a later homonymous ruler[12]. Their differentiations are as follows: 1. The specimens of class 1 belong to the collections of Yeaman, Barstow and Hamilton while those of class 2 come, along with the issues of Vainyagupta, class II of Narasiṁhagupta and Viṣṇugupta, from the Kalighat Hoard; 2. The coins of class 1 bear the reverse legend *Kramādityaḥ* whereas those of class 2 have *Śrī Kramādityaḥ* on their reverse; 3. Krāmāditya coins are characterised by the depiction of the legs of the goddess in the pillow style on the contrary of Śrī Kramāditya coins which have legs of that shown distinctly; 4. The coins of class 1 are devoid of the additional letter while those of class 2 possess this phenomenon; 5. The issues of the former are made in the proximity of 140.0 grains but those of the latter are struck on the weights varying from 147.0 to 151.0 grains; and, 6. The specimens of class 1 contain the considerable amount of gold, i.e. 79% whereas the coins of class 2 are much alloyed—they simply have 54% gold.[13]

However, Altekar is not inclined to distinguish them as the issues of two Kumāraguptas. He says 'coins of class I are, however, numerous and one may wonder whether Kumāragupta III ruling in *c.* 540 A.D. had leisure enough to issue such a copious currency, when his kingdom was threatened by Yaśodharman, the Maukharis and the later Guptas'.[14] So he awaits the further discoveries to settle this question. But the Maukharis and the Later Guptas were the feudatories of the Imperial Guptas[15] and, therefore, they had no adverse effect on the normal activities of the Imperial Guptas. Indeed, Yaśodharman invaded the Imperial Gupta empire. But can his invasion be regarded as the cause for the cessation of the coin-minting? We learn from the records of Hiuen Tsiang[16] that the Hūṇa king Mihirakula attacked over the territories of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and his assault was very fierce. However, it did not deter him in regards of striking of the metallic money.

Maity (S.K.), out of the two coins of IMC kept under Kumāragupta II by Smith[17], ascribes no. 1, containing 70.50% gold, to Kumāragupta II and no. 2, having 50. 90% gold to Kumāragupta III. He also writes that 'from the present study of these coins, we can very well conjecture that there were two Kumāraguptas after the death of Skandagupta.[18] But the attribution of coin no. 1 to Kumāragupta II does not appear to be correct due to the following reasons:

Firstly, on this coin, there is a damaged character between king's feet. It is a well know characteristic of the coinage of Kumaragupta II that it does not contain any additional letter between king's feet. Secondly, on the coins of Kumāragupta II. the reverse legend is only *Kramādityaḥ* whereas on the coins of Kumāragupta III, the prefix *Śrī* is also added. Thirdly the weight of the present coin is 147 grains. The coins of this weight are found in the time of Vainyagupta or Narasiṁhagupta. Thus in view of the above characteristics this coin can be attributed to Kumāragupta III and not to Kumāragupta II.

These five coins are known as follows: 2 in the British Museum (one each in the collections of Yeaman and Barstow), 2 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan and 1 in the State Museum, Lucknow. Of the two specimens of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, one belongs to the collection of Hamilton.

The details of these coins are as follows:

Obv.: King standing to left, nimbate, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand; garuḍa-standard behind the right arm, below the l. arm *Ku* with crescent above. Traces of marginal legend or it is off the flan; at times only the last letter *pta* is visible which can be restored as *Kumāraguptaḥ*.

Rev.: Goddess Lakṣmī seated on lotus facing, with lotus in l. hand and noose in right hand. Symbol on left, Legend: *Kramādityaḥ* on right.

Weight BMC—570: 139.5; *Ibid.*, 571: 143.0; SML: 9.17 grames (141.51 grains); BKB 213: 9.05 grames (139.66 grains); and, *Ibid.*—214: 9.03 grames (139.35 grains).

Size BMC—570 and 571 and BKB-214: 0.8; BKB-213: 0.82.

Gold content BMC—571: 79%.

Collection BMC. 570: Barstow; *Ibid.*-571: Yeaman; BKB-214: Hamilton.

III

The coins of Vainyagupta Dvādśāditya, also known from the Guṇaighar copper plates dated 188 G.E.=507 A.D.[19] are obtained five in number[20]: three (nos. 588-90) in the British Museum; one in the collection of Narendra Singh Singhi; and, one found, a few years back, from Bengal. The coins of the British Museum come from the Kalighat Hoard. The specimen in the coin-collection of Singhi, as he is a coin-collector of Calcutta, in all probability, too, belonged to the vicinity of that city. Like the issues of Samudragupta II and Kumāragupta II they are of gold and confined to the Archer type. Their obverse and reverse have the usual devices of the Archer type. These coins bear on the obverse, the name *Vainya* under the left arm of the king and, on the reverse, the legend *Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ*.

His coins were erroneously taken as the issues of the other ruler for a long time. Smith read the name *Candra* on the obverse and the epithet *Śrī Vikramāditya* on the reverse; and, he regarded him Candragupta II.[21] Rapson was sceptical in respect of both the readings. He felt the reverse inscription more like *Śrī Dvādaśāditya* although he was not definite about it; and for the name he held the first letter with vowel marks and the second more like *tya*.[22]

Allan accepted the reverse legend certain but for the king's name he argued in support of the earlier reading: 'The *ca* is certainly like *va*, but what appears to be vowel mark above it is the usual crescent; on no. 588, it is difficult to say whether the second *Akṣara* is *tya* or *ndra*, but it is certainly *ndra* on nos. 589 and 590; and, there is no reason to doubt the reading *Candra*'.[23] As these coins belong to the heavy weight standard which was introduced by Skandagupta, as well as contain an additional letter between king's feet that was the characteristic on the Later Imperial Gupta coins; and, in style of execution, too, they resemble with those which bear the additional letter, Allan considered him a later ruler whom he called Candragupta III. However, the subsequent discovery of the Guṇaighar copper plate inscription of Vainyagupta settled this doubt in favour of Vainyagupta. Ganguly

(D.C.) was the first to read correctly the first letter as *vai*, taking the supposed crescent mark as the medial *ai*, and the second character as *nya*.[24]

Of the obverse circular legend, Allan reads *Para* on the right and *Dvādaśāditya* on left;[25] Altekar also makes out the prefix *Śrī*.[26] On coin no. 588, between I and II O' clock, there are three identifiable letters which appear *Paraha*, although traces of letters are also visible after *ha*; and on no. 589, at X is *tya*. On the coin of Singhi collection, Mukherji (B.N.) identifies it as *Parahitakārī rājā da* and restores it as '*Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ*'.[27] Indeed the legend beginning with *Paraha* first occurs on the heavy gold coins of the Archer type of Skandagupta as *Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī Kramādityaḥ*[28] and on the analogy of this, the circular legend of the coins of Vainyagupta can, too, be taken as *Prahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ*. It would not be out of place to say that this legend is also adopted on the Archer type specimens of Purugupta, Budhagupta and Prakaśāditya.

On the obverse there is also a solitary alphabet. Allan deciphers it as *bhā* but Mukherji identifies it as *bhi*. Certainly, the stroke at the head of the letter is for ā and hence it has to be read as *bhā*. Here it can also be recollected that the additional letter is first inducted by Prakāśāditya on his Horseman-Lion slayer type; and, his successors placed it on the Archer type coins. Of them, Vainyagupta was the earliest to introduce this feature on his coins. Altekar, believing this additional letter as the initial of the feudatory, asks: As Bhānugupta 'was almost a contemporary, can it be that he recognised his suzerainty and worked as his Malwa viceroy and that Vainyagupta permitted the engraving of the initial of his Viceroy on his issues'?[29] No doubt, he admits that 'only further discoveries can solve the mystery of the interrelation between these two rulers'. Notwithstanding, we can recall that the character *bha*, devoid of medial, exists on a coin of Prakāśāditya[30] who, in all probability, preceded Vainyagupta; and, we are also aware of the non-occurrence of the medial stroke in certain cases. On coin no. 588 of Vainyagupta, too, it is not very prominent. Can we also hold the letter *bha* of a piece of Prakāśāditya as the initial of Bhānugupta presuming the long period of the reign of the latter? Besides we also know the use of various additional letters—*u*, *ma*, *gre*, *go*, and *ja* on the issues of different rulers. Likewise, these would too, be regarded as the initials of the feudatories. But are we aware of the names of the Gupta feudatories with such initials? Further this surmise does not also appear to be very convincing in view of the fact that the Imperial Gupta rulers, in the last days, were very weak.

Among the five coins of Vainyagupta, the weights of four are known as follows: BMC 588-144.5, 589-148.0, 590-144.7 and Singhi coin-145.5 grains. The minting of two, out of four, on 145 grains resembles with the coin-metrology of Prakāśāditya. However, it can also be recollected that a piece of Vainyagupta is

struck on 148 grains but none of Prakāśāditya is made on this weight. The examination of the coin no. 589 shows that it contains 73% gold;[31] and, this purity of his coins is comparable with the coins of Prakāśāditya and those of class I of Narasimhagupta. The size of only three coins is reported which is. 8 inches. They appear to be comparatively of a little thicker fabric like some coins of Prakāśāditya. The three coins of the British Museum were discovered at Kalighat on the eastern bank of the Hougli river, 16 kms. above Calcutta; the fourth specimen is in the collection of N.S. Singhi, perhaps found from the nearby site; and, the fifth piece is obtained from Boincheegram, Distt. Hoogly. Thus all of them come from the vicinity of Calcutta.

Now we describe the coin type of Vainyagupta:

Obv.: King, nimbate, wearing *dhotī*, standing to l.; holding bow and arrow as usual; garuḍa-standard behind the right hand on left, under the left arm, beneath the crescent, *Vainya* between the feet, *bhā*. Marginal legend: *Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ.*

Rev.: Goddess Lakṣmī seated on lotus, holding noose and lotus, as usual. Symbol on left. Legend: *Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ* on right.

Weight BMC—588: 144.5; *ibid.*-589: 148.0; *ibid*-590: 144.0; Singhi—145.4 grains.

Size BMC 588-90: 0.8 inches.

Gold content BMC-589: 73%.

Provenance BMC-588 (Marsden collection), 589 (*Ibid.*) and 590 (Townley collection): Kalighat Hoard; N.S. Singhi collection; and, *IA-AR* coin: Boincheegram, Distt. Hoogly.

IV

The coins of Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya, the supposed lest king of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who is known from the Nālanda clay seal,[32] are too, made of the Archer type in gold. They are twenty seven in number:[33] 15 (nos. 591-505) in the British Museum; 2 in the Indian Museum; 7 (nos. 233-39) in Bharat Kala Bhavan; and one each in the State Museum, Lucknow, Patna Museum and in the Directorate of State Archaeology, Calcutta. The Patna Museum piece comes from the Berhampur Hoard in Cuttack district, Orissa. The specimens of the British Museum and the Bharat Kala Bhavan are said to have belonged to the Kalighat Hoard. The coin

of the Directorate of the State Archaeology, Calcutta is obtained from Hasnan, the Hoogly district. These coins have the usual features of this type but their manufacturing is inferior; the numismatic art of the the Imperial Guptas deteriorates considerably.

Their obverse contains the name *Viṣṇu* under the left arm and the additional letter *ru* between the feet; and, there is no trace of the marginal legend. No doubt, Gupta and Srivastava hold that the circular legend ends with *Gupta Kramāditya*. But none of the other scholars make such observation; and, they too, identify the above legend only on BKB 239 between VI and VII. But that is indistinct; and, further, the occurrence of the issuer's name and his epithet at this place on the specimens of the other Later Imperial Gupta rulers is unknow. His epithet *Śrī Candrāditya* occurs on the reverse. It can also be recalled that the additional letter *ru* of these coins is also seen on some of the specimens of the Horseman-Lion slayer type of Prakāśditya. Most of the coins, on the reverse, have the personal symbols and this peculiarity is also known on the issue of the Horseman-Lion slayer type of Prakāśāditya. Some of the coins in of Viṣṇugupta seem to be heavily alloyed; BMC no. 598 contains 43% gold. But his coins the Indian Museum, described as debased, have 59.7 and 63.6% gold.[34]

Altekar writes that 'the coins of Viṣṇugupta weigh between 147 and 151 grains; their size is however rather small; it varies betweeh .75″ and .8″'.[35] But these are vague observations. To have the perfect picture of the metrology of his coins, we enumerate the different coin-weights along with the number of the issues struck on them as follows:

Weight group	*No.*	*Percentage*
141.1—142.0	1	4
142.1—143.0	—	—
143.1—144.0	—	—
144.1—145.0	1	4
145.1—146.0	1	4
146.1—147.0	1	4
147.1—148.0	2	8
148.1—149.0	7	28
149.1—150.0	6	24
150.1—151.0	5	20
151.1—152.0	1	4

Thus these coins are minted on the weights varying from 147 to 152 grains; those weighing below 147 grains appear to be under weight. Further, 72% coins concentrate on the weights ranging from 149 to 151 grains. Surprisingly enough, all the under-weight coins belong to the Bharat Kala Bhavan; and, its reason is difficult to be explained.

The various sizes of the coins along with their numbers and percentages are recorded hereunder:

Size	*Number*	*Percentage*
0.70	1	4.16
0.74	2	8.33
0.75	7	29.16
0.76	2	8.33
0.77	2	8.33
0.78	2	8.33
0.80	8	33.33

The size-variants in the back-ground of metrology are as follows:

Weight range	*Size*	*No.*	*Percentage*
141.1—142.0	0.77	1	4.16
144.1—145.0	0.74	1	4.16
145.1—146.0	0.74	1	4.16
146.1—147.0	0.78	1	4.16
147.1—148.0	0.75	1	4.16
148.1—149.0	0.70	1	4.16
	0.75	1	4.16
	0.80	5	20.83
149.1—150.0	0.75	3	12.50
	0.76	1	4.16
	0.77	1	4.16
	0.80	1	4.16
150.1—151.0	0.75	2	8.33
	0.76	1	4.16
	0.78	1	4.16
	0.80	1	4.16
151.0—152.0	0.80	1	4.16

Thus we observe that the coins of Viṣṇugupta vary in size from 0.7 to 0.8 inches; however, 97.84% measure between 0.74 and 0.80 inches and with the concentrations on 0.75 and 0.80 inches. The coins upto the weight of 148.0 grains are not made of 0.80 and the specimen of 151.1-152.0 is not produced below that. Thus they are thick in fabric. Now we give the detailed description of these coins.[36]

Obv.: King, nimbate, wearing *dhotī*, standing to left, and holding bow and arrow as usual; garuḍa-standard behind the right hand on left; under the left arm, beneath the crescent, *Viṣṇu*. Between the feet, *ru*. Marginal legend off the flan.

Rev.: Goddess, nimbate, seated, facing on lotus, holding noose and lotus as

usual. Symbol on left. Legend: *Śrī Candrdāityaḥ.*

Weight BMC—591: 149.0; *Ibid.*—592: 150.6; *Ibid*—593: 149.0; *Ibid*—594: 151.0; *Ibid.*—595: 149.8; *Ibid.*—596: 148.5; *Ibid.*—597: 147.4; *Ibid.*—598: 150.1, *Ibid.*—599: 149.2; *Ibid.*—600: 149.5; *Ibid.*—601: 148.8; *Ibid.*—602: 149.6; *Ibid.*—603: 148.5; *Ibid.*—604: 152.0; *Ibid.*—605: 148.4; IMC—1: 150.3; *Ibid.*—2: 148.6; BKB—233: 9.68 grames (149.38 grains); *Ibid.*—234: 9.43 (145.52); *Ibid.*—235: 9.73 (150.15): *Ibid.*—236: 9.5 (146.60); *Ibid.*—237: 9.2 (141.97); *Ibid.*—238: 9.7 (149.69); *Ibid.*—239: 9.35 (144.29); SML: 9.54 (147.22). Note: Of the BKB coins, 4, out of 7, weigh below 147.0 grains and the specimens of this phenomenon are unknown from the other coin collections.

Size BMC—596 : 0.7; BKB—234 and 239: 0.74; BMC—592-597, 598, 599, 600, 601 and 602: 0.75; BKB—233 and 235: 0.76: *Ibid.*—237 and 238: 0.77; IMC-1 and BKB 236: 0.78; and BMC—591, 593, 594, 595, 603, 604, 605, and IMC—2: 0.8 inch.

Unrecorded weight and size, *ASI-AR*, 1926-27: 1; *IA-AR*: 1.

Gold content:

Gold content BMC—598: 43; IMC—1: 59.7; *Ibid.*—2: 63.6%

Collection and Provenance BMC,591: (Cunningham); *Ibid.*, 592 (Spink); *Ibid.*, 593-95: (I.O.C.); and *Ibid.*; 596-605 (E.I.C.)-I.O.C. and E.I.C., coins are from the Kalighat Hoard; and BKB, 233-39; Hamilton, ex-Kalighat Hoard; *IA-AR*: Hasnan (Hoogly district).

Notes and References

1. *JNSI*, XVI (1), pp. 102-4.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (*CGE*), pp. 340-41.
4. *The Imperial Guptas*, p. 197.
5. *Numismatic Digest*, V (2), pp. 36 ff.
6. Vide my paper, 'Samudragupta II: A Successor of Skandagupta'. to be published elsewhere.
7. *BMC, GD*, p. 140; *Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, (*GC, BKB*), p. 80; *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.* (*BMA*), No. 35-36, p. 92.
8. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 86.
9. *BMC, GD*, p. 140.
10. *Ibid.*, p. LX.
11. *CII* (Revised), pp. 321-22.
12. *JNSI* XII, pp. 31 ff.

13. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* (*DKM*), Appendix 1 a.
14. *CGE*, pp. 271-5.
15. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp. 86-88, 112.
16. *Si-Yu-ki*, pp. 203 ff.
17. *IMC*, I, p. 120.
18. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 267.
19. *IHQ*, VI, pp. 45 ff.
20. *BMC, GD*, p. 144; *IA-AR*, 1981-82, p. 90; *J.N. Banerjea Volume*, pp. 336-38.
21. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 82.
22. *NC*, 1981, p. 57.
23. *BMC, GD*, p. LIV.
24. *IHQ*, IX, p. 785.
25. *BMC, GD*, pp. CXXIII, 144.
26. *CGE*, p. 359.
27. *Banerjea Volume*, p. 337.
28. *BMC, GD*, p. CXXI.
29. *CGE*, p. 282.
30. Vide my paper 'The Coins of Prakāśāditya: A Study', to be published elsewhere.
31. *DKM*, Appendix 1 a.
32. *CII* (Revised), p. 364.
33. *BMC, Al*, pp. 145-46; *IMC*, I, p. 121; *ASI-AR*, 1926-27, p. 130; *BKB*, p. 86, *BMA*, No. 35-36. p. 94; *IA-AR*, 1976-77, p. 73.
34. *DKM*, Appendix 1 a; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 268.
35. *CGE*, p. 280.
36. We are unable to classify them further as most of them are not illustrated and unfortunately, the photographs of the Gupta coins procured by us from the British Museum, too, do not contain the catalogue or registration numbers.

16

The Maitraka-Gupta Relations—A Reappraisal of D.R. Bhandarkar's View

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

While revising the inscriptions of the imperial Guptas in Volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by J.F. Fleet, Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has read *M* [*ai*] *ttrān=udaśy=ācakit-ānuyātaḥ* in line 6 of the Eran Stone Pillar inscription dated year 191.[1] In footnote 1 of the same he says that, "It is true that the name of Maittra is not quite clear and beyond all doubt. Nevertheless, it is as good as certain."[2] Bhandarkar has translated this verse as, "alongwith him (Bhānugupta) Goparāja, following (him) without fear, having overtaken the Maittras and having fought a very big and famous battle, went to heaven . . ."[3] On the basis of the reading Maittra, the learned scholar claims that the Maittras are the same as Maitrakas who were defeated by the great king of the Gupta dynasty namely Bhānugupta.[4] Since Bhandarkar's reading and its interpretation leads to far reaching implications in the history of the Gupta-Maitraka relations, it is pertinent to critically examine the reading in line 6 of this inscription to see if it has any bearing at all on the history of the Maitrakas.

Dr. Bhandarkar himself agrees that the reading Maittra is not beyond doubt. Actually a careful examination shows that there is no sign of *ai* above *ma*. Instead we have a short *i* which gives the reading *mittrān* as read both by Fleet and D.C. Sircar. The following word has been read by Bhandarkar as *n-udaśya* which is definitely untenable. What Bhandarkar has read as *da* is more probably *va*. In the

second syllable Bhandarkar has certainly erred. In Gupta Brāhmī the palatal sibilant never gets a top mark. It is clearly round at the top. In the present case the letter has got top mark whereas the cross-bar is missing. Therefore it is not *ś* but *t* over which a superscript *r* with *ā* is clear. The conjunct is definitely *rtyā*. The next word has been correctly read by both Fleet and Sircar as *kilānuyātaḥ*. There is no scope for confusing *la* with *ta* as Bhandarkar has done.

Of the scholars who have previously edited this inscription John Faithful Fleet was the first. While editing the Corpus of the Gupta inscriptions in 1888, he doubtfully read it as *mittrān-uva* (?) *tyā* (?) *ra* (?),[5] and translated it as, "alongwith him, Goparāja followed . . . . (his) friends (and came) here." The last letter is certainly not *ra*. Moreover *vatyāra* does not convey any sense, of which Fleet was fully conscious. He was quite near the truth and correctly read the two letters as *va* and *tyā*.[6]

Dr. D.C. Sircar has given the reading of this word as *gatyena* in place of Fleet's *vatyāra*[7]. It has been accepted by Dr. Prithvi Kumar Agrawala.[8] The formation of the first syllable shows that it cannot be read as *ga* by any stretch of imagination, as we need a long vertical stroke on right side. There is no trace of any such stroke. It becomes clear at once, when compared with *ga* of the same epigraph. It occurs twice in line 5 and once each in lines 3 and 7. The syllable under discussion cannot be read as *ga*. What Sircar has read as *na* has been read as *ca* by Prof. Jagannath Agrawal[9] as well as Bhandarkar. Therefore it may be read as *anuvartyā*. This reading clearly shows that the intended sense here is that of 'following' or 'coming to the help of'. The complete reading of line 6 therefore should be *mittrān=uvartya*[10]*=ca kilānuyātaḥ*. It may be rendered as "and having followed him for the sake of obliging a friend". Since only two parties are mentioned in the inscription, namely the Great king Bhānugupta and Goparāja, who was killed in the battle, it is evident that the latter died fighting against the unnamed enemy of Bhānugupta, who were certainly not the Maitrakas.

Now the question arises as to what led a scholar like Dr. Bhandarkar to give erroneous reading Maittra=Maitraka and say that they were defeated by the Gupta monarch Bhānugupta? We do not have any evidence, except for Bhandarkar's own reading of this verse and its translation, which have been shown to be faulty. Bhandarkar is here swayed by one of his earlier views. As early as 1909 Bhandarkar published an article[11] in which he revived the old theory of Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Fleet that the name Maitraka is derived from Mitra which is a Sanskritised form of Mihira, Mehr or Mer. Accordingly he identified the Maitrakas of Valabhī as a horde of foreigners who entered into India alongwith the Hūṇas. This view was reiterated by him two years later in another article entitled 'Foreign Elements in Indian Population' published in the *Indian Antiquary*,[12] where Bhandarkar argued the foreign origin of the Maitrakas with full force.

There was some justification in such a view when Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Fleet expressed their opinion due to a faulty interpretation of the expression *prasabha praṇat-āmitrāṇām-Maitrakāṇām* occurring in the Maitraka inscriptions, which was taken to mean that the Maitrakas were a powerful tribe, who were defeated by Bhaṭārka. But this view had to be discarded as early as 1895 when Hultzsch brought to light the correct reading and import of this expression and pointed out that actually Bhaṭārka himself belonged to the Maitraka family and there is no question of his fighting against them.[13] As for Maitrakas themselves, it has been pointed out by competent authorities[14] that not only they did not come into clash with the imperial Guptas but accepted their suzerainty till the very end of their rule. Bhandarkar's insistence on this view even after the clarification given by Hultzsch was based on his interpretation of the word Maitraka being a derivation of Mitra or Mihira who according to him were sun worshipping foreigners. Ia support of his argument he refers to certain copper-plate grants from Alina in which the names of some Brahman donees end in Mitra.[15] Bhandarkar concludes that this Mitra was a dynastic name of some foreigners. But both these conclusions of Bhandarkar are erroneous. It has already been pointed out by Prof. Jagannath that the Maitrakas of Valabhī were not a foreign sun-worshipping people. They were by and large devotees of Śiva and only one king in the whole dynasty was a sun-worshipper.[16] They are called Maitrakas because they were the followers of Mitra, a pupil of Lakulīśa, an incarnation of Śiva. Here it will not be out of place to point out that neither the worship of the Sun nor Mitra ending names were alien to ancient Indians. In the *Ṛgveda* there are hymns in praise of the Sun. Mitra was an important Vedic god who is repeatedly mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. Further the names of celebrated Brahman rulers of Śuṅga dynasty end in Mitra viz. Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra etc. A large number of coins from Punjab and U.P. dating back from 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. refer to a number of rulers with Mitra ending names. Thus by no stretch of imagination either of these can be associated with foreigners like the Hūṇas.

Finally regarding the relations of the Maitrakas with the imperial Guptas, some important evidence is provided by the Maitraka inscriptions themselves. In all their known records, Bhaṭārka, the founder of the dynasty, is simply called *Senāpati*, which clearly shows that he was not an independent king but only a commander-in-chief of some supreme ruler. That the Maitrakas continued to be subordinate to the Guptas is evident from the Bhamodra Mohotta Copper-Plate dated Gupta Saṁvat 183 of the time of third Maitraka ruler Droṇasiṁha. In this grant he calls himself a *paramabhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyātaḥ* i.e. favoured by the feet of the supreme lord.[17] Still more important is the expression *akhila-bhuvanamaṇḍalaikasvāminā paramasvāminā svayamupahitarājyābhiṣekaḥ* used with reference to Droṇasiṁha, who was anointed on the throne by the supreme lord himself. Unfortunately the name of this supreme lord, to whom the Maitrakas owed their allegiance is not mentioned in any of their records, but the answer is not far to seek.

We have the date G.S. 183=A.D. 502 as the earliest date of Droṇasiṁha, the third ruler of the Maitraka dynasty. Calculating backwards and giving an average of 20 years' rule to the first two rulers we can arrive at the date 462 A.D. for Bhaṭārka. The only supreme ruler of India at this time was the Gupta emperor Skandagupta who was ruling over entire northern India including Saurashtra. From his Junagadh Rock inscription dated A.D. 455 it is clear that Saurashtra was a problem province for him and Skandagupta had to undertake special steps for reorganisation of its administration. He appointed Parṇadatta as the civil-governor of this province after a prolonged thought. As pointed out by Prof. Jagannath[18] and R.C. Majumdar[19] it is almost certain that Bhaṭārka was appointed the commander-in-chief, incharge of military affairs of this vulnerable province by Skandagupta at this very time, as is indicated by the former's title of *Senāpati*.

The Maitrakas continued to owe allegiance to the Guptas during the rule of Skandagupta's successors. Bhaṭārka's son Dharasena became the governor of Saurashtra after his father but still with the title *Senāpati*. Dharasena's brother Droṇasiṁha became the third governor of Saurashtra. In his Bhamodra Mohotta Copper-Plate dated 183 he expressly acknowledges his allegience to his overlord, who is designated as the sole master of the entire circumference of the world. This makes it very clear that the Maitrakas still professed allegience to the imperial authority and had not declared themselves as independent. The inscriptions of the successors of Droṇasiṁha confirm this fact by recording that 'the installation in the royalty by besprinkling of Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha was personally performed by the supreme lord who was the master of the circumference of the whole world.' This ceremony must have taken place sometime before A.D. 502, since we find him using the title Mahārāja in his Bhamodra Mohotta Copper-Plate instead of Senāpati, which means that Droṇasiṁha had become a feudatory ruler before A.D. 502 and his relations with his overlord were cordial. We are not faced with any difficulty with finding out the name of the paramount ruler to whom Droṇasiṁha owed allegience. The only ruler in Northern India in *c.* A.D. 500, who can rightly claim this honour must be a Gupta emperor and he was in all probability either Budhagupta or Vainyagupta. This *status quo* was maintained by Droṇasiṁha throughout his reign upto *c.* A.D. 525 is clear from the references in the inscriptions of his successors. What should set the seal of certainty on the entire topic is Bhandarkar's own statement that the Maitrakas continued to use the Gupta era upto their last ruler.[19] How can then we think of serious conflict between the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta and the Maitrakas in A.D. 510 when Droṇasiṁha was ruling as a feudatory of the imperial Guptas and when all the successors of Droṇasiṁha continued the use of Gupta era in their official records? Therefore, it can be definitely stated that the Maitrakas did not part company with the Guptas in bitterness but assumed independence only when the Guptas had themselves collapsed sometime after G.S. 224 or A.D. 543. The question of any battle being fought between the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta and Maitrakas, does not arise at all.

Notes and References

1. *CII*, III (Revised Ed. 1981), p. 353.
2. *Ibid.*, f.n. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
4. *Ibid.*, 87.
5. *CII*, III (1888 ed.), p. 93.
6. Prof. Jagannath Agrawal's unpublished Ms. of the Gupta inscriptions.
7. *Select Inscriptions* I, p. 336.
8. *Imperial Gupta Epigraphs*, p. 119.
9. *Op. cit.* Prof. Agrawal informs me that the author of the inscription has coined a word like *anuvartī* on the analogy of *anuvartana*.
10. Grammatically *anuvartyā* is not correct Sanskrit but it seems to be used in the intended sense of *anuvartana* which according to Monier Williams' Dictionary means-following, attending, obliging, serving or gratifying another etc. which excellently fits in this context.
11. *JRASB*, V (1909), 167ff.
12. *IA*, XL (1911), pp. 31-33.
13. *EI*, III (1894-95). p. 319.
14. Agrawal, Jagannath, *IC*, V, 407 ff.; Majumdar, R.C., *Classical Age*, p. 60.
15. *JRASB*, V, pp. 183-85.
16. *IC*, V, p. 408.
17. *EI*, XVI, 17 f.
18. He maintains that after crossing the Bolan Pass, the Hūṇas invaded India from the west during the reign of Skandagupta, which made the defence of Saurashtra even more important. Cf. *PIHC*, 1958, 160-61.
19. *CII*, III, (Revised ed. 1981), p. 183.

17

Gandhara: How Greek?

R. MORTON SMITH

I am honoured in being asked to write for Professor B.N. Mukherjee and glad among other commitments to find a subject which though quite brief may be interesting. The Gandhara art of the North West originally interested the classically educated British army officers by its Greek traits. Wheeler was the first to insist its parallels were rather of the Roman period, and it seems to come into being long after the extinction of the Greek kingdoms. Roman is an extension of the Greek tradition, but when we look to the details of Gandhara, surprisingly much is not Western.

The anatomy begins basically Greek, but without the athletic tradition and the idea of the beauty of the human youthful body, and the impermanence and unreality of that, realism, which is individual, is abandoned in favour of the schematic ideal. Longer lasting in Gandhara is the unobtrusiveness of the ornamental motifs of the framework of the (narrative) sculptures or the statue's pedestal; and we were surprised to find on examination that the majority of these seem to be Indian.

In the classical vase painting and architectural ornamentation the motifs are remarkably few, Greek key, palmette, egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel, with variations, and one or two others. There seems to be a sharp reduction in the 7-6th centuries B.C., which I would connect with the rise of Greek rationalism and the growing importance of man (and humanized gods), the former also involving a loss of symbolism in ornament—a loss that is never complete in India. Subsidiary ornaments then

do not interfere with the main theme of the composition. The range of Greek ornamental motifs expands in the later 4th century and Hellenistic times, but these innovations do not dominate Gandhara.

Greek key, egg-and-dart and palmette, I cannot find in Gandhara. Bead-and-reel as noted in my article Bead-and-Reel in India in East & West 1975, is as often in its flat form in Gandhara, and its rounded form seems to be on 3rd century pieces; we find it at Mathura and even at Amaravati c 200.

The dentil, very common in Gandhara, decidedly rare in Greece, we can find from Sanchi II on.

The frond in Gandhara comes from the Indian one we find e.g. on Aśokā's capital from Rampurva, though ultimately of Assyrian derivation; cf GAP5, F15.

While the Acanthus capital is Greek, and is common (somewhat developed) in Gandhara, e.g. GAP 7, or with a square pier, ib. 81, as a continuous frieze, the parallel is in Mathura, e.g, VL 50, EIA, VM similarly.

The degenerated half-moon on the pier in GAP76, 241, 310 etc. derives from the developing railing, e.g. Ganeśa Gumpha F 51, of Mathura.

While I do not find the chequer, which becomes very common later, clearly earlier in India than in Gandhara, e.g. GAP 166, 238, it is certainly no Greek ornament, and could well come from wood or textile pieces. The checker of triangles, e.g. GAP 160, I have not found in India.

The weaving pattern, which is like triangles leaning on one another, e.g. GAP 468, (a stupa), BAG 71, a base for a scene, from Rhode, we can find from Barhut through Mathura, Amaravati, to Mirpur Khas, e.g. EIA 32.

The leaved branch, e.g. GAP 75, 169, 200 (on halo) can be found at Barhut ZC 36b (on stupa) or 32b (looks textile), cf Fi 21.

The rosette does not seem to survive the 7th century in Greece in ornamental usage; I therefore take it as of Indian derivation in Gandhara, e.g. GAP 68, 70, 127, 144 (with this cf ZC 32b at Barhut). We can trace the rosette back to Rampurva and Barhut. We find the rosette in a square at Barhut EIA 28 on the Begram ivories (of clear Mathura style), cf GAP 155, BAG 83. Commoner in Gandhara is the rosette between lotus buds, which goes back to Sanchi II Ganeśa Gumpha (ZC 49), cf GAP 64-5, 225 etc. Or we can find the rosette in a double sine curve, GAP 226, BAG 97, cf VM LV, at Mathura.

The lotus and its petals we can assume of Indian origin, though Gandhara may have a new use as base for a scene, GAP 317, 409, or frieze above scene as ib. 158. The lotus flower creeper is known at Barhut EIA 25, and we find it in Gandhara, GAP 215, 462—cf the rosette creeper, ib 209, 188.

The creeper goes back to Sanchi II and Barhut, and is symbolic: which I take to be the reason of its presence in Gandhara. The Greek form of inhabited vine, I find only once in GAP (461), and the Gandhara creeper is never so exuberant as the Indian can be; the form with reversed leaf (which goes as far over as Korea), e.g. GAP 34, 408, BAG 59, may be of Gandhara origin, though I find it at Mathura JAM XXVI & VM XXIII, (Note also BAG 76 where we also have a Gandhara version with vine of the double creeper of Sanchi II pillar and a Greek version of the emitting yakśa.) There is also what I call a tulip creeper, with an opening bud like a tulip flower (or leaf like one) in each bend, e.g. BAG 133 GAP 54, 72, 88, 181, 445; this also appears at Mathura VL 51 (with a Sanchi I type).

There is also a column of flowers (GAP 419), cf. (horizontally) VL 42-4, 51 that goes back to a similar pattern round a medallion at Barhut.

We should add the pearled garland. or perhaps better pearled textile e.g. GAP 409, which we can find on a torns at Barhut (ZC 32a) and has a long and varied life in India.

It will be seen that much of the ornamental in Gandhara derives from India—our list is not complete. Greece contributes also, but often in changed form, e.g. the wreath or garland, which as a base or top in Gandhara is inspissated (GAP 39, 52, 152 etc.); or the cupids carrying a garland, which seems rather oftener to change its decoration in Gandhara as it does at Amaravati, but remains vegetal and internally unchanging in Greece. Also without the tradition of the beautiful boy in Buddhism, Cupids lose the Greek anatomy and tend towards the symbolical gaṇa—a transformation that also came on the Atlas.

Ingholt emphasizes Palmyra as a source of Gandhara art; I wonder if some influence could have gone the other way. Thus in Michalowski's brief book on Palmyra (Library of Congress no. 70-85967, Pl. 1 late 2nd century we have an Indian frond (not Greek palmette) and inspissated wreath. On Pl. 20 a rather Mathura like acanthus (but 1st century AD).

18 a Greek vine cf BAG 80 from the Dharmarajika, Taxila, also 1st cent. AD from the temple of Bel.

Pl 56 a double vine of 3rd century with the same reef knot as BAG 78, 58 also 3rd century, close beam ends (also found commonly in Gandhara veined lotus petals, intervening tips, also common in Gandhara inspissated wreath with rosette.

59 also 3rd century Indian frond.

78 Textile patterns with close parallels at Butkara, of early 3rd cent; rosette in square with pearled divisions; leafed branch; rosette creeper; border with the later common Indian 'jewel box' pattern.

81 veined lotus petal with intervening tips; textile pattern rosette in creeper; again 3rd century AD.

These things are far from proof, but may raise a question worth pursuing.

Abbreviations

BAG	Sir John Marshall	Buddhist Art art of Gandhara
EIA	L Bachhofer	Early Indian Art
GAP	H Ingholt	Gandhara Art in Pakistan
JAM	V A Smith	Jain Antiquities of Mathura
VL	J E Van Lohuizen	The Scythian Period
VM	J Ph Vogel	Art of Mathura

18

Charles Masson and the Jani Topes

K. WALTON DOBBINS

It was from Prof. Mukherjee that I first learned of Charles Masson and his discoveries in Afghanistan. It is therefore with great pleasure that I offer this small discussion on one of Masson's episodes to my teacher in Gandharan studies.

Masson was a deserter from the army of the East India Company. In 1826 he and a friend left their regiment and went cross-country to Dera Ismail Khan where they separated. His real name was James Lewis. When he took his new name he also claimed to be an American from Kentucky. He spent 14 years in Afghanistan, most of which time he served as the Company's antiquarian and as the Government of India's agent and informant in Kabul. In 1835 he was granted a royal pardon for his desertion.[1]

In the early 1830's Bimaran stupa number 5 near Jalalabad was first investigated by Martin Honigberger of Vienna.[2] He learned from the local people that it was called Djan i top (Jani Tope), 'the soul (or essence) of the topes'. It was in a good state of preservation except that its very top, the dome of the stupa, had been eroded away. Its elevation and diameter both were about thirty feet.[3] Digging into the structure at its base he found inside it an interior structure in the form of a stupa. He gives no dimensions for this enclosed stupa, but it contained six cells or relic chambers. Four were on the same level, with one above and one below. The cells were separated one from another by about a foot except for the upper and lower ones which were about two feet apart.

Three chambers, in the middle group, contained only dust and perhaps ash. The other three had serpentine stone boxes. The one in the upper cell was ornamented with filets, and its knob was detached. It contained only soil and cinders. The box in the middle cell was a round pyxis decorated with cross-hatching on the side and petals on the lid and knob.[4] It contained a small pyxis of wood and some small items including a gold ring.[5] The box from the lower chamber was similar in form, also cross-hatched on the side and decorated with mouldings. It contained a lump of compacted earth with streaks of ash.

While burrowing to the upper cell the workmen dislodged a large stone placed above the interior stupa revealing that there was a chamber in the outer structure above the enclosed one. There was no reliquary, but several small items were found including a cylinder of crystal pierced lengthwise and thirty bronze coins. These were 28 coins of Kujula, type Bust of Hermaios/Herakles (Kujula-Hermaios), and 2 of the Azes type King mounted/Goddess with cornucopiae with the title dhramika and Kujula's trefoil thamga (Kujula-Azes).

The next notice on this stupa is from Masson who visited the site some months after Honigberger.[6] He classified it in his first class, i.e. large topes, and measured its circumference as 153 feet at the base. He found that the local people had continued digging into the stupa after Honigberger had departed, and they had discovered more chambers. To facilitate identification of these chambers the six in the inner stupa found by Honigberger will be numbered 1 through 6. The large chamber in the masonry of the enlargement to and above the inner stupa is number 7. Those found by the villagers and Masson will be numbered in the order that Masson described them. Masson understood Honigberger to have found only three chambers, those with the stone reliquaries, and mistakenly associated the coins with one of these. He therefore continued the count of chambers found by the villagers with 4 instead of 8.

Chamber 8: Some boys from Naib Yar Mohammed's castle, while amusing themselves in Honigberger's excavation, overturned a stone and found another compartment. Inside were 'thirty or thirty-one copper coins'. No mention of a reliquary is made, and the deposit may be of the type found by Honigberger in chamber 7. Masson recovered six of the coins, and they were all of the Kujula-Hermaios type.

Chamber 9: After the boys made their find the village priest undertook a search with tools and found another chamber. It had a steatite vase and 31 coins. Masson recovered all of the coins which consisted of 26 Kujula-Hermaios, 4 Kujula-Azes and 1 Gondophares Soter, type Bust/Nike.

Chamber 10: Another deposit was found by Mulla Abd-ul-rahim. It contained a steatite vase and 'thirty or thirty-one copper coins'. Masson obtained 15 of these coins, all of the Kujula-Hermaios type.

Chamber 11: Masson, suspecting that a series of deposits had been made from the top downwards, dug into the summit of the stupa and found another chamber. Inside was a steatite vase and 16 coins of Kujula-Hermaios. Inside the vase were some ashes and two beads, one of gold and one of coral.

Masson described Honigberger's coin find differently than Honigberger himself had done, and curiously not being sure of the number of coins. He said the lot was 'thirty or thirty-one' coins, an enumeration he uses regarding two of the finds made by the villagers. He listed the coins as having been 25 or 26 Kujula-Hermaios, 4 Kujula-Azes and I Gondophares. This was taking considerable liberties with what Honigberger said. Masson's version makes this lot similar or identical in composition to that found by the village priest, and he must have wished to fit the other two finds into the same pattern. Since he says they each were thirty or thirty-one coins, the villagers must have said only thirty. Masson's description of a find made in another stupa makes it certain.

Within sight of Jani Tope was a smaller stupa, Hadda 3, which was so similar in style that Masson's workmen called it Bacha Jani Tope.[7] In it was a deposit, not in a distinct chamber, of a large, broken steatite vase and 16 bronze coins. A broken silver casket which apparently had been in the broken vase, contained three crystal beads, a green stone, shell and a small cylindrical gold case. The latter contained a gold ornament, a ruby, a bead and two seeds. The coins were one square bronze of Hermaios, 12 Kujula-Hermaios, 2 Kujula-Azes and 1 Gondophares. In his discussion of Jani Tope, however, Masson said that Bacha Jani Tope had 13 Kujula-Hermaios coins and omitted mention of the square bronze. Several coins of the Kujula-Hermaios type in the Oriental Department of the British Museum in a lot labelled 'Hadda 3' were struck on squarish flans. It is likely that the square Hermaios coin is one of these. Masson said that the Hadda 3 coins were 'just one half of the proportions of coins' found at Bimaran 5. Allowing the square coin to be grouped with the Kujula-Hermaios specimens, this would in fact be true of only the Kujula coins found in chamber 9 and Hadda 3. Each deposit had one Gondophares coin, not two in chamber 9, and the totals are not in proportion. However, this shows that Masson was manipulating the numbers in Honigberger's and the villagers' lots of coins. The 16 coins from chamber 11 are the same number as those found in Hadda 3 but of only one type. The coins actually found and reported from Jani Tope are:

Chamber	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Kujula-Hermaios	28	6	26	15	16	91
Kujula-Azes	2	?	4	?	0	6
Gondophares S.	0	?	1	?	0	1
TOTALS	30	6	31	15	16	98
REPORTED TOTALS	30	30	31	30	16	137

Chambers 7, 8 and 10 had only 30 coins each, not 31. Masson sought to revise these totals because of an apparent relationship of Jani Tope and the coins from chamber 9 with Hadda 3 and its coins. Still, the similarities are remarkable. These are the only two stupas known to have deposits of these three types, and the ratios of specimens are similar. The 30 coins from chamber 7 are similarly proportioned between Kujula-Hermaios and Kujula-Azes types with there being fewer of the latter. Chamber 11 had only coins of the former, and as well as can be known the other two chambers yielded coins similarly weighted by type since only Kujula-Hermaios coins were seen by Masson. Occurrence of a single Gondophares Soter coin in each of two deposits, one in each stupa, is worthy of note. Then there is the singular circumstance that the smaller stupa so resembled the Jani Tope that the workmen noticed the similarity and named it after the larger structure. Thsse points seem to indicate a case that the two stupas were constructed in their final forms at the same time and by the same donor. The six coin deposits, five in Bimaran 5 and the one in Hadda 3, were likely apportioned from one lot of coins. The ratios of types may not have been deliberate.

The presence of coins of Gondopheres in these two stupas requires some explanation. It is unusual for coins of different local monarchs, and virtually unheard of for different local and contemporary dynasties, to be represented in the same religious dedication. They may simply have been mistaken for the Bust/Standing deity type of Kujula-Hermaios. On the other hand, the only way that the Kujula-Azes type can be attribured to Kujula is by his tamgha symbol; his name never occurs on a coin with these devices. Perhaps Kujula imitated coins of Gondophares as well as Azes and those of other types. The coinage of the region at this time was thoroughly debased and inflation was out of control. The mints in Kujula's realm were working overtime to produce currency, and surely experiments were made with different types to find a coinage acceptable to the public and suppliers in the various provinces. The Gondophares coins from the Jani Topes may not be Kujula issues, but they were in circulation alongside Kujula issues and were part of the inflationary debasement spiral of the period.

Masson believed that stupas were the tombs of kings and members of royal families. This conviction was the result of his desire to explain the presence of coins with names of kings on them in the deposits. He was always conscious of numbers and patterns to try to put the 'tombs' into context. When he had the specimens from chamber 9 and Hadda 3 before him he believed that either Honigberger or his own notes on chamber 7 had gotten it wrong. It was then a small leap to conclude that the two village finds had been rounded down from 31 to 30 coins in the accounts given to him by the locals. He could then assume that deposits in four of the chambers were identical in composition of types and that each was in proportion to that found at Hadda 3. He did not point out that his own find of coins in chamber 11 was the same number as that which he found in Hadda 3, but of a different mix

of types. Yet this is perhaps more significant than his attempted proportionment; it is another point of similarity between the two stupas and their coins.

All these faults and foibles in Masson's accounts should not be interpreted to mean that he was careless or deliberately distorted his evidence. He had not seen all of the specimens from two of the villagers' finds, and it was his perfect right to doubt their account and put what interpretation he thought plausible upon them. When he met with Honigberger and saw his finds the coins from chamber 7 were a small portion of the artifacts, and at that time the coins may well not have been classified. When Masson while at Tatta wrote his account published by Wilson he had most certainly not seen Honigberger's report published by Jacquet. A letter of Masson[8] informs that an account of Honigberger's operations which the latter had written and had been read by Masson never reached Captain Wade. Therefore Honigberger's report was not published in India, and Masson, though he had read it, probably did not have a copy of it before him when he wrote his own memoir. And all of his contacts with Honigberger occurred before he made his own investigations at Bimaran 5. He could not have foreseen that Honigberger's finds would interest so importantly with his own.

Charles Masson was not a trained historian or investigator of archaeological sites, but he was devoted to his undertaking. He was a conscientious collector and reporter of finds. He did not willfully falsify any data, but only attempted to interpret it. He wished, hoped and believed that he was contributing to knowledge of the ancient world. And so he was.

Notes and References

1. Introduction by G. Hambly in C. Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* (rpr. London, 1974), I, vii-xxx.
2. E. Jacquet, *Journal Asiatique*, V (1838), pp. 163-69.
3. A drawing of the stupa is given by Masson in H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841), pl. III.
4. Jacquet 1836, pl. VIII, 1, 2.
5. Jacquet 1836, pl. XI. 10, 11.
6. Wilson 1841, pp. 75-77.
7. Wilson 1841, pp. 77 f., 106.
8. *JASB*, III (1934), pp. 321-32.

19

Apropos a Votive Stupa from Bihar

CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON

The votive *stūpa* under consideration, preserved at the Lucknow Museum, has never been completely published. Its iconography has however been properly described by J Ph. Vogel in 1903[1] and it was recently considered as originating from Bodh Gayā by M. Bénisti.[2] Though its precise provenance is unknown, it is very likely that the *stūpa* once belonged to the collection assembled by Markham Kittoe which was initially kept at the Queen's College of Varanasi before it was partly transferred to Lucknow and partly to Sārnāth.[3]

The four faces represent Akṣobhya (*Plate* 1), Ratnasambhava (*Plate* 3), Amitābha (*Plate* 4) and Amoghasiddhi (*Plate* 5) in the order in which they appear (East, South, West and North). The Northern face, showing Amoghasiddhi, was published by Vogel and later on by Bénisti.[4] Between the large niches, smaller ones are introduced in which stand female deities. These are identified by inscriptions incised above them.[5]

The findspot of the *stūpa* is unknown and M. Bénisti proposes to identify it with Bodh Gayā,[6] but this does not appear so evident, and we cannot exclude Kurkihār as a possible provenance. M. Kittoe, as we know, collected actively images in this village, they are mainly preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta[7] but some were also carried to the Queen's College of Varanasi.[8] Besides, if we were to follow M. Bénisti's stylistic criteria, which are also applied to two other votive *stūpas*,[9] a small *stūpa* at the Devisthan Mandir of Kurkihār would have to be attributed to

Bodh Gayā. Since the Kurkihār *stūpas* (two are indeed in situ: *Plates* 6 and 7) have not yet been properly analysed, though briefly mentioned by M. Bénisti,[10] how looks a *stūpa* from Kurkihār has in fact not yet been settled. In Bénisti's work, two objects are said to have been found at this place[11]: a pedestal kept in Baroda, which would have been collected with a number of other images[12] and a slab which was actually discovered at Nālandā.[13] The material is rather meagre and we must, moreover, notice that two fragments of pedestal sharing common features with the Baroda pedestal were observed at Rājgir by Francis Buchanan Hamilton.[14]

One of the Kurkihār *stūpas* (*Plate* 6) includes motifs which appear at Bodh Gayā, like the small niches with standing characters between the large ones, like the *hamsas* at the extremities of the arch above the seated figures; like the beaded garlands hanging between the large niches.[15] The presence of these motifs on a *stūpa* of Kurkihār shows indeed how uneasy it remains to attribute votive *stūpas* to a definite place. The remark applies more generally to stelae which were then produced in large number: each great centre developed specific stylistic (and iconographic) features but could at the same time integrate motifs created in other places. A good example is furnished in the late 8th and in the 9th c. with the development of a very typical style at Kurkihār which spread upto Bodh Gayā and Guneri.[16]

To return to the Lucknow *stūpa*, we can mention that the series of flat pilasters with intermediary empty recesses is not only observed at Bodh Gayā[17] but also below images from Rājgir and Nālandā[18] and on slabs from *stūpa* also found at Nālandā.[19] The pilasters sustaining the lintel behind the seated Jinas, are carved behind various representations of the Buddha, one of them having been discovered at Nālandā.[20] The small drop-like elements carved on either side of the nimbus over the lintel is also met with, in the same simple treatment, at Nālandā.[21]

Two elements adorn the round columns of the niche, a thin string above a triangular motif also attached to a string which runs behind the column. These elements are observed in Bodh Gayā but they donot seem to appear there simultaneously according to the illustration provided by M. Bénisti whereas the same coupling is noticed at Nālandā.[22]

The peculiar iconography of the *stūpa* leads us to a stela from Kurkihār where Avalokiteśvara is represented teaching on the Potala Mountain.[23] Jinas are sitting in the five niches carved within the rocky landscape. This group of five Jinas, each displaying a different *mudrā*, is commonly observed on images dated from the 11th and 12th c. These Jinas are then depicted in the guise of the Buddha (*uṣṇīṣa*, monastic dress, no jewellery). On the contrary, the Jinas of the Lucknow *stūpa* and of the slab are adorned with jewellery and donot wear the *uṣṇīṣa*. On both examples, the head-dress has a conical shape and is constituted by superimposed rolls, it is also surrounded by a diadem wearing various elements like the central small lotus and lateral triangular fleurons. The Jinas wear a beaded necklace, armlets

at both arms; those on the *stūpa* wear ear-rings whereas those on the slab have apparently a floral ornament similar to the one worn by Avalokiteśvara, i.e. a flower-clip attached at the back of the ear. Flying ribbons are attached to the diadem of the Jinas on the *stūpa*. The Jinas on the slab have the *upavīta*.

Another group of Jinas may be mentioned, it used to top the large image from Jagdiśpur, at Nālandā, and is now kept at the Indian Museum.[24] It shows four Jinas clad in the monastic dress surrounding the fifth Jina, displaying like on the Kurkihār image, the *dharmacakramudrā*, and being jewelled (crown with flying ribbons; necklace; ear-rings; armlets; skirt with girdle; *upavīta*). These two images illustrate thus a tradition which did not live long and seems to have been restricted to a very limited number of examples, i.e. the representation of the Jinas adorned by various jewels and not in the guise of the Buddha.[25]

A votive *stūpa* at Nālandā includes more probably the representation of the four Jinas.[26]

To conclude, we would not ascertain that the votive *stūpa* reproduced here was actually carved in the Bodh Gayā ateliers; we donot exclude the possibility of an origin located in the area of Kurkihār-Nālandā.

Notes and References

1. J.Ph. Vogel, 'Buddhist Sculptures from Benares', *Annual Report of the ASI for the Years 1903-04*, p. 212-226, p. 220 and fig. 2.
2. M. Bénisti, *Contribution a l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et du Ratnagiri*, Paris, 1981, p. 34.
3. D.R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914, (reprint:) Delhi-Varanasi, 1972, p. 314. The legend to the photographs which we reproduce reads as follows: 'Lucknow Museum. Octogonal Stupa presented by the Queen's College, Benares' (it appears on the photographs of the AS: see footnote 4).
4. J.Ph. Vogel, *art. cit.*, fig. 2, M. Bénisti, *op. cit.*, fig. 73 (reproduces the photograph published by Vogel). Our figures reproduce four photographs included under the numbers 1165, 1160, 1159 and 1162 (respectively Pls. 2-5, 1 to 4 here) of the photographic album accompanying the *Survey Report for the Year 1904-05 of the Northern Circle*.
5. J.Ph. Vogel, *art. cit.*, p. 220, quoted by M. Bénisti, *op. cit.*, p. 51-52. The inscriptions read: Mahāsāhasapravada (S.E.), Mahāvatīrā (S.W.), Mahāmānjarī (N.W.) and Sitavati (N.E.).
6. *Art. cit.*, p. 34 and 52.
7. J. Anderson, *Catalogue and Hand-Book of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum, Part II, Gupta and Inscription Galleries*, Calcutta, 1883, (reprint:) Patna, 1977, p. 70. We analysed these images in 'The Stone Images of the Buddha at Kurkihār—Analysis of a Style', *N.K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume*, edited by G. Bhattacharya, Delhi, 1988 (in press).
8. For the construction of which, M. Kittoe was responsible (J. Ph. Vogel in D.R. Sahni, *op. cit*, p. 12).

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 34 and fig. 65 to 68 (*stūpa* of the Indian Museum), fig. 71 (*stūpa* of the Patna Museum). But fig. 66 and 68 reproduce the *same* face, and fig. 67 shows a face belonging to *another stūpa* !
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 36-37 and fig. 89 (basis) and 94 (slab).
12. B. Bhattacharyya, 'Seven Buddhist Sculptures in the Baroda Museum', *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, I, 1944, p. 21-26, n° 144 (illustrated).
13. See our article 'Provenance and present Location of some Images from the Broadley Collection', *R.C. Agrawala Felicitation Volume* (in press), under the number 9.
14. Reproduced in the MSS. Eur. D. 95, India Office Library and Records, London, folios 201 and 202. They are mentioned by their discoverer: *Journal of Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812*, edited with Notes and Introduction by V.H. Jackson, Patna, 1925, p. 138. The basis on folio 202 integrates moreover the series of large rosettes on its lower level, motif which is seen on examples analyzed by M. Benisti (*op. cit.*, fig. 84, 86, 97).
15. M. Benisti, *op. cit.*, p. 34 lists these motifs for proposing Bodh Gayā as origin for the *stūpa* which she mentions p. 34 (here footnote 9) and for the one illustrated here on Pls. 1 to 4.
16. C. Bautze-Picron, *art. cit.*, p. 39; C. Bautze-Picron, *La Statuaire en Pierre du Bihar meridional du 8e au 12e s.—La Stele*,, D. Litt. Thesis, Universite de Provence, Centre d'Aix, 1988, p. 337; S.L. Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture*, Leiden, 1984, p. 105 and 106.
17. M. Benisti, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
18. C. Bautze-Picron, 'Typology and analysis of the representation of the throne on the Borobudur', *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture, Papers of the Symposium held in the Rijksmuseum, May 27th-30th, 1988*, edited by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Marijke J. Klokke, Amsterdam (in press), fig. 2 and under II.1.4.2. and footnote 28. To the examples quoted in this article, one may add a representation of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* surrounded by the seven other events of his life (where the motif appears below the lying Buddha at the top; neg. ASI 473/68) (found at Nālandā).
19. Photograph 1403 of the *Survey Report for the Year 1916-17 of the Eastern Circle* (motif carved in the upper part): neg. ASI 504/68.
20. Nālandā Museum inv. 650 (neg. ASI 41/86). Of unknown origin are a Buddha kept at the Avery Brundage Collection of San Francisco (inv. B60 S134+) and another one kept at the British Museum (inv. 1887. 7-17. 62, published by D.L. Snellgrove, ed., *The Image of the Buddha*, Paris-Tokyo, 1978, pl. 206 or by R. Parimoo, *Life of Buddha in Indian Sculpture (Ashta-maha-pratiharya), An iconological analysis*, New Delhi, 1982, fig. 100).
21. *Annual Report of the Archaeologial Survey for the Year 1930-34*, pl. CXLI-(16); S.L. Huntington, *op. cit.*, fig. 132 or neg. ASI 1248/73.
22. Neg. ASI 624/68 and 504/68.
23. Indian Museum inv. A 25160/5859, published by R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, pl. XV-(d), St. Kramrisch, "Pāla and Sena Sculptures", *Rūpam* 40, 1929, p. 107-126, fig. 42, S.K. Saraswati, *Tantrayana Art, An Album*, Calcutta, 1977, ill. 83, M.—Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, 1948, pl. XIV-(b).
24. C. Bautze-Picron, *La Statuaire . . .*, p. 445-473 deals with the Jagdiśpur image.
25. G. Bhattacharya has shown how to differentiate the Jinas from the crowned Buddha at the Eighth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe which took place at Moesgard, Denmark in July 1985; the proceedings are unfortunately not yet published!

26. M. Bénisti, *op. cit* , fig. 110 to 113. The long inscription was read and published by H. Sastri, *Nalanda and its epigraphic Material*, Delhi, 1942, (reprint:) Delhi, 1986, p. 106-107 and pl. XI-a to XI-c. The identification is confirmed by the representation above the niches of attributes related to each one of the four Jinas, i.e. the *vajra* (Akşobhya), the *ratna* above the *vajra* (Ratnasambhava), the *vajra* above the lotus (Amitābha), the *viśvavajra* (Amoghasiddhi); see M.-Th.de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'iconographie du tāntrisme bouddhique*, Paris, 1986, p. 130. The fifth Jina, Vairocana, who occupies the centre is not represented on the *stūpa*. He is the main image of a stela belonging to the Birla Collection Calcutta, inv. C. 117 where he displays the *bodhyagrīmudrā* (M.-Th. de Mallmann, *op. cit.*, p. 33 and pl. II-8 and p. 130) and where he is surrounded by the four here-above mentioned attributes; the deity facing the East, the *vajra* of Akṣobhya is carved below him whereas the jewel above the *vajra* of Ratnasambhava is seen at the level of his right shoulder, the *viśvavajra* of Amoghasiddhi at the level of his left shoulder and the *vajra* above the lotus of Amitābha at the top of the slab. The image is published by K. Khandalavala and A. Roy, 'Sculpture', *Treasures of Indian Art, in the Collections of Basant Kumar and Saraladevi Birla and the Birla Academy of Art and Culture*, *Mārg*, XXXVIII, No. 3, p. 9-38, n° 2 21 p. 26 (the image being misidentified and attributed to Nepal without any explanation).

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The Buddhist Background of 24-Parganas

GOURISANKAR DE

The present district of 24-Parganas in West Bengal formed, in the past, parts of three regional divisions of ancient Bengal: Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Rāḍa.[1] The district claiming a hoary antiquity, felt successively the impact of the Maurya, Śuṅga, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, Pāla and Sena rule, particularly in the cultural sphere, as it is evident from archaeological sources.[2]

24-Parganas, in the ancient period, was a meeting place of diverse faiths: Jainism. Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism.[3] The third, with its three main streams—Śaivism, Śāktaism and Vaiṣṇavism, is still a living force in the district, but the first two have lost their ground long ago.

Though now extinct, Buddhism had its sunny days in the district in the early period. This is evident from the ruins of Buddhist monasteries or *vihāras* and a large number of Buddhist images discovered from different parts of the district. M.M. Haraprasad Śāstrī says that about 1000 years ago, there were numerous Buddhist *vihāras* in the tract now known as 24-Parganas District, where Buddhist monks wrote their works and preached their faith. He also writes that in the now insignificant parganas of Hatiaghar and Balanda, there were *vihāras* where the monks studied the *Prajñāpāramitā*.[4] Nalini Nath Dasgupta[5] and Devaprasad Ghosh accepted the view of Pandit Śāstrī regarding the existence of a *vihāra* at Balanda (P.S.

Haroa, Basirhat Sub-Division).[6] Pandit Śāstrī refers to a manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* preserved in the Royal Library of Nepal (Now Bir Library) as the ground of his argument.[7] But, B.N. Mukherjee, after a careful and critical study of the manuscripts mentioned in the catalogue prepared by Pandit Śāstrī comes to a definite conclusion that this *vihāra* (Balanda Vihāra) has not been mentioned in any royal manuscript kept in the library of Nepal.[8] Only a place, named 'Bālhandā' has been mentioned in a manuscript named '*Sarvajñānottaratantra*'.[9]

The mention of the name 'Bālhandā' does not mean that there existed a *vihāra* at Balanda. There were *vihāras* in some other parts of 24-Parganas; and the inference of Pandit Śāstrī is, perhaps, true in this respect. The spade of the archaeologists alone can confirm. For the present, we can only refer to a large number of Buddhist images discovered from various sites of 24-Parganas as definite proofs of the flourishing state of Buddhism in the district in the ancient period. Regarding Jatār Deul, Hunter writes, "In Lot No. 116 the ruins are said to be Buddhistic"[13] but gives no reason for his statement. In Lot No. 128 there is a big mound of bricks, known as Bharat Rājār Mandir.[11] An image of Buddha (stone) was discovered from this site.[12] From this find it is inferred that the mound conceals the ruins of a Buddhist structure.

The earliest Buddha image, so far discovered in Bengal, has been collected from *Khanā-Mihirer Dhipi* at Berachampa in the environs of Chandraketugarh. The image belongs to the second century A.D.[13] This is a small fragment (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height) representing the head and bust of Buddha-Bodhisattva in mottled red sandstone.[14] The image shows all the characteristic traits of the colossal Kuṣāṇa Buddha-Bodhisattva image found in such sites as Sāranāth, Sāheth-Māheth, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, etc.[15] Though the image is a miniature one, it betrays the same stolid dignity in its physical form and bearing.[16] "Both the hands are broken away, the right completely. The left, of which the upper portion now remains, seems, from its position, to have been held to waist. A drapery covers the left shoulder and the upper torso, the folds being indicated by prominent ridges on the left upper arm. Here we find a sturdy bust with a heavy neck, all distinctive of the physical type of Kuṣāṇa Buddha-Bodhisattava images. On the upper torso the drapery is, to a certain extent, diaphanously treated revealing the modelling underneath. An attempt towards a thin and transparent treatment of the drapery may assign the fragment to a period not earlier than the second century A.D."[17] The said image, it has been suggested, was either imported from Mathurā, a great manufactory of the Kuṣāṇa period, or was created by the local artists working under the inspiration of the Mathurā school.[18]

The term Bodhisattva consists of two words—Bodhi (enlightenment) and *Sattva* (essence).[19] They form a class of deities who derive their origin from the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas representing the five primordial elements (*Skandhas*)—*Rūpa* (form), *Vedanā* (sensation), *Saṁjñā* (name), *Saṁskāra* (consciousness).[20] They connote all the male

deities of the Buddhist pantheon, though they are separated in iconographic studies as an independent group.[21] Amongst the Boddhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī are the chief and have wide popularity.[22]

A magnificent standing image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (3½ ft. high) in black basalt of about 10th-11th century has been rescued from Bhangor, a few miles away from Balanda.[23] This image is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta.

Next to Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī is important in the Buddhist pantheon as the god of learning.[24] He is one of the sixteen Bodhisattvas and second in the group headed by Maitreya.[25] The following is the description of Mañjuśrī: Pītanīlaśuklasavyetaravaktraḥ ṣaḍbhujo dakṣiṇaiḥ khaḍgavaradabāṇanvāmaiḥ prajñāpāramitāpustakanīlābjadhanuṣi vibhrāṇaḥ.[26] "Mañjuśrī is three faced, with the three faces of yellow, blue and white colour. He is endowed with six arms; in his three right hands he holds the sword, *varada* pose and the arrow, and in the three left shows the *Prajñāpāramitā* book, the blue lotus and the bow".[27] The Mahāyānists believe that the worship of Mañjuśrī can bestow upon them wisdom, retentive memory, intelligence and eloquence, and enables them to master many sacred scriptures.[28] Hence his worship became widely prevalent amongst the Buddhists of the North.[29]

Mañjuśrī has different names and various forms.[30] The Mañjuśrī image of Bhangor is one-faced and two-armed, decked in all ornaments and he stands on a full-blown lotus. He holds lotus both in his left and right hands. There are five *dhyānī* Buddhas above his head. On his right there is Suddhanakumāra and on the left Yamāntaka. The figures of devotees are carved in the pedestal. The image resembles Mañjughoṣa, but in the present image, the lion, the *vāhana* of Mañjughoṣa is absent. Mañjuśrī worship was at one time so popular that it received equally fervent adoration from both the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist devotees.

An interesting lacquer-made plaque, 3.6 × 4 cm (excluding the carved edge) was collected from Chandraketugarh and is now preserved in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[31] This is an important find. The plaque represents the Buddha in the centre of trefoil arch seated in *vajrāsana* on a double-petalled lotus.[32] The left hand rests on the lap, while the right one is in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. Further, there are rows of miniature *stūpas* that decorate the background of a stela. Similar clay plaques are fairly common in many Buddhist sites in India. Since the present plaque is a solitary find by exploration, it is probable that the plaque was not locally manufactured. (The discovery of the said plaque may indicate the existence of some Buddhist monument in the vicinity of Chandraketugarh which has not yet been fully excavated.) An important find from Raidighi is a Buddha image referred to in a paper on 'The Geology of Sunderban' read at the Sāhitya Sammelana at Burdwan (1915) by late Sures Chandra Dutta of Usti, Diamond Harbour Sub-Division.[33] But unfortunately it is not traceable now.

A fine image of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa Mudrā*, 5½ inches high and made of octo-alloy was unearthed at Pātharpratimā (South 24-Parganas). The image shows affinity to the Buddha image discovered in Chittagong.[34] An image of the Buddha in this *vajrāsana* posture under the *Bodhi Tree* is in a temple dedicated to Dharma near the Hari Savā Road of Behala.

An image of Vajrāsana Buddha was found from Barrackpur (24-Parganas).[35] Gautama, the last of the group of the seven mortal Buddhas, is widely represented in sculptures and paintings. Buddha images were made in various attitudes and expressions. Vajrāsana Buddha is one of these varieties. The *Sādhanamālā* gives us several descriptions of Vajrāsana Buddha. The Barrackpur image is an example. Its height is 1 foot 2 inches.[36]

An image of Buddha was found from Bergum, North 24-Parganas.[37] A beautiful image of Dhyānī Buddha was found from the bed of Jamuna river near Gobardāṅgā.[38] The Dhyānī Buddhas are peculiar kind of Buddhas who need not pass through the stage of Boddhisattva. They were never anything less than a Buddha. They are always absorbed in peaceful meditation, and they voluntarily abstain themselves from the act of creation. They are five in number. Dhyānī Buddhas came into prominence in the Gupta period. Dhyānī Buddha figures were mainly used as accessories, and they usually appear either in the crown or on the top part of the *prabhā* of the numerous Bodhisattvas.[39]

A mutilated Buddha image in *bhūmisparśā mudrā* was unearthed while digging out a tank at Mathurāpur (P. S. Mathurāpur).[40] The image is lying on the village altar. An image of the Buddha (bronze), belonging to C. 10th century A.D. was found at Jayanagar. It is now in the collection of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.

From a mound called *Bharat Rājār Mandir*, two or three stone sculptures were discovered some years ago. One of these is an image of Buddha, though worshipped as Pañcānana.[41] A stone image of Buddha has been collected from the forest of Chandanpiḍi, the extreme south of the district. An image of Buddha has been found from Jagaddalgarh near Barrackpur.[42] A broken image of Buddha (blackstone) has been found from Kachupukur (P.S. Haroa).[43]

One of the significant collections of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta is a black stone sculpture (7′6″ × 12′6″) from Khalisādy, District 24-Parganas.[44] "This is the first independent relief showing the Parinirvāṇa scene of the Buddha found in Bengal. Generally this particular scene is connected with the other main incidents in the Master's life in the back-slab of the image around the central figure of the Buddha. The present piece of sculpture is important both from iconographic and artistic point of view. The row of five Dhyānī Buddhas on the top, Indra or Śakra in regal costume holding a parasol beside the rising *stūpa* in the background, the kneeling figure of Brahmā bearded and with *jaṭāmuku'a*, supporting

the feet of the dying Buddha with both hands, are unusual. The traditional pair of *śāla* trees of Kuśinagara between which the couch of the Buddha is usually placed, the mourning monks including the mediating figure of Subhadra, the last disciple of the departed Master seated under the couch according to the idiom of the Eastern School, are conspicuous by their absence. The Buddha, in the present piece of sculpture, is shaven headed like the early Kuṣāṇa Mathurā and Mānkhwar examples.

Confined within a rectangular framework bordered by horizontal bands of the Dhyānī Buddhas and the elaborately carved lotus pedestal, the disposition of the figures in the centre shows great animation. The Buddha is depicted in an unorthodox manner. He is not lying in the rigid conventional way; but is reclining with an elegance reminiscent of a '*Sadyojāta*' figure. The sculpture may be assigned to not later than the 10th century A.D.[45]

Khasaparṇa Lokanātha was an important deity at Khari (in south 24-Parganas).[46] In the *Sādhanmālā*, there is a story regarding the installation of this image. A pious merchant named Śubhaṅkara was on his commercial voyage to Potalak, a port of Western India. During this voyage he passed a night at Khasaparṇa, a village of Khāḍī Maṇḍal. Avalokiteśvara appeared to him in dream and asked him not to proceed further and to instal the image of the deity according to the rule of the *Vairocanatantra*. Through this he would attain prosperity and merit. The merchant accordingly installed the image of Avalokiteśvara.[47]

Khasaparṇa is one of the forms of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He is described in a number of *Sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā*, which indicates his popularity. His colour is white, symbol lotus, *mudrā varada*, *āsana lalita* or *ardhaparyaṅka* and his companions are Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭi, and Hayagrīva.[48] A fine image of Khasaparṇa was discovered by N.K. Bhattasali in the Pargana Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal.[49]

An image of Tārā of red sandstone was found on the western bank of Sendighi at Boral (P. S. Sonarpur) in the year 1954.[50] The image belongs to the thirteenth century. Tārā is one of the collective deities of the Buddhists. In the simplest form Tārās carry the night lotus in the left hand and exhibit the *varada mudrā* in the right. Different varieties of Tārās are mentioned in the Tāntric works. Tārā is believed to protect mankind from perils and evils. Only those deities can be called Tārās to whom the *mantra*: *Oṁ Tāre Tuttāre Svāhā* is assigned.[51]

A metal image of Hārīti has been discovered from Nalgora, Lot No. 29 (P.S. Jayanagar).[52] The meaning of the name of Hārīti, a Buddhist goddess, is one who steals. According to legend, she was a *Yakṣiṇī* of Rājagṛha and took to stealing and eating the children.[53] Buddha undertook to put an end to the *yakṣiṇī's* cannibal habit. He cured her of this habit by offering her a diet of pomegranate, the red fruit being supposed to resemble human flesh.[54] The image from Nalgora has two hands,

the left one holding a babe, and the right holding a pomegranate fruit and correspond to the above-mentioned description of the legend. The present image is represented not in the usual sitting pose, but stands on a lotus, decorated with simple ornaments like a Santali girl and wrapped in a loin cloth, a part of which runs across her body to cover the breast, which, however, is deliberately revealed as round and nude. This indicates that Hārīti was also worshipped as an embodiment of profusion and wealth. The pomegranate tree bends from the left to right and forms an arch behind the image. This motif is present only in some pre-historic reliefs of India and some sculptures of Orissa. The motif became conventionalized and turned into the halo or the *prabhāmaṇḍala* and persists to the end of Indian sculpture. The artist of the Nalgora image very selectively employed this very ancient and pre-historic tradition and hence the present image is more significant. The significant features of the image from Nalgora are:

(i) the cannibal habit of the goddess has been shown not by a skull-cup, not by a fish but by a pomegranate fruit;

(ii) the early motif of making the tree bent like an arch behind the image has been used. On the right of the image a babe is standing in the pose of a nude Jaina Tīrthaṅkara; and *vāhana* is on the opposite side. Stylistically, the image has been assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

An old Buddhist *Caitya* in Chaṇḍītalā, Behala, is worshipped by the Hindus as Caṇḍī.

Some very remarkable sculptural pieces have been discovered from different parts of 24-Parganas. The district is rich in archaeological sites like Chandraketugarh, Harinārāyanpur, Āṭgharā, Boral, etc. Many ancient images have been rescued from the Sundarbans. A considerable number of old icons have been found from places still unmarked in the archaeological map of West Bengal. The sculptures found from the different parts of the district are not only valuable from the artistic point, but are materials conducive to the reconstruction of the picture of the social and religious history of the eastern part of India.

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21

A Comparative Study on a Common Point of Buddhism and Marxism

N.N. BHATTACHARYYA

Although Buddhism and Marxism have very little in common insofar as their basic ingredients are concerned, it is only in regard to the concept of God that both the systems have apparently an identical outlook holding the concept itself as a subjective error given the status of objective truth. But the profound atheism of both the systems has different orientations. Buddhism preaches elimination of suffering through the abnegation of desire and the achievement of the supreme enlightenment, seeking liberation not in social change or in fighting the forces of nature but in moral perfection which can be obtained only by the elimination of false knowledge regarding the world and its constituents. This elimination of false knowledge can only be possible through pure reason based on an understanding of the law of causation, according to the logic of which every real entity is a cause and also an effect, but the First Cause as an effect has no cause and as such it is no effect. Here the rejection of the concept of God comes through deep scrutiny and analysis of the concept itself. But in Marxism the rejection of the concept of God is taken for granted without any probe or logical analysis, because it regards all religions and churches, and each and every religious organisations as instruments of bourgeois reaction that serve to defend exploitation and to befuddle the working class. "God is" wrote Lenin, "in history and in real life) first of all the complex of ideas

generated by the brutish subjection of man both by external nature and by the class yoke ideas which consolidate that subjection, lull to sleep the class struggle."

The purpose of the present paper is not to support or reject either of the two approaches mentioned above or to challenge the both from any theistic viewpoint or to give precedence one over the other. Since now-a-days after the introduction of communist rule in certain Asian countries where Buddhism has been an important force, certain advocates both of Buddhism and of Marxism stress on the rationalistic and atheistic character as well as the doctrine of world-peace common to both the systems. The political, utilitarian, societal or ethical motives behind it is not my concern. What I want to emphasise is that the similarities of both the systems in the field of certain ideas like atheism etc. are only superficial having no basic element in common. The Buddhist approach to the question is based upon cosmogonical, ontological and teleological considerations dealing respectively with the problems concerning the origin, inner nature and purpose of the universe while the Marxist approach is based upon certain *a priori* ideas seeking justification of its own philosophical, economic and socio-political views. Thus although the conclusion is same in both the systems in regard to the rejection of the concept of God, the premises differ widely.

Both the systems have adopted different modes of reasoning. It should also be pointed out in this connection that Buddhism is not a single stream of thought. According to the later Buddhist schools, reason imparts a form to sensuous contents and, therefore, cognises things not as they are, but as they appear. The earlier schools like Sarvāstivāda, however, hold that the external world is open to perception. According to the Vaibhāṣikas the substance of things has a permanent existence. The permanent substances are not the transitory phenomena, but the elements which underlie them. The Sautrāntikas, while insisting on the ideality of the phenomenal objects, accept the independence of the thing-in-itself. They admit the extra-mental existence of the world, but according to them there is no direct perception of the external objects which can only be known by inference. If God was the cause, the world would have been created in its totality at once and at the same time, but it is seen that creatures coming into existence not simultaneously but successively, some from wombs, some from buds and so on. According to Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda the external objects are unreal, since it cannot be said whether they arise from existence or not, whether they are simple atoms or complex bodies. No other medium than consciousness is known through which alone things can subsist. But while the Yogācāra abolishes things behind the images and reduces all appearance to a series of ideas, the Mādhyamika or Śūnyavāda goes a step further saying that even consciousness or *Vijñāna* is unreal. Nāgārjuna shows that the whole world of experience is an appearance a mere network of unintelligible relations. The world has no real existence, and things are neither transient nor eternal, neither produced nor destroyed, neither same nor different, neither coming forth nor passing away.

This infrastructure of a very acute type of idealistic reasoning creates the *rationale* of absolute atheistic tendencies in Buddhism while in the European systems idealistic reasoning begets some form of theism. For example, in Kant's opinion, sensations stem from the action of the unknowable 'thing-in-itself' on the sense organs, are ordered by means of *a priori* forms of *sensibility* and the *reason*. The former comprises space and time and the latter the categories of unity, plurality, causality, possibility, necessity and others. Reason by its very nature is antimonic, i.e. is divided by contradictions. In Hegel's opinion, reason does not go beyond static definiteness, abstract identity and universality and fixed opposites separated from one another. He formulated the law of quantitative changes turning into qualitative ones, produced deep-going exposition of contradiction being the motive principle of all development and defined the law of the negation of negation. To a certain extent such types of arguments are found in Buddhist, and explicitly in Jain, logical system. But while Buddhism and Jainism, admitting the antinomic nature of reason, hold that the existence of God as the unknowable super-sensual is undemonstrable and as such worthless, the European idealistic schools divorce the unknowable super-sensual fact of cognition from matter and from nature, make it transcend the objective reality and inflate it to the proportion of an absolute, the world-principle or the world-soul.

It is against this background of European idealism that Marx and Engles defended philosophical materialism according to which objective idealism exaggerates, and makes an absolute of, the role of concepts and abstract reasoning, while subjective idealism exaggerates the role of perceptions and sensations counterposing them to the objective world. The Marxist view is that idealism proceeds from the principle that the spiritual, non-material, is primary, which brings it closer to the ideas of religion on the finiteness, of the world in time and space and its creation by God. In Kant's idealism God is not an epistemological way out; there is the necessary postulate of faith, on which the conviction of the existence of the moral order in the world of phenomena rests. Hegel, of course, has taken an epistemological view according to which the universal principle is the absolute spirit, eternal, infinite, unconditional, perfect and unchanging subject which has no dependence on anything else. This reminds us, to a certain extent, of the Vedantic concept of *brahman*. It is also to be admitted that the affirmation negation of the concept of God does not belong exclusively to materialistic or idealistic epistemology the purpose of which is to cognise reality to understand the forms and methods of cognition and to find the ways of attaining it. So far as the Indian situation is concerned the Sāṅkhya, the Mīmāṃsā and the Nirgrantha or Jain systems are based on materialistic cosmology, but God has no place in these systems. Again among the idealist schools, the Buddhist Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda and the Brahmanical Vedānta are more or less same in outlook, for both the systems deny the existence of the material world and accept pure consciousness as the only reality. But while

the former culminates in unconditional atheism, the latter has a theistic turn. The Mādhyamika idealism goes a step further and holds that even pure consciousness is unreal.

According to Engels, the conception of God took shape as a "copy of single oriental despot"—an idea which he had formed on the basis of the functioning and theoretical viewpoints of the institutionalised religious systems like Judaism, Christianity or Islam. Lenin wrote: "Any, even the most refined and best-intentioned defence or justification of the idea of God is a justification of reaction". The philosophical basis of Marxism is dialectical materialism which is a modification of the eighteenth century materialism, especially of France and Germany. Some of the trends of this pre-Marxian materialism were known as anthropologism. Its main weakness was the failure to understand the social nature of man and his consciousness. It regarded all truly human traits and qualities as abstract, inherent in the individual, i.e. apart from society and social experience—a viewpoint which is just the opposite of Marxism which holds that the idea of God came to being in human consciousness under diverse social and material conditions, with the change of which, from quantitative to qualitative, the idea itself is bound to wither away.

Thus while Marxism seeks to outline the historical process through which the concept of God came into being and through which it is expected to be exterminated, Buddhism and other Indians systems like the Sāṅkhya Mīmāṃsā and Jain want to refute the concept of God on the basis of logical arguments. It should be pointed out in this connection that of all the philosophical schools of India, it is only the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system that has attempted to rationalise the concept of God on logical grounds. They depend on the following arguments. All composite objects of the world, formed by the combination of atoms, must have a cause because they are of the nature of effects like a pot, being made up of parts and possessed of limited dimensions. Hence there must be an intelligent cause or agent (*kartā*) without whose guidance these objects cannot attain just that order, direction and coordination which should enable them to be produced as definite effects. Against this, the Buddhists, Mīmāṃsakas and Jains hold that an ordinary agent like potter can produce something since he possesses a *body*, has the *will* to produce and further he puts forth the specific *effort* required for the production. If that be so, God is bound to be an agent under bondage, not a free agent. He has to work with a given material—the atoms, like the clay of the potter. It is impossible to conceive that there were materials of creation prior to creation. For this one has to postulate another creator, and another, and so on *ad infinitum*. The same also holds good in the case of the formulation that God created the materials out of his own body. If God is viewed as being without a body, he cannot have the desire to create, and if he is viewed as having a body, certainly this body would not have been created by himself.

Such polemics apart, the Buddhists had directed their criticism from the viewpoint of formal logic. According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeşikas, things perceptible and imperceptible, must be produced by an intelligent cause in the form of God, *because they are characterised by a peculiar arrangement of their own parts*. The Buddhists hold that the probans of the inference that "because these are characterised by a peculiar arrangement of their own parts" consists in using a probans which takes for granted something that is really yet to be proved. Hence it reveals the fallacy of the *unproved* which is technically known in Indian logic or *asiddha* or *sādhyasama*. The second argument of the Nyāya-Vaiśeşikas is that, the material causes of the body and other things are controlled by an intelligent agent, *because they are endowed with colour and other qualities*, like the yarn etc., that they are observed to bring about their effects only when controlled by the intelligent weaver. This is refuted by the Buddhists on the ground that, the connection between the probans of this inference "being endowed with colour and other qualities" and the probandum "being controlled by an intelligent agent" is *irregular*, because in the cases of the yarns etc., such a connection is although present, in those of trees etc. it is clearly absent. Mere presence of the colour by itself is not invariably concommittant with the probandum.

There is no need of elaborating such arguments and counter-arguments. Most of the Indian schools of thought, Buddhism included, hold that the assumption of God is ontologically irrelevant and logically repulsive, entrenched only in certain recognised forms of fallacious thinking. But they did not go beyond this, and although they understood and held that the idea of God had its root somewhere outside the sphere of formal and material logic, unlike the founder of Marxism, they did not care to seek the roots. On the other hand, although Marxism does not offer any direct critique to the concept of God in terms of the canons of conventional logic holding the absurdity of the concept as *fait accompli* it tries to explain why the concept itself as an illusory reality could have such a grip on human mind throughout the ages and under which conditions this grip will cease to exist.

22

Dravyavardhana of Avanti, Royal Patron of Varahamihira

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The evidence

Varāhamihira's writings are of inestimable value for the cultural and scientific history of ancient India, but they are singularly deficient as regards information on the political history. It was a normal practice with the astronomical and astrological writers of the post-Christian period to refer to the ruling chief under whose patronage or during whose reign the work was composed and the date of its completion, sometimes one and in some cases both, which enable us to determine their dates precisely. However, Varāhamihira did not follow this practice in any of his numerous works with the result that there is considerable difference of opinion and uncertainty about his date and royal patron, if any whose generosity might have facilitated his literary activity.

The only specific reference to a king occurs, rather unexpectedly, in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*[1] in connection with the treatment of the *śākunas* or omens. We are told that Varāhamihira utilised, *inter alia*, the work which *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, king of Avanti, had written after consulting the work, obviously on the same subject, of Bhāradvāja.[2] Avanti, it must be pointed out, denoted both the country of Western Malwa and its ancient capital Ujjayinī, now represented by the city of Ujjain in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. However, Varāhamihira himself has given a definite indication that he understood this name in the latter sense. This would be apparent from a comparison of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XII. 14 dealing with the appearance of Agastya (Canopus)[3] and its parallel in the *Samāsa-saṁhitā*[4] cited by Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator, in his commentary on this stanza.[5] While in the former we have 'Ujjayinī' specifically mentioned, we find 'Avanti' used for it

in the latter. Bhaṭṭotpala also takes the two names in this context as of identical meaning.[6] In the context of the reference to king Dravyavardhana in connection with the *śākunas* also he takes Avanti as synonymous with Ujjayinī.[7] Varāhamihira was himself a resident of Avanti (*Āvantika*) as stated by him in *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, XXVIII. 9, where also Bhaṭṭotpala is inclined to take it in the sense of the city of Ujjayinī which was the capital of the country of Avanti.[8] There should, therefore, be no doubt that Varāhamihira, himself an inhabitant of Ujjayinī, was familiar with Dravyavardhana as the ruler of Avanti with its metropolis at Ujjayinī.[9]

As has been pointed out above, this forms the only specific reference to a monarch made by Varāhamihira in all his writings, and there must obviously have been some special reason for it. A careful perusal of the stanzas in question seems to indicate that Varāhamihira entertained a highly reverential attitude towards Dravyavardhana. The latter is referred to immediately after an authority named Ṛṣabha who wrote his work on the subject on the basis of the views of traditional authors like Śakra, Śukra, Vāgīśa (Bṛhaspati), Kapiṣṭhala, Garutmān,[10] Bhaguri and Devala, and before the Saptarsis (Seven Sages) and numerous Yātrā-writers including Garga and Sanskrit and Prakrit texts which Varāhamihira is stated to have utilised for his chapter on *śākunas* (*sarva-śākuna-saṁgraha*). Based on Bhāradvāja's work as it reportedly was, Dravyavardhana's book must not have been of a very high standard. However, Varāhamihira not only mentions his work before reputed authorities like the Seven Sages and definitely historical writer Garga, but besides describing him as *Mahārājādhirājaka* and king (*nṛpa*) of Avanti (*Āvantika*), employs for him alone the honorific *śrī* (illustrious) which is indicative of the high respect in which Dravyavardhana was held by him. There was obviously some special relationship between Varāhamihira and Dravyavardhana, and it may be reasonably concluded that the latter was the royal patron of the former at the time of the composition of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Even if this conclusion is for some reason not found acceptable, it can definitely be averred that he was a contemporary of Varāhamihira, though we should prefer the alternative suggestion.

It would thus be seen that the determination of the date of Dravyavardhana would be of great value for ascertaining that of Varāhamihira, even though we know that the latter flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D.

Differing views

P.V. Kane, who first invited scholarly attention to this historically valuable reference, was naturally unable to offer any definite suggestion on the age and family of Dravyavardhana. He merely observed, "It would be very useful if antiquarians can find out this king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī. To me it is a new kingly name. Whether there is any connection of this king with the family to which

Emperor Harshavardhana belonged is more than I can say".[11] His conjecture about the possibility of Dravyavardhana belonging to the family which produced Harṣavardhana was obviously based on the name-ending *vardhana,* for at the time he wrote this was the only family with *vardhana*-ending names that was well known to scholars. However, as candidly pointed out by him, he was not quite sure on this point.

Later writers took up the matter and tried to identify this Dravyavardhana variously. The first to take up this thread was V.V. Mirashi, who, while commenting on two inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Gauri,[12] a feudatory of Ādityavardhana,[13] strongly felt, obviously on account of the *vardhana*-ending name and the chronological proximity,[14] that Dravyavardhana belonged to the famous Aulikara lineage and placed him after Ādityavardhana (known date 547 V.E. = 490-91 A.D.[15]) and before the well-known emperor Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana (known date 589 V.E. = 532 A.D.[16]). According to him, he (Dravyavardhana) was 'a predecessor of Yaśodharman and may have been his father.'[17] And as Varāhamihira's *Pañca-siddhāhtikā* was probably composed in Śaka 427 or 505 A.D., he was inclined to date his reign from *c.* 495 to *c.* 515 A.D.[18] He also concluded that, like Dravyavardhana, his predecessor Ādityavardhana[19] and successor Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana also had their capital at Ujjayinī, while Daśapura (modern Mandasor), the erstwhile capital of the Aulikaras,[20] had become the headquarters of their feudatories, the Mānavāyanis,[21] and viceroys (*rājasthānīyas*)[22] whose records have been found there. He further held that Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had set his victory columns at Mandasor as it was there that he defeated Mihirakula with a view to help his feudatories who had their headquarters there.[23] He thought that the two Aulikara lines, one with the *varman*-ending names with their metropolis at Daśapura and the other bearing *vardhana*-ending names having their headquarters at Ujjayinī, belonged to the same family and that the latter were the successors of the former.[24] He reiterated his position in some of his subsequent writings on the subject.[25] He further pointed out even though after Candragupta II's victory over the Western Satraps Ujjayinī became the second capital of the Imperial Guptas for the Central and Western provinces of their empire, the Aulikaras at no time acknowledged their suzerainty.[26]

D.C. Sircar pointed out that most of the Aulikara inscriptions have been found at or in the proximity of Daśapura and none at all at or near Ujjain which should suffice to indicate that all through Daśapura remained their capital. While in the fragmentary Mandasor inscription of *Mahārāja* Gauri of the Mānavāyanī family his overlord Ādityavardhana is probably described as ruling over Daśapura,[27] there is absolutely no evidence to indicate that the Mānavāyanis or any provincial governors had their headquarters at this place.[28] And even if Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had his capital at Daśapura, there was no difficulty in Abhayadatta and Dharmadoṣa, his *Rājasthānīyas*, having their gubernatorial headquarters at the

same locality, acting as they might have been as governors of the metropolitan district.[29] He was also not sure about the chronological position of Dravyavardhana, and pointed out that there is no evidence to prove whether he ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana.[30] But he agreed that Dravyavardhana may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family.

Buddha Prakash, on the other hand, demurred to these suggestions. He denied the possibility of there being any paramount ruler before Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana in view of the Hūṇa depredations and wide-spread authority over a large part of India including its central parts (the Malwa region) and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana's contemptuous attitude towards his predecessors. Had his father or predecessor been a paramount ruler with imperial titles, his attitude would be simply inexplicable. Thus, *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana could not have been his predecessor, there being absolutely no question of his being father, of Yaśodharman.[31] Further, as *vardhana*-ending names appear to have been fairly common during the period and the region concerned, it is not necessary to assume any connection among Ādityavardhana, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana and Dravyavardhana. The fact that Ādityavardhana is not given any grandiloquent title, but is merely called *narendra*, demonstrates that he did not occupy any position of considerable prestige, and he may have owed allegiance to the Guptas on whose behalf he fought against some recalcitrant or aggressive power, though of this we have no clear evidence.[32] In view of these facts it is more likely that Dravyavardhana, who assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, was a successor, not predecessor, of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana.[33] S.R. Goyal also seems to be favourably disposed to this line of argument.[34]

Recent discoveries and analysis of the theories on the subject

Some recently discovered epigraphs have necessitated a sea-change in our thinking on the problem. These discoveries include the Risthal stone inscription of the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman[35] and the Sanjeli plates of the time of the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa.[36] The former is dated in the (Mālava) year 572 or 515-16 A.D., which is removed from the date of the Mandasor stone inscription of the time of the famous Aulikara emperor Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, Malava year 589 corresponding to 532 A.D.,[37] only by 16-17 years. It aims at recording the excavation of a tank in the memory of Prakāśadharman's grandfather Vibhīṣaṇavardhana and christened after him as Vibhīṣaṇa-saras which resembled the famous Bindu-saras and the construction of a lofty temple of Śiva, evidently at Risthal, and the erection by his orders at Daśapura, through his *Rājasthānīya* (provincial governor) Bhagavaddoṣa, of the temple of Prakāśeśvara (Śiva called after himself) and a shrine of god

Brahman. The inscription supplies us the genealogy of Prakāśadharman consisting, including himself, of six generations[38] related to each other as father and son which may be given as follows :

Senāpati Drapavardhana[39]
|
Jayavardhana
|
Ajitavardhana[40]
|
Vibhīṣaṇavardhana
|
Rājyavardhana
|
Prakāśadharman[41]

This epigraph should leave no doubt about Prakāśadharman's links with Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana who, as we have seen above, is posterior to the former by only 16-17 years[42] and, like him, bears *dharman* ending name.[43] The poet responsible for the composition of this *praśasti* was the same as the composer of Yaśodharman's undated Mandasor inscription: Vāsula, son of Kakka.[44] What is surprising is that the stanza mentioning this fact is almost identical in words.[45] The *Rājasthānīyas* mentioned in this inscription and the epigraph of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana's time dated Mālava year 589 or 532 A.D.[46] were also related to one another and that mentioned in the epigraph in question (Bhagavaddoṣa) was the immediate predecessor of Abhayadatta, whose nephew, Dharmmadoṣa,[47] occupied this position under Yaśodharman.[48] Then again, Prakāśadharman claims to have vanquished in war the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa[49] and rendered his proud title of *Adhirāja*, which had been established on the earth by virtue of the acknowledgement of his suzerainty by a number of ruling chiefs, futile.[50] As against this, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana prided himself in getting his feet adorned by the flowers on the head of Mihirakula,[51] son and successor of Toramāṇa.[52] These facts should leave no doubt about the point that Prakāśadharman was the immediate predecessor of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, and the latter was probably the former's son and successor.[53] The defeat of the two successive Hūṇa monarchs was evidently the principal achievement of these two Aulikara emperors and they were justifiably proud of it.

The present record has a very important bearing on the problem under discussion. Firstly, it gives us five generations of kings belonging to the Aulikara line with *vardhana*-ending names and one with a *dharman*-ending name which, as shown above,

preceded Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. However, there is no mention of either Ādityavardhana or Dravyavardhana in this list. Yaśodharman was not only not an upstart, but was preceded by six generations of his family which began with *Senāpati* Drapavardhana, who himself rose to kingly status but continued to use his earlier title like Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, and gradually rose to greater heights till the time of Prakāśadharman who attained the status of an imperial ruler by defeating the Hūṇa king Toramāna. By any moderate estimate the family must have come to power not later than the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. Secondly, the family had its capital at Daśapura upto the time of its last known member Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. Earlier, another line of the Aulikaras with *varman*-ending names had its seat of authority at the same place. As the last known date of this line is 472 A.D.,[54] it is possible that originally the line with *vardhana*-ending name was subservient to the Varman line and replaced it subsequently taking advantage of the eventual decline in its power, declared its independence and shifted its headquarters to Daśapura. This must have taken place some time after 472 A.D.; exactly when, we cannot decide for want of necessary evidence. The record gives a clear indication of the humble beginnings of the Vardhana line. Its first member is described as a *senāpati* or commander, and it is not impossible that originally he was an army commander of the Varman chiefs. While Ādityavardhana, who is, as we have seen above, described as ruling over Daśapura and might have been a collateral member of the Vardhana line,[55] the same cannot be said about Dravyavardhana as he is said to have been ruling from Ujjayinī.

We may now refer to the suggestion of Ramesh and Tewari to identify Drapavardhana (or Drumavardhana or Dramavardhana as read by Mirashi and Sircar respectively) with Dravyavardhana of Varāhamihira. As the first part of the name as read by them, Drapa, is inexplicable according to Sanskrit lexicographers, it has been suggested that the progenitor of the Aulikaras was either of foreign extraction or a tribal chieftain raised to the status of a ruling king. In this connection they invite our attention to Varāhamihira's reference to the above-mentioned *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana whom they propose to identify with Drapavardhana of the Risthal inscription and conjecture that in course or successively recopying the manuscripts *drapa* got changed into *dravya* either because of the defective original from which the scribe copied or because of his conscious effort to make the name look meaningful.[56] However, this identification is simply impossible for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Drapavardhana is styled merely *senāpati* or commander, while Dravyavardhana was *mahārājādhirāja* or a sovereign ruler. Secondly, as we have shown above, Dravyavardhana was a patron (or at least a contemporary) of Varāhamihira and, thus, must have flourished in the sixth century A.D., whereas Drapavardhana, the first member of the family mentioned in the Risthal epigraph, could not have flourished later than the middle of the preceding century A.D..

Thirdly, while Dravyavardhana was ruling from the city of Ujjayinī, we are not sure about Drapavardhana's capital which could certainly not have been located at Ujjayinī. And finally, it is unthinkable that if the name had already been Sanskritised into Dravyavardhana, the author of the Risthal *praśasti*, who was a poet of no mean order, would have referred to the non-Sanskritic form of the name. And even if a certain copyist mistook the name because of the defective original (a damaged manuscript) or tried to Sanskritise it, there should have been variant readings which are conspicuously absent in the present case. As Drapavardhana happens to be a meaningless name, we prefer Mirashi's reading Drumavardhana.

The combined evidence of the Eran inscription of Dhanyaviṣṇu, younger brother of the deceased Gupta feudatory Mātṛviṣṇu,, dated in year 1 of Toramāṇa[57], and the Sanjeli (Panchamahal District, North Gujarat) plates of *Mahārāja* Bhūta, and probably also of his son and successor *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa II, leaves no room for doubt that the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa had established an extensive empire in Central India extending from Eran (Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh) in the east to north Gujarat in the west. Another inscription at Eran, dated Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.), referring to the self-immolation of the wife of Goparāja on the latter's death in a war in which he assisted the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta, who is described as 'the bravest man on the earth and equal in valour to Pārtha (Arjuna)'[58] probably indicates Toramāṇa's defeat at the hands of the Gupta emperor. The Risthal inscription shows that he had also to face a crushing defeat from the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman sometime in or prior to 515-16 A.D. But his life was spared, and the Aulikara chief was gratified with his head bowing at his (Prakāśadharman's) footstool in the act of salutation indicative of his submission. It may be reasonably supposed that he continued to rule over some outlying territorial possessions for a few years more, and we feel that the Kura (Salt Range, presently in Pakistan) stone inscription of his reign[59] belongs to this period. Thereafter his son and successor, Mihirakula, is known to have ruled at least for fifteen years as indicated by the Gwalior inscription of his time.[60] This Mihirakula was defeated by Prakāśadharman's successor, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, sometime in *c.* 530 A.D.,[61] but he was also spared his life as would follow from the wording of the verse mentioning this event in Yaśodharman's undated *praśasti* at Mandasor. 530 A.D., the approximate year of his defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman, was not necessarily his fifteenth year known from the above-mentioned Gwalior inscription and might have been removed from the latter by a few years. In view of these facts Toramāṇa's defeat by Prakāśadharman cannot be dated much later than 510 A.D., the date of the Eran inscription of the time of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta. Whether Prakāśadharman had made a common cause with Bhānugupta against Toramāṇa or whether the two fought separately is beyond doubt what can be determined at present. But the former possibility cannot be altogether ruled out, and in that case it is quite

likely that Bhānugupta defeated him at Eran and Prakāśadharman at or near Mandasor about the same time and the two events have to be looked at as parts of a strategic understanding between the two sovereign powers. After his defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman, Mihirakula also appears to have retired to outlying provinces in the north-west as can be inferred from later confused traditions. Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana also might have continued to rule for a few years beyond his only known date, 532 A.D., and the termination of his reign may be dated around 540 A.D.

Now, coming back to our problem, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, which contains reference to Dravyavardhana, was one of Varāhamihira's latest works, the only text composed after it being its abridged version known as the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā*. The *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was his first work and was followed by numerous other texts on *jātaka*, *yātrā* and *vivāhā* which may have easily taken about four decades or so. So if the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was composed or calculations for it started in 505 A.D., the composition of his encyclopaedic *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* may be easily dated around 545-50 A.D. If Varāhamihira began his literary career at a young age of twenty-five or so with the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, he could have definitely continued to write for about forty or forty-five years up to the age of sixty-five or seventy years which is fairly commoneven today.

The conclusion

As we have seen above, *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana must have been a patron of Varāhamihira at the time of the composition of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* which, being one of his latest writings, must be dated sometime about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Dravyavardhana, who must have been alive at that time, must also be placed during the same period, *viz.*, *c.* 540-560 A.D., and was, at least chronologically, the successor of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana.

Unfortunately, we have no definite evidence to prove that Dravyavardhana also belonged to the Aulikara family. The only grounds for this assumption consist of the *vardhana*-ending name and chronological proximity. However, the *vardhana*-ending names were fairly common during this period,[62] whereas chronological nearness may be only accidental. Moreover, while the Aulikara monarchs upto Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana were ruling from Daśapura, Dravyavardhana, as shown above, had his capital at Ujjayinī, about 75 miles south of Daśapura. But it is not impossible that he deliberately shifted his capital to Ujjayinī in view of its reputation as a centre of learning including astronomy-astrology in which his interest is more than indicated by his composition of a work dealing, perhaps *inter alia*, with omens in connection with which he is mentioned by Varāhamihira who otherwise gives absolutely no

indication of the contemporary ruling powers. Administrative convenience may have been another factor responsible for it. We have shown elsewhere that the overlords on whose feet the Maitraka chief Dhruvasena I (525-45 A.D.) of Saurāṣṭra is said to have meditated (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*) were in all probability the Aulikara emperors.[63] Dravyavardhana may have found it necessary and more convenient to have a more southerly place as capital in order to exercise an effective control over their Maitraka vassals, and this requirement was met by shifting the capital to Ujjayinī. After him the *vardhana*-ending names went generally out of vogue in so far as Central India was concerned. While there is no definite evidence at present to connect him with the Aulikara family, there was during this period no other ruling family with which he could be plausibly connected. Moreover as he was an imperial ruler as indicated his assumption of the sovereign title *Mahārājādhirāja*, he could not have been an upstart, and there could not be a better background than that provided by the Aulikara emperors Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. Therefore, going by the circumstantial evidence and without prejudice to any evidence that may be lying in the womb of future, we may conclude that he was the last known Aulikara emperor who shifted the family capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī. What happened after him to his family is unknown. But within a short period the Aulikara empire built by Prakāśadharman, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana and Dravyavardhana disintegrated and the original kingdom of Western Malwa fell to the Kalacuris of Māhiṣmatī.

The foundations of the Aulikara empire were so well built by his predecessors and perhaps himself that Dravyavardhana could enjoy a peaceful rule and devote himself to literary activities for which his new capital, Ujjayinī, was so well known. The association with scholars like Varāhamihira whom he patronised liberally must have evidently spurred his scholarly interest into active participation in literary creation. The interest in astrology was perhaps especially due to encouragement and help from astrologers-astronomers including Varāhamihira who might have provided him with necessary expertise for composing an astrological treatise dealing with omens; in all probability his work was refined as regards style and contents even as Kāliṇāsa helped the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II in the compc ition of his poem *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavadha* and Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Dhāvaka might have assisted their royal patron Harṣa in the writing of his dramatic works. All the same Varāhamihira acknowledged him out of a sincere feeling of gratitude for his lavish patronage.

Unfortunately, Dravyavardhana's astrological treatise in which he dwelt upon omens has not come down to us nor he is known to have been mentioned by any subsequent astrologer. Perhaps like so many earlier texts on astronomy-astrology this work was also supplanted by Varāhamihira's compositions.

Notes and References

1. The references are to Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary.
2. *BS*,LXXXV. 1-4 :
   यच्छक्रशुक्रवागीशकपिष्ठलगरुत्मताम् ।
   मतेभ्य: प्राह ऋषभो भागुरेर्देवलस्य च ।।
   भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धन: ।
   आवन्तिक: प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजक: ।।
   सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यत् ।
   यानि चोक्तानि गर्गाद्यैर्यात्राकारैश्च भूरिभि: ।।
   तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसंग्रहम् ।
   वराहमिहिर: प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।।
3. *Ibid.*, XII. 14 :
   संख्याविधानात् प्रतिदेशमस्य विज्ञाय सन्दर्शनमादिशेज्ज्ञ: ।
   तच्चोज्जयिन्यामगतस्य कन्यां भागै: स्वराख्यै: स्फुटभास्करस्य ।।
4. The abridged version of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*. also known as *Svalpa-Śaṁhitā*.
5. श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनाख्यो महाराजाधिराजवंशप्रसूत आवन्तिक उज्जयिन्यां नृपो राजा । ...
6. See his commentary on *BS*, XII, 14.
7. *Śrī-Dravyavardhan-âkhyo mahārājādhirāja-vaṁśa-prasūta-Āvantika Ujjayinyā nṛpo rājā.* . Utpala's commentary on *BS*, LXXXV. 2.
8. *Āvaṁtikaḥ Āvaṁtake deśe Ujjayinyāṁ vāstavyaḥ,*
9. D.C Sircar had observed that the expression *Āvantika* meant both 'the lord of the Avanti people or country' and 'the lord of the city of Avanti (identical with Ujjayinī)' and that consequently the epithet *Āvantika* applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayinī and not at Daśapura.' See "Note on Mandasor Inscription of Gauris', *EI* XXXIII, p. 206. Vide also *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 73 ff. However, as pointed out by V.V. Mirashi (*Studies in Indology*, II, pp. 182-183), "the correct form of the word meaning 'a king of the country of Avanti' is *Āvantya* according to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 171 and 174."
10. That Garutmān was a legendary personage is clearly indicated by Utpala's rendering of the name by Vainateya, *viz.*, Garuḍa.
11. P.V. Kane, "Varahamihira and Utpala", *JBBRAS*, XXIV-XXV, p. 116.
12. D.C. Sircar, "Two Inscriptions of Gauri", *EI*, XXX, pp. 120-27. One of these inscriptions was found at Chhoṭī Sādṛī and the other, a fragmentary one, at Mandasor.
13. This fact is known from the Mandasor inscription which refers to *Narendra* Ādityavardhana in the locative singular in the manner in which suzerains are generally mentioned. See *EI*, XXX, p. 132, verse 2.
14. While Varāhamihira flourished in the first half of the sixth century A.D., the Vardhana branch of the Aulikaras ruled in the latter half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century A.D.
15. This is the date of the Chhoṭī Sadṛī Inscription of Gauri.
16. This date is known from a Mandasor inscription of his reign. See D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, pp. 411ff.

17. *Studies in Indology*, I (second ed.), p. 228 ; "Further Light on Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana", *Bhāratī-Bhānam* (*Light on Indology*), *K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume*, p. 408.
18. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 228. However, later he seems to have changed his opinion and proposed to place him before 505 A.D. See *Bhāratī-Bhānam*, p. 408. For the impossibility of his reign being dated earlier, see *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 228.
19. It has been suggested that he was responsible for shifting his family capital from Daśapura to Ujjayinī. See *Bhāratī-Bhānam*, p. 410, where it is said that the Aulikara chiefs from Jayavarman to Prabhākara ruled from Daśapura while Ādityavardhana to Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana had their capital at Ujjayinī.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 410.
21. A fragmentary stone inscription of the Mānavāyani chief Gauri has been found at Mandsor. Vide *EI*, XXX, pp. 227-232.
22. For an inscription of the time of *Rājasthānīya* Dharmadoṣa see D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 411 ff.
23. *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 229; *Bhāratī-Bhānam*, pp. 415, 416.
24. See *ibid.*, p. 410 ; *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 226.
25. *Studies in Indology*, II, pp. 180-184 ; *Bhārati-Bhānam*, pp. 405-426; *Indological Research Papers*, pp. 98-120.
26. The main evidence cited in support of this contention is the use of the Mālava era of 57 B.C. instead of the Gupta era, and the mention of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta in the well-known inscription of the silk-weavers' guild at Mandasor is sought to be explained away as intended to indicate the time of their (silk-weavers') migration to Daśapura as the Gupta kings were famous. Similarly, the description of Prabhākara, who is also regarded as an Aulikara king, in the Mandasor inscription as *Gupt-ānvay-āri-druma-dhūmaketu* (comet to the trees that were the enemies of the Gupta family) is regarded as merely indicating the valuable assistance rendered by him to the Gupta king Skandagupta when his kingdom was invaded by some enemies, and not of his subservience to the Guptas. See *Bhāratī-Bhānam*, pp. 408-411, K.C. Jain also believes that some early members of the Aulikara family were independent rulers. See *Malwa through the Ages*, pp. 250 ff. But these arguments fail to carry conviction.
27. *Jitvā ripu-balaṁ saṅkhye ramyaṁ puraṁ daś-ādikam/Pālayati-nara-vyāghre Narendr-Āditya-vardhane* //2, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 410. V.V, Mirashi does not agree with this restoration proposed by D.C. Sircar and feels that the stanza simply refers to some unspecified act of Ādityavardhana in connection with a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura). See *Studies in Indology*, I, p. 223. Elsewhere he doubted any reference to Daśapura in the inscription. *Vide ibid.*, II, p. 182.
28. "Note on Mandasor Inscription of Gauri", *EI*, XXXIII, p. 207.
29. As a parallel he refers to *Mahārāja* Brahmadatta or Jayadatta ruling over the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* with the headquarters evidently at the city of Puṇḍravardhana where the office of an *Āyuktaka* or governor of the district round the city was also located. *Vide ibid.*, p. 207, fn. 3.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 208. His statement that the *BS* may have been composed some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. is not supported by any evidence. As will be pointed out in the sequel, it was one of the latest works of Varāhamihira and was probably written about the middle of that century.

    K.C. Jain (*Malwa through the Ages*, pp, 255-256) also thinks that Dravyavardhana, probably an Aulikara ruler of Daśapura, lived in or before the beginning of the sixth century A.D. See also p. 299.
31. *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 92-93.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
34. *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 359.
35. This inscription has been edited by K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari ("Risthal Inscription of Aulikara Prakāśadharmmā, Vikrama Year 572", *JESI*, X, pp. 96-103). V.V. Mirashi ("Risthala yethīla Prakāśa-*dharmancā* Śilālekha", *VSMV*, 1983, pp. 45-59 ; *Studies in Ancient Indian History*) ; and D.C. Sircar (*Indian Museum Bulletin*,). S.R. Goyal has also noticed it briefly. See his *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, pp. 363-365.
36. R.N. Mehta and A.M. Thakkar, *M.S. University Copper-plates of the Time of Toramāṇa*, M.S. University Archaeological Series, No. 14. See also V.V. Mirashi, "The Early History of the Hūṇas in India", *JOI*, XXIX, pp. 11 ff. ; *Indological Research Papers*, I, pp. 88 ff. ; S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, pp. 368-369.
37. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 411-417.
38. According to V.V. Mirashi, the epigraph mentions seven generations. See. *VSMV*, 1983, p. 49. He takes Bhagavatprakāśa, who is mentioned in verse 2 of the inscription as the first king which is apparently wrong as will be shown in the sequel.
39. This is the reading of Ramesh and Tewari. Mirashi reads Drumavardhana and Sircar Dramavardhana which are all possible in view of the slight difference between the forms of *p* and *m*, and, the ligature attached to *d* can be read both as *ra* and *ru*.
40. Ramesh and Tewari take the name to be Ajitavardhana, while, according to Mirashi, it is Jitavardhana. Grammatically, both are possible, though the former appears more likely.
41. In verse 2 he is referred to as Bhagavatprakāśa in the same manner as Pulakeśin II in the Aihole *praśasti* under his other name, Satyāśraya (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, II, p. 444, verse 3), and it is not correct to take it as the name of another, first, ruler of the dynasty as Mirashi has done.
42. This is based on the known dates of the records of the two chiefs, and it is quite possible that Prakāśadharman continued to rule for a few years more and Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana may have come to the throne a few years earlier.
43. It is not unlikely that like Yaśodharman, who had Viṇuvardhana as another name, his predecessor Prakāśadharman also might have had another *vardhana*-ending name which may be brought to light by future discoveries. It is interesting to remember in this connection that in the case of Yaśodharman also the name Viṣṇuvardhana is known only from an inscription of the family of his Rājasthānīya (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 413, verse 6), and is conspicuously absent in his own inscriptions on the victory pillars.
44. *JESI*, X, p. 100, verse 29; S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, p. 367, verse 9.
45. The Risthal inscription has *pūrvv-eyaṁ Kakka-sūnunā*, while in the Mandasor inscription the same poet has replaced it by *śloкāḥ Kakkasya sūnunā*.
46. He is mentioned in the latter inscription, verse 16, also.
47. He was a son of Doṣakumbha, who was apparently a brother of Abhayadatta.
48. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I p. 416, verse 20, Ramesh and Tewari, however, describe Nirdoṣa (*alias* Dakṣa), who was actually a younger brother of Dharmadoṣa, as a nephew of Bhagavaddoṣa. *Vide JESI*, X, p. 97.
49. It is perhaps for the first time that in this inscription Toramāṇa is spoken of as a Hūṇa king. The inscriptions of his own reign are reticent on this point.
50. *JESI*, X, p. 99, verse 16. There is controversy regarding the interpretation of this stanza. In short, Ramesh and Tewari take this verse to refer to a single war against Toramāṇa and Mihirakula in which Prakāśadharman won a victory, at a time when Mihirakula had not yet

succeeded his father on the throne, and that Yaśodharman had also assisted his predecessor in this war as he merely claims that his feet were worshipped by Mihirakula without actually stating whether he had personally defeated him. This assumption is based primarily on the use of the expression '*ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ*' in the verse in question. However, Yaśodharman's victory pillar inscription at Mandasor (verse 6) clearly states that Mihirakula's head was bent into salutation of his feet by the prowess of his arms and Mirashi points out that *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* in the present context cannot mean 'from Toramāṇa onwards' (in *VSMV*, 1983, p. 47, fn. 3, Mirashi says 'up to Toramana', which is evidently due to inadvertence), because the ablative case, which is needed for such a sense, is absent here and the intended case here is genitive singular (*nṛpateḥ* can be both ablative and genitive) as indicated by '*Hūṇādhipasya*' qualifying it. *Ā*, he thinks, is here employed for compliance with the metrical requirements. Jagannath Agrawal (*Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, p. 93), on the other hand, thinks that *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* is in ablative singular and qualifies *pāda-pīṭhām* which he proposes to read *pāda-pīṭhāt* in order to make it fit with *ā-Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* which he renders by 'from the time of king Toramāṇa'. In some other respects also he differs from Ramesh and Tewari. We propose to discuss this inscription elsewhere.

51. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 419, verse 6. *Cf.* also S.R. Goyal. *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, p. 365.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 360 (Gwalior Inscription of Mihirakula), verse 4, which clearly describes him as Toramāṇa's son.
53. The exact relationship cannot be determined for want of necessary evidence. Yaśodharman could have been a younger brother of Prakāśadharman also.
54. This is the date of the Mandasor inscription mentioning Bandhuvarman and Kumāragupta I. See S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*. pp. 352ff.
55. As the Chhoṭī Sādṛī inscription of his feudatory Gauri is dated 491 A.D., Ādityavardhana's rule may be dated towards the close of the fifth century A.D. In case he belonged to the Aulikara family, he may have been a brother of Rājyavardhana, father of Prakāśadharman.
56. *JESI*, X, pp. 102-103, note 2.
57. S.R. Goyal, *Guptakālina Abhilekha*, p. 357.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 360-361.
61. Though the inscription mentioning this event is not dated (*Ibid.*, p. 367, verse 6), it is possibly implied in another record of Yaśodharman's reign, dated 532 A.D. (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 411 ff.), which speaks of his victory over many eastern and northern kings and thereby attaining the rare title of *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara*.
62. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects and Indian History and Civilization*, p. 97. As pointed out above, it is possible that Ādityavardhana was a collateral member of the Vardhana line of the Aulikara family. But the Mānavāyani feudatory family also had a few members with *vardhana*-ending names.
63. The paper is under publication.

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The Mlecchas in the Jaina Literature

ALAKANANDA BHATTACHARYYA

The Jaina literature can be broadly classified into Canonical and non-Canonical texts. The Jaina Canonical literature is known as *Āgama* or *Siddhānta*. It consists of twelve Aṅgas. Besides the Aṅgas, the Śvetāmbara *Siddhānta* includes twelve *Upāṅgas*, ten *Paṇṇas*, six *Cedasūttas*, six *Nandīs*, six *Aṇuyogas* and four *Mūlasūttas*. The exegetical literature, which accumulated on the Jaina Canons consists of *Nijjutti*, *Bhāsa*, *Cuṇṇi Ṭīkā*. Among the non-Canonical texts, reference may be made to the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasuri, *Aṅga-vijjā*, *Jambudīvapaññati*, *Tiloya-Paññati*, *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra etc.

The Jaina Canonical texts did not belong to a particular period. According to Jaina traditions, decision to write down these texts was taken at the Valabhī Council, which took place 980 or 993 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra.[1] Hence, the Jaina Canons, cannot be placed earlier than the 5th or 6th century A.D. There are however some texts like the *Ācārāṅga sūtta*, *Uttarajhāna-sūtta* and *Suyagaḍaṁ*, which can be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era, on the basis of their language and grammatical forms.[2] Among the non-Canonical texts the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasuri was composed according to the tradition, 530 years after the death of Mahāvīra.[3] The text can, therefore, be ascribed to the 1st Century A.D. The *Aṅga-vijjā* may be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd Century A.D.[4]

Of the exegetical texts, *Āvassaya Niyyutti* and the *Āvassaya Cuṇṇi* seem to be early in date. The Jaina Canonical texts however, had undergone changes due to

additions and alterations from time to time. Hence, the entire portion of a text, which is old according to Jaina traditions cannot claim antiquity. Besides the texts which have been referred to, there are Canons and secular treatises which can roughly be accommodated within the 7th and 12th Centuries A.D. They cannot be arranged chronologically due to the absence of constructive data. Due to these difficulties, we have endeavoured to array the material at our disposal subjectwise.

There are abundant references to the Milakkhas or Milakkhus or Mecchas or Milācas (i.e. Mlecchas) in the Jaina literature.[5] Human population is divided in the Jaina literature into two classes—(1) *Bhavyas* and (2) *Abhavyas*. The Bhavyas are again subdivided into two sections—(1) those who are sure to be liberated in near or distant future and (2) the Jātibhavyas, who will never be liberated. To the second category belong the Milakkhas i.e. Mlecchas.[6]

The *Aṅga-vijjā*, a Jaina text of the early centuries of the Christian era refers to the division of the population into two classes, viz., the *Ajja* (i.e. Ārya) and *Milakkhu* (i.e., Mleccha).[7] In the chapter entitled 'Jātivijaya', the upper three castes of the Brahmanical system viz., the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas are grouped under the Āryas, while the fourth class, viz., the Śūdras are referred to as constituents of the Mlecchа population. According to this text, the Brāhmaṇas are white, the Kṣatriyas red, the Vaiśyas yellow and the Śūdras black.[8] It is really very interesting to point out that Book XII of the *Mahābhārata* also describes the four major Varṇas in similar fashion.[9]

Thus an attempt is perceptible to bring the various non-Aryan tribes into the fold of Brahmanical social order. They are described as black complexioned.[10] Physically, they were either very tall (*mahākāya*) or of medium stature (*majjhimakāya*).[11]

Despised professions are not reserved for the Mlecchas. They lived on trade (*vavahārajīvī*), agriculture (*khettopajīvī*) and military professions.[12]

Pleasure groves (*nikkhuṇḍavāsī*), mountains (*pavvatavāsī*), islands (*dīvavāsī*), cities (*nagaravāsī*), forests (*raṇṇavāsī*) and janapadas are mentioned as the dwelling places of the Mlecchas. They roamed in the cities as jugglers (*cakka-cara*). That the Mlecchas dwelt in all quarters seem to be indicated by their naming, according to the directions they lived in.[13]

The *Aṅga-vijjā* also refers to *Ajja* (Ārya) and *Anajjadesa* (Anāryadeśa) countries. The Mlecchas who lived in Aryan land are called '*Ajjadesanissita*' and those who migrated to another country are called '*Ajjadesāntara*'.[14] The Mlecchas living in pleasure groves, perhaps forests (*nikkhuṇḍa*) were treated as belonging to non-Aryan countries (*Anajjadesijja*).

Like the division of the worldly population into Aryan and Mleccha, the countries, according to the Jaina concept are also grouped into Ārya and Anārya.[15] From the *Aṅga-vijjā*, it appears that the Anārya land is not exclusively reserved for

the Mlecchas or that the Ārya land for the Aryas. In other words the Mlecchas lived in both the Ārya and Anārya lands.

Higher vocations like warfare, trade and agriculture were not denied to them. The *Aṅga-vijjā* in another context divides the worldly population into *Ajja* and *Pessa*.[16] The latter included the '*dāsas*' or slaves. It appears that in the latter case the term '*Ajja*' (i.e., Ārya) has been taken in the sense of the 'master'. The Chinese version of the *Assalāyana-sutta* refers to "masters" and "slaves" as constituents of the society of the Yueh-Chih kingdom.[17] The śūdras or at least Mleccha individuals thus could have attained masterhood. It may be noted that the Mlecchas in the *Aṅga-vijjā* are described as living on trade and agriculture, besides warfare. Thus a Mleccha, amassing land and wealth by means of trade and agriculture, could have been the master of slaves.

Although a better position for the Mlecchas is envisaged in the *Aṅga-vijjā*, a few contradictory statements are not unoften found in the text. Thus while characterizing some cities as 'Āryavāsa,' the author negatively hints at the existence of 'Anāryavāsa' or rather 'Mlecchavāsa.'[18] Explicit reference is, however, made to cities as 'Coravāsa' i.e., inhabited by thieves. It is not clear whether 'Coravāsa' and 'Mleccha' or 'Anāryavāsa' should be synonymous.

The tribes or peoples, who according to the *Aṅga-vijjā* formed the Mleccha population are not mentioned separately. No separate mention of arts and crafts followed by them is made in this text. The observation that the Śūdras may be counted as Mlecchas and are black complexioned seems to exclude the foreigners of the north-western India like the Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas etc., who, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata were reddish yellow (*gaurāḥ*).[19] It seems that by the term Milakkha the *Aṅga-vijjā* probably refers to the non-Aryan population of India.

Like the division of the Indian population into Ārya and Mleccha, gods and goddesses are also grouped under Ariya and Milakkhu i.e. Ārya and Mleccha.[20] Goddess of vegetation, hills, rivers, wells, tanks etc. are also referred to. No indication, is however, given with regard to the category to which these gods and goddesses belonged.

There are numerous references to the division of population into Ārya and Mleccha in Jaina texts. In the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasuri, the Mlecchas are equated with the Anāriyas.[21] In a few cases the Mlecchas are bracketed with the Dasyus. Thus in the *Uttarajjhāna-sutta* (i.e. *Uttarādhyāna Sūtra*), it is laid down that "though one be born as a man, it is rare chance to become an Ārya; for many are the Dasyus and the Mlecchas."[22] The passage undoubtedly hints at the social superiority for the Āryas and the numerical strength of the Mlecchas. Distinction has also been made between the Dasyus and the Mlecchas. The connotation of the term Dasyu has not been indicated in the *Uttarādhyānasūtra*. Nor it is indicated whether the term had undergone any great change in concept. From references to the Dasyus in

the Ṛg Veda,[23] it appears that at least a section of the non-Aryan population were known as Dasyus. By the time of the compilation of the *Uttaradhyāna sūtra*, therefore, some of the non-Aryans were known as Mlecchas and some as Dasyus.

In the Jaina tradition, India is divided into Āryakhaṇḍas and Mlecchakhaṇḍas. In the *Paumacariyam*, the Kāmbojas, Sūkas, Kapotas and the countries peopled by the Śabaras are regarded as Mleccha lands.[24] The rulers of these countries are described as the sons of Ācaraṅga who ruled in Mayuramāla. It had a Mleccha population and a city of the country known as Addha-babbara.[25]

According to the *Jambudvipa-Paññati*, of Paumanaṇdiya, Kacchavijaya is situated to the north of the river Sītā, to the south of the Mt. Nīla, to the east of Uttarakuru and to the west of Citrakūṭa.[26] The Mt. Vaitādhya is situated in the centre of Kacchavijaya.[27] The regions in Kacchavijaya approaching the river Sītā consist of one Āryakhaṇḍa and two Mlecchakhaṇḍas.[28] Lāhula, Pulinda, Barbara, Śabara, Kirāta and Siṁhala are included in the three Mlecchakhaṇḍas, the region contiguous to the Mt. Nīla.

The country called Ardha Barbara which lies to the south of Mt. Vaitāḍhya north of Kailāsa[29] is described as the home of the turbulent Mlecchas who indulge in sensual enjoyment.[30] They are half civilized and of low origin.[31]

In the *Śrī-Prajñāpanopāṅgam*,[32] it is stated that the Mlecchas are of various kinds (*anegaviha*). It further subdivides Mleccha population, according to the countries they belonged to. Thus they are categorised into Śaka, Yavana, Śabara and so on.[33] Both alien and indigenous races have been branded as Mlecchas.

The Śakas,[34] Yavanas,[35] Cilāya,[36] Śabaras,[37] Barbaras,[38] Muruṇḍas,[39] Uṭṭas,[40] Bhadagas,[41] Niṇṇagas,[42] Pakkaniyas,[43] Kulakkhas,[44] Goṇḍas[45] or Goḍa, Sihala,[46] Pārasa,[47] Godhas, Koñcas, Ambaḍa,[48] Damilas,[49] Cillala,[50] Pulindas,[51] Harosas,[52] Vokkānas,[53] Gandhahāras,[54] Pahaliyas,[55] Ajjhalaras,[56] Romapāsas,[57] Pausas,[58] Malayas,[59] Koṇkanas,[60] Palhavas,[61] Maggaras,[62] Ābhisiyas,[63] Kaṇavīras, Lhāsiyas, Khasas,[64] Neduras, Moṁdhas,[65] Khāsiyas,[66] Ḍoṁbilas,[67] Galaosas, Paosas, Kakkeyas, Akkhāgas, Haṇaromagas, or Huṇaromagas,[68] Maruyas,[69] Cilāyas[70] and the Viyavāsis[71] are designated as Mlecchas.

The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* also enumerates the peoples who belonged to the Mleccha zone. In addition to the list given in the *Śrī-Prajñāpanopāṅgam* the present text refers to the Patakanakas, Hayamukhas, Gajamukhas, Turagamukhas, Ajamukhas, Hayakarṇas, Gajakarṇas and the Cīnas,[72] as well as other non-Aryans who did not follow Dharma.[73] Some of these names can be recognised in the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Puranic texts. In the *Ādīśvaracarita*, the Mleccha tribes are described as living in the foothills of Mt. Vaitāḍhya and in the country of Kaccha.[74] In another place of the same text,[75] the Mlecchas are placed in "the southern districts of Sindhu confined between the ocean and the Mt. Vaitāḍhya". In fact the Mt. Vaitāḍhya is described as the very rampart of the Mleccha land.[76]

In the *Tiloya-Paññati* of Yativṛṣabhācārya, it is stated that the two rivers the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā and the Mt. Vaitāḍhya have cleft Bhāratakṣetra into six *vibhāgas* or parts.[77] Three *vibhāgas* lie in Uttara Bhārata and three in Dakṣiṇa Bhārata.[78] The middle *khaṇḍa* in the southern Bhārata is an Ārya *khaṇḍa*.[79] The rest are Mleccha *khaṇḍas*. In the east all the distributaries of the Ganges belong to the Mleccha *khaṇḍa*.[80] The confluence of the Gaṅgā and the ocean is called Māgadhatīrtha.[81] In the west, land beyond the mountainous tracts of Vanavedī has been described as Mleccha *khaṇḍa*.[82]

Vanavedī is not known to us from Brahmanical and Buddhist sources. However, Vanavedī may be identified with Kālakavana, the eastern limits of Āryāvarta according to Patañjali.[83] It can also be identified with Tāmasavana or Prayāga as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[84] Prayāga, according to Manu, was the eastern limit of Madhyadeśa.[85] So Vanavedī (i.e. elevated forest land) may have been the same as Kālakavana (black forest). In that case the entire region lying to the east of Kālakavana or the Prayāg region upto the Gangetic delta would have to be regarded as a Mleccha *khaṇḍa*.

The peoples clearly mentioned as belonging to the Mleccha *khaṇḍa* are the Nāhalas,[86] Pulindas,[87] Barbaras,[88] Kirātas[89] and the Siṁhalas.[90] The region lying to the south of Nīlācala and Vakṣāra mountain and in the middle of Raktā and the Raktodā has been described as Mleccha *khaṇḍa*. It centres round the Vakṣāra mountain.[92] Vakṣāra probably is the same as Vokshan, which may be identified with Wakhan in North Afghanistan near the border of U.S.S.R. As many as one hundred Mleccha *khaṇḍas* are enumerated in the *Tiloya-Paññati*,[93] as constituent parts of Jambudvīpa.

The Nīla mountain has been identified with the Tien-shan ranges,[94] and the river Sītā with the Kizil-su-Kashgarh-Tarim river.[95] Mt. Vaitāḍhya cannot be identified with certainty. Can the term *Vaita* be related to Boṭa i.e. Bhoṭa or Tibet? As the Mleccha *khaṇḍa* lay to the north of Kailāsa, the association of Mt. Vaitāḍhya with Tibet may not be ruled out as impossible. All these tend to suggest that Kacchavijaya of the Jaina texts probably included regions lying to the west or contiguous to Kashgarh. Whether Kucha lying midway between the Tarim river and the Tien-shan ranges bears memories of ancient Kacchavijaya cannot be definitely established. Nevertheless, if the identification of the Nīla mountain and the river Sītā be accepted then it must be conceded that large tracts lying in Chinese Turkestan or in modern Sinkiang have been designated as Mleccha *khaṇḍa* in Jaina texts. At the same time all the regions however, did not belong to the Mlecchas, for the regions contiguous to the river Sītā are called Ārya *khaṇḍa*. As such, according to Jaina tradition, even regions lying beyond the traditional limits of India sometimes belonged to Ārya *khaṇḍa*. It should be mentioned that the tribes like Pulinda, Śabara, Barbara, Kirāta and even Siṁhala are located in tracts approaching the Mt. Nīla i.e. the Tien-shan

ranges. The location does not conform to Puranic tradition. The Pulindas and Śabaras, according to the indigenous Sanskrit texts, were the various tribes, mostly belonging to the hilly regions covered by the Vindhyan complex, who lived on hunting. The only possible explanation is that in the regions adjacent to the Nīla or the Tien-shan ranges, there were tribes who lived a primitive life. Otherwise, we have to assume that either the Jaina texts like the *Tiloya-Paññati* and the *Jambudvīpa-Paññati* do not give us the true geographical map or the proposed identification of the rivers and mountains are wide of the mark. The Jaina texts refer to a large number of countries as Mleccha or Anārya land. Some of them are extra-Indian countries and some non-Indian tribes of India, who figure in the Brahmanical texts as well.

All the Mlecchas did not belong to one particular racial stock. They differed from each other in colour and physical characteristics. According to the *Paumacariyam*, the Mleccha army, who fought on behalf of Ācaraṅga, belonged to different colours. Some of them were as black as charcoal, some had the colour of the wings of parrots and some were copper-coloured. Some of them were again dwarfish and flat-nosed,[96] which negatively indicates the existence of tall and sharp-nosed Mlecchas. The flat-nosed Kirātas remind us of the Cirrhadae of the *Periplus* who are described as "a race of men with flattened noses."[97] They have been identified with the sub-Himalayan Kirāta tribes.[98] Ptolemy also mentions Kirrhadai and Kirrhadai in two different contexts.[99] The Mlecchas of the Vindhyan region were very dark (*masivaṇṇam*).[100]

With regard to the dress and ornaments the *Paumacariya* records that some of them put on simply birch leaves and some only loin clothes. They adorned themselves with ornaments of flowers. Some of them even painted their persons with metal paints.[101] The Kirātas, who are described in the *Ādīśvaracarita* as Mlecchas, lived in the dense forests and adorned themselves with the skin of deers.[102]

The Mlecchas, according to Jaina tradition, were great fighters. The *Tiloya-Paññati* refers to their forts (*khaṇḍāvāra*).[103] The *Ādīśvaracarita*, alludes to the Kirāta chiefs wearing armour, impregnable like tortoise shells, helmets covered with the hair of bears, holding bows, made of horns, and iron arrows and fighting with swords, lances and clubs.[104] In the *Paumacariyam*, they are described as fighting with arrows, spears and missiles (*khantā*).[105]

The Jaina texts however, recognise the language of the Mlecchas as distinct from that of the Āryas. Thus, the *Suyagaḍam* (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*) states, "as a Mleccha repeats what an Ārya has said, but does not understand the meaning, merely repeating his words, so the ignorant, though pretending to possess knowledge, do not know the truth, just as an uninstructed Mleccha.[106] That the Mlecchas spoke a different language is clearly hinted at in the *Ādīśvaracarita*.[107]

Various religious rites and ceremonies as well as festivals are mentioned in the Jaina texts. It is difficult to determine which ones of them were practised by the Mlecchas. The *Niśītha Curṇi*, however, refers to the festival called "*Bahu-Milakkha-maho*" in which the Mlecchas participated.[108]

The Mlecchas followed the practice of burying the dead bodies. They did not cremate them. The burial ground is referred to as "Maḍaga-giha".[109] In the Curṇi of the *Niśītha-sūtra*, "*maḍaga-giha*" has been explained as the room (*gharabbhaṁtara*), where the dead bodies lie buried and not cremated.[110]

Although a better position for the Mlecchas has been hinted at in the *Aṅga-vijjā*, the old contemptuous feeling which abounds in the Brahmanical text, also recur in the *Tiloya-Paññati*. In reviewing the circumstances under which the Kalkis and Upakalkis of the Jaina tradition took birth in order to put an end to social disorder (*dharmadroha*), it is stated that the people at each stage turned dullard, appeared like monkeys and followed the manners and customs of the Mlecchas.[111] In the commentary of Malayagiri on the *Prajñāpanopāṅgam*, the religion and rituals followed by the Āryas have been described as those of par excellence (*upādeya*).[112] It negatively indicates that the Mlecchas were far inferior to the Āryas in religion and culture.

The *Ādīśvaracarita* states that even a Brāhmaṇa estranged from religion would be born as a Mleccha.[113] The story of Vasubhuti related in the *Paumacariya* shows that a person committing murder was reborn as a Mleccha.[114]

In the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, the Mlecchas are stated to be devoid of the sense of vice and virtue.[115] They have been compared with beasts (*pasusaric-chāṇam*).[116] The monks and nuns on pilgrimage are advised to avoid the frontiers inhabited by the robbers and the Mlecchas who indulge in incontinence (literally who rise and eat at an improper time).[117] They are further advised to avert the places where there are accessories to temptation i.e., where there are cars and chariots and where the Mlecchas and foreigners congregate.[118]

The Mlecchas were rich in men and money. The Kirātas or the northern half of Bhāratavarṣa, named Āvaḍas (Āpatas) are described as having unlimited mansions, much gold and silver, live stock and retinues of slaves.[119] The Mleccha rulers of Kaccha country are said to have presented to general Suseṇa, heaps of gold and jewels, elephants, horses and chariots.[120]

The Mlecchas lived in the villages of the Bahalī country, which was very rich and prosperous. The Mlecchas of the villages are also described as having immense wealth. They hailed from the northern half of Bhārata*kṣetra*.[121] It may be mentioned that Takṣaśilā (modern Shahdheri near Rawalpindi, Pakistan) was the capital city of the Bahalī country.[122]

The *Āvaśyakacurṇi*[123] refers to the Taṅana Mlecchas of Uttaravāha, i.e., Uttarāpatha. They went to Dakṣiṇāpatha for trade. The merchandise included gold and ivory. They could not understand the language of the southerners and the entire transaction was carried on by the signs of hand.

The *Nayādhammakāhao*,[124] *Viyāhapaṅṅati*[125] and the *Niśīthasūtra*[126] refer to the women of Babbara, Pausa, Joniya, Pahlava, Isiṇiya, Thārugin, Lāsiya, Lakusika, Draviḍa, Siṁhala, Āraba, Pulinda, Pakkana, Muruṇḍa, Śabara and Pārasa countries. According to the *Niśīthasūtra*, they were not allowed to visit the crowned king.[127] As we have already seen most of the countries figure in the *Prajñāpanopāṅgam* as belonging to the Mleccha zone.[128]

Although aspersive statements are not altogether absent, the Jaina texts definitely envisage a better social and economic position for the Mlecchas. There is reference to the Mlecchas congregating in cities, crowded by cars and chariots. They amassed wealth and maintained slaves. Socially they were not boycotted. The *Paumacariya* records the story of king Sumitra of Śatadharapura in Dhātakī-*khaṇḍa* of Airāvata*kṣetra*. Once the king while riding entered a jungle and was taken captive by the Bhils who followed non-Aryan customs and manners. There the Mleccha king gave his daughter in marriage to Sumitra who returned to his capital with the newly wedded wife.[129]

The primary importance of the Jaina texts in the present contexts lies in the fact that they for the first time unambiguously refer to extra-Indian territories as belonging to the Mleccha domain. The copious reference to non-Indian tracts as Mleccha might have been due to the growing knowledge of the Jaina traders of the foreign countries in course of trade

A large number of votive inscriptions from Mathura ascribable to the period of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas indicate the donors' adherence to Jainism.[130] Mathura during this period rapidly developed as a great centre of trade and commerce. The non-Indian characteristics of the terracotta figurines from Mathura and other north Indian sites definitely prove either the presence of or close contact with the foreigners.[131] Be it noted that extra-Indian territories are regarded as Mleccha land in an early text i.e. *Jambudīvapaṅṅati*, which probably bears the memories of an earlier tradition. Thus, the concept of the term Mleccha in the sense of foreign countries was fast emerging.

Notes and References

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2. Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons and Commentaries*, New Delhi, 1984 (second edn.), p. 43.

3. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 477.
4. Muni Punyavijay (Ed.), *Aṅga-vijjā*, Varanasi, 1957, p. 55.
5. Jacobi, H. (Ed.) *Āyaraṁgasutta*, London, 1882; Vaidya, P.L. (Ed.), *Suyagaṁ*, Poona, 1928; *Paṇṇavagāraṇa* with the commentary of Abhayadeva, Bombay, 1910; *Bhagavativiyāha-paṇṇati* with the commentary of Abhayadeva, Bombay, 1921; *Nayādhammakāhao*, Poona, 1940; *Jivābhigama* with the commentary of Malayagiri, Bombay, 1919; *Paṇṇavanā Bhagavatī* with the commentary of Malayagiri, Benares, 1884; *Śrī-Prajñāpanopāṅgam* with the commentary of Malayagiri, Mehesena, 1918; Carpentier, J. (Ed.), *Uttaradhyānasūtra*, Delhi, 1980 (Reprint Edn.); Jacobi, H. (Ed.) *Paumcariyam* of Vimalasuri, Varanasi, 1962; Upadhyay, A.N. and Jain, H.L. (Ed.), *Tiloya-Paṇṇati*, Sholapur, 1956; Upadhyay, A.N and Jain, H.L. (Ed.), *Jambudīva-Paṇṇati*, Sholapur, 1958; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra, *Gaekwar Oriental series*, Vol. LXI, 1931 etc.
6. *Āvaśyakacurṇi* of Jinadasa, Ratlam, 1928, p. 99a; *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* with the commentary of Mālādhāri Hemacandra, Benaras, 1911, śloka 1821 ff.; *Ādiśvaracarita* of Hemacandra, *GOS*, LXI, 1931, p. 1, f. n. 3; Kapadia, H.R., "Ethico-Religious Classification of Mankind as embodied in Jaina Canons", *ABORI*, XV, 11933-34, pp. 97ff.
7. *Aṅga-vijjā*, Chap. XIV, p. 149.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī edn., XII. 188. 5.
10. *Aṅga-vijjā*, p. 149.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Paumacariyam*, Canto XCVII, verses 57-67. For further details see Jain, J.C., *op cit.*, p. 433.
16. *Ibid.*, Chap. LVII, p. 218. The *Aṅga-vijjā* also refers to the traditional fourfold system. Chap. IX, secs. 40-46, pp. 101-103.
17. *Taisho Trīpiṭaka*, I, no. 74, 877a; *BSOAS* 1965, Vol. XXVIII, p. 589; Mukherji, B.N., *Growth of Mathura and its Society*, Calcutta, 1984, pp. 129-130.
18. *Aṅga-vijjā*, Chap. XXIX, p. 161.
19. Sharma, B.N. and Upadhyay, B., The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, Benaras, 1929, Chap. XXIII, p. 103.
20. *Aṅga-vijjā*, Chap. LI, p. 206.
21. *Paumacariya*, Chap. XXVII, sec. 29, p. 226; XXXIV. 39, p. 274.
22. Carpentier, J., *op.cit*, X. 16, p. 103; see also *SBE*, XLV, p. 43.
23. *RV*, I. 34. 7; I. 51. 8; I. 100. 18; I. 103. 3; I. 117. 21; II. 11. 18-19; II. 13. 9; III. 4. 9; IV. 18. 3; VII. 5. 6; X. 49. 3. etc.
24. *Paumacariya*, XVII. 7, p. 225. In the *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa mention is made of Kāmboja, Śūka and Kapota countries. (*Padmacarita*, Bombay, V. S. 1985, Vol. II, p. 15).
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Jambudvīpa Paṇṇati*, VI. 33-34, p. 121.
27. *Ibid.*, VI. 79, p. 126.
28. *Ibid.*, VI. 109, p. 129.
29. Modern Kailāsa in the trans-Himalayan range.
30. *Paumacariyam*. XXVII. 4-5, p. 225.
31. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 64, p. 231.
32. *Śrī-Prajñāpanopāṅgam*, I. 36, p. 54.
33. *Ibid.*

34. In the inscriptions of Darius I (c. 522-486 B.C.), three types of Śaka peoples are enumerated. Between 174 and 160 B.C. the Śaka country, according to the Chinese Annal '*Ta-yuĕh-Chih*' was situated near the lake Issy-k-köl area. In course of time they migrated southwards and occupied Chi-pin which also included Kashmir. A group of the Śakas had also settled in Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus (i.e., Amu Dariya). The Yuĕh-Chihs drove them out from this place.

35. The term Yavana has been derived from Yona (Yona > Yauna > Yavana). The original habitat of the people was Ionia (Mukherji, B.N., *The Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 66, f. n. 10). Subsequently in the 4th Century B.C., Athens came to be known as Ionia (Aristotle, *Athenian Politica*, Chap. V). In course of their eastern movements, they settled in Lydia and Caria (mod. Turkey) and adjoining regions. The people of this settlement were not pure Greeks (Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus*, I. 146). But they took leading part in spreading the Greek culture in Asia. Gradually, Yavani ("Javan", *Genesis*, X. 2) became the generic term in denoting Greek culture. Ionia=Yauna is mentioned as a province of the Achaemenid emperor Darius I. In R.E. XIII of Aśoka, the Yona country is described as a land free from the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas.

36. In the *Mahābhārata* (VII. 4. 7), they are described as living in the Himalayas. They may be identified with the flat-nosed Cirrhadae of the Periplus and Kirrhadai of Ptolemy. They wore skins and lived on fruits and roots and were very cruel in nature. They had also a settlement in the Vindhyan region (*E.I.*, V, 170). For further details see, Lassen, *Indisches Alterthum*, III, pp. 235-37.

37. The Śabaras are described as wild tribe in the Ajaigarh rock inscription (*E.I.*, I, p. 337, verse 22). In the Purāṇas, they are described as the inhabitants of Dakṣiṇāpatha (*Matsya Purāṇa*, CXIV. 46-48; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLV. 126). Cunningham identified them with the Suare or Pliny and Sabarai of Ptolemy (Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 583). A Śabara king named Udayana is mentioned in a grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*I.A.*, VIII, p. 279). Most probably they lived in the forest regions of Central India.

38. They are frequently referred to in the Indian literature along with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas etc. It was also known to the classical writers. The *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini refers to a Barbara janapada with its port Barbarika, which is most probably identical with Barbaricum of Ptolemy (Ptolemy, pp. 146 and 148.). They probably lived in the deltaic region of the Indus. For further details see Chaudhuri, S.B., *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 114, f. n. 3.

39. They may be identified with Maroundai of Ptolemy (*op. cit.* p. 212.). He located them "on the left bank of the Ganges, south of Gogra, down to the top of the delta". According to a Chinese text, a king called Meou-loun, ruled in the middle of the 3rd Century A.D. His capital lay about 7,000 li from the mouth of the Ganges. Meou-loun has been taken to be the Chinese corruption of Muruṇḍa. They are also mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta along with the Śakas. See also, Allan, *CCGD*, p. XXIX and *JBORS* XVIII, p. 210.

40. Possibly Sanskrit 'Uṣṭras'. They cannot be identified.

41. Possibly Bhadrakas. They lived in a region to the east of Jamuna, somewhere between Delhi and Mathura (Pargiter, F.E., *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 309)

42. Its location is not known.

43. J.C. Jain identifies them with the Pareikanioi of Herodotus. They formed a part of the empire of Darius I and were probably the early inhabitants of Ferghana (Jain, J. C,, *op. cit.*, p. 438).

44. They have been equated with the Kulatthas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Jain, J.C., *op. cit.*,

p. 436). In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, they are mentioned as a people of Northern India (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 375).

45. Most probably Gonds, who still now live in Central India. (Russel and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, Vol. III, pp. 41ff.; Fuch, S., *The Aboriginal Tribes of Indta*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 72-73, 155-54 and 178-80).
46. Most probably Ceylon.
47. According to the *Āvaśyakacurṇi*, (*op. cit.*, p. 472) it was a great centre of trade. Merchants from different corners used to congregate there. It has been identified with Persia (Sircar, D.C., "Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature," *Indian Studies, Past and Present*, Vol. VII, no. 3, p. 322).
48. Probably the Ambaṣṭhas mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (14.7.). According to Pargiter, they lived in the region between Ambala and Sutlej (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 379).
49. They may be idetified with the Dravdas of Sanskrit literature.
50. Possibly same as the Kirātas.
51. They are mentioned in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṭa* (VII. 8), the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana* (IV. 43. 11). Kālidāsa places them in the Vindhyan region (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI. 99. 32). In R.E. XIII of Aśoka, they are associated with the Andhras. The Navgrama grant of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin mentions Pulinda-*rāṣṭra* (E. I., XXI, p. 216). The *Mbh.* refers to Pulinda-*nagara* (II. 29. 10).
52. Cannot be identified.
53. They are mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (XIV. 20) and in the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell, E.B. and Neil, R. A, (Ed.) Cambridge, 1886, XXXVII; p. 580). S. Levi is inclined to identify it with Wakhan (*JUPHS*, XVI Pt. II, p. 49).
54. Most probably the people of ancient Gandhāra.
55. Probably the Pāhāḍīyās. Pāhāriya is mentioned as a script in the *Prajñāpanopāṅgam* (I, 37, p. 55).
56. Cannot be identified.
57. They are mentioned variously as Roma, or Romasa or Romaya or Romaka. It has been identified wiih the Salt Range in the Punjab (Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 181).
58. Cannot be identified.
59. Probably Mālavas.
60. They probably lived in the strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea from about the Bombay point to Goa (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 466). In the *Uttaradhyāna Curṇi* (p. 115), it is mentioned as 'Āsandinadīva' which did not overflow with periodical sea tides. For other references see Jain, J. C, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83.
61. In the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9. 68) they are mentioned as fierce Mlecchas. They have been identified with Parthava mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius I. In the *Harivaṁśa* (I. 14. 17; I. 27. 13 etc.), they are described as degraded Kṣatriya having beards.
62. Possibly the Margaras of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* (XIV. 18). J.C. Jain is inclined to identify them with the Madrakas (Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 437).
63. Probably the Abhisas of the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 91. 40).
64. The Khaśas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as half civilized people. In the *Harivaṁśa* they are described as Mleccha and in the Manu Saṁhitā (X. 43-44) as Vrātya Kṣatriyas. Existence of a ruler called Khaśrāja in Gilgit area is proved by the discovery of inscriptions (*Central Asian Journal*, 1978). Their country was most probably situated in Kashmir which extended from Kastvar in the south-east to the Jhelum in the west and included the hill tribes of Rajapuri and Lohara (Shastri, A.M., *India as seen in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1964, p. 82).

65. May be identified with the Muṇḍās. For their habitat and language see Fuch, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39; 165-67.
66. It reminds us of the Khāsī tribe of Meghalaya.
67. They are probably the Dombas mentioned in the *Niśītha-curṇi* (IV. 2619, p. 243), who used to worship the Ghaṇṭiya Jakkha. It was a caste of degraded musicians who belonged to northern India (*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 364).
68. The Hūṇas, a nomadic tribe, were the original inhabitants of China. In course of time, they migrated towards the west and became divided into branches. One section migrated towards Volga and the other towards the Oxus. The latter came to be known as the Ephthalites or the White Huns. In the *Mahābhārata* also reference is made of Hārā-Hūṇas (II. 32. 1194; III. 51. 25; III. 51. 1991).
69. According to the *Āvaśyakacurṇi* (p. 440 ff.) it was situated on the way to Ujjeni (i.e. Ujjayini) from Vibhaya. The *Niśīthasūtra* (XVI. 5652) refers to the extreme crisis of water in this land. It is probably the same as Marusthali, which denoted the desert of Rajasthan.
70. Cannot be identified.
71. Vindhyavasis (?).
72. In the *Mahābhārata*, they are mentioned along with several other tribes. To Manu, they were Vrātya Kṣatriyas (X. 43-44). They have been located in Gilgit, Astor and Yassan regions by Atkinson (Atkinson, E.T., *Notes on the History of the Himalayas and North Western Provinces of India*, 1883, 3, p. 13).
73. Johnson, H. M. (Trans.), *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, *GOS*, LXI, 1931, p. 393-394.
74. *Ibid* , p. 232.
75. *Ibid*., p. 230.
76. *Ibid*., p. 244.
77. Upadhyay, A.N. and Jain, H.L. (Ed.), *Tiloya-Paññati* of Yativṛṣabhācārya, Sholapur, 1956, Vol. I, IV. 268, p. 244.
78. *Ibid*., IV. 267.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid*., IV. 245, p. 171.
81. *Ibid*., IV. 244.
82. *Ibid*., IV. 1333, p. 319.
83. Mahabhāṣya, II. 4. 10; VI. 3. 109.
84. See, Beal, S., *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, New Delhi, 1973 (Second Edn.) p. 98.
85. *Manu-Saṁhitā*, Vangavasi Edn., II. 22.
86. Cannot be identified.
87. *Supra*, f. n. 51
88. *Supra*, f. n. 38.
89. *Supra*, f. n., 36.
90. *Supra*, f. n. 46.
91. *Tiloya-Paññati*, IV. 2290, p. 443.
92. *Ibid.* IV. 2291, p. 433.
93. *Ibid*., IV. 2397, p. 445.
94. Ali, S.M., *Geography of the Purāṇas*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 101; See also the map facing p. 112, fig. 11.
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Paumacariyam*, XXVII. 32. p. 226.
97. Schoff, W.H. (Ed.). *The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, New Delhi, 1974 (Reprint Edn.), p. 47.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
99. Majumdar Shastri, S.N. (Ed.), *McCrindles Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 219 and 276.
100. *Paumacariya*, XXXIV. 38, p. 278.
101. *Ibid.*, XXVII 33, p. 226.
102. *Ādiśvaracarita*, Ch. V, p. 276.
103. *Tiloya-Paññati*, IV. 1335, p. 319.
104. *Ādiśvaracarita*, pp. 238-39.
105. *Paumacariyam*, XXVII; 35, p. 227.
106. *Suyaga ṃ*, I. 1.2. 15-16, p. 16, and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, (Trans.) *SBE*, XLV, p. 241.
107. *Ādiśvaracarita*, p. 230.
108. Muni Amar and Kanhaiyalal (Ed.), *Niśithasūtram*, (in 4 vols.) Agra, 1958, IV. 4139, p. 350; Jain, *op. cit*,, p. 278.
109. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, III. 1534-36, pp. 224-225.
110. *Ibid.*, III. 1535, p. 225.
111. *Tiloya-Paññati*, IV. 1539, p. 346.
112. *Prajñāpanopāṅgam*, p. 55.
113. *Ādiśvaracarita*, Ch. I, p. 36.
114 *Paumacariya*, XXXIX, 37-46.
115. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, p. 394.
116. *Paumacariya*, XXVII. 17, p. 225.
117. *Āyaraṁgasutta*, II, 3. 1. 8, p. 83.
118. *Ibid.*, II. 11. 17, p. 117.
119. *Ādiśvaracarita*, p. 237.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
123. *Āvaśyakacurṇi*, I. 20.
124. *Nayādhammakāhāo*, I, p. 21.
125. *Viyāhapaññati*, IX. 6.
126. *Niśīthasūtra*, Vol. II, IX. 28, p. 470.
127. *Ibid.*, I, p. 121.
128. *Prajñāpanopāṅgam*, I. 36, p. 54.
129. *Paumacariya*, XII. 13-14, p. 129.
130. Mukherjee, B.N., *Mathura and Its Society in the Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, p. 129.
131. Ghosh, A., "The Kushanas of some Excavated sites in Northern India" in *Central Asia in the Kushana Period*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1975, p. 111.

24

On Some Characteristics of Jaina Sanskrit Mahakavyas

SATYA VRAT

The Jaina *Belles letters* is the appellation applied to the main current of the mighty river that gushed forth from the *Prathamānuyoga*. Taking cue from the skeletal sketches in the *Samavāyāṅga-sūtra*, the subsequent Jaina poets and authors vied with each other to garner for their writings the biographic accounts of the holy personages, celebrated in Jaina tradition, in order to invest them with sanctity and authority that could well evoke for them universal acceptance. The value of poetry as a medium for disseminating abstruse philosophicat doctrine and ideal of conduct can hardly be exaggerated. As a matter of fact, the line that demarcates the Jaina *Belles letters* from the canon and *purāṇa* has never been boldly perceptible. Even before the fifth century A.D., when the Jaina canon is overwhelmingly believed to have been streamlined and reduced to final redaction, the non-canonical literature has surfaced with vengeance, with the result the two seem to intrude, not unoften, into each other's domain.

The Jaina Sanskrit *mahākāvya* does not mark a substantial break from the classical tradition. It is rather heir to the glorious tradition, that, originating with Aśvaghoṣa, had firmly established itself, with all its virtues and vices, by the time of Śrīharṣa. And there is little that, like worthy successors, the Jaina poets have put the legacy to profitable use, that subsequently resulted not only in its perpetuation, but multiplication as well. The Jaina poeticians had, by and large, accepted,

in totality, the concept of *mahākāvya* as it was transmitted to them;[1] however, Jinasena's dictum—*mahāpurāṇasambandhi mahānāyakagocaram*[2]—exercised so powerful an influence on the Jaina poets that what is now known as Jaina *mahākāvya* emerged, in ultimate analysis, as a *purāṇa*-oriented entity. Rather, the Jaina *purāṇas* may justifiably be rated as true precursors of the *mahākāvya*. While the poetic worth of the Jaina *purāṇas* is high and some of the segments therein smack of miniaturised *mahākāvyas*; overdependance on the *purāṇas* has turned the Jaina *mahākāvya* into a handmaid of religious fervour. And most of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* bristle with the objective to secure recognition for the Jaina doctrine based on the Three Jewels (*ratnatraya*).[3] Exceptions apart, the Jaina authors tend to use the *mahākāvya* as an omnibus to be loaded, besides the facade of theme, with the doctrine of Five vows, *Syādvāda*, seven *Tattvas* etc. to ensure liberation from human bondage. This combination of 'pleasure and profit' is admissible to the point it does not swamp or strain the soul of poetry. The non-Jaina poeticians also sanction a modest sprinkling of moral or religious instruction in poetry,[3a] but their true conception of *śāstra* and *kāvya* seems to be reflected in the following dictum of *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*:

Dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṁ śāstraṁ syādupadeśakaṁ,
Tadeva kāvyamityuktaṁ copadeśaṁ vinā kṛtam. (15.1-2)

They are unequivocally convinced that 'moral instruction' is what separates poetry from the *śāstra*. A poem heavily infested with doctrinal jargon stands closer to the canon and should better be termed as 'poetic canon' rather than a *kāvya*. In the backdrop of sectarian overtones of the Jaina poets, such fine distinctions do not have much of relevance.

All the subsequent poetic activities in Jaina literature owe their genesis to the *purāṇas*. The bestowal of the nomenclature *mahākāvya* on such a marathon work as *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (TSPC) covertly underlines its tremendous potentialities as a perennial source of raw material and unfailing guide to the aspiring poets. The Jaina poets mean to prove and exemplify with their *mahākāvyas* that religious or spiritual fervour serves to galvanise to fruitful activities not only the literature, but the society as a whole. To them the *purāṇa*s are the torchbearers of ideals that spur the sensitive author to scale unprecedented heights. The Jaina poets have actually spun out a mass of *mahākāvyas* on the warp and woof afforded by the sublime character of the holy personages (*śalākāpuruṣas*) and other colossuses, some of which do the wide range of poetic literature proud by the plethora of their excellences. The Jaina poets have not only been instrumental in perpetuating the *mahākāvya*-tradition at a time it was believed to have gone dormant, they have also enriched it with some vigorous writings. The so-called dark age of the non-Jaina *mahākāvya* is the golden era of its Jaina counterpart.

The Jaina *mahākāvya* apparently represents an extension of the earlier tradition. However, the Jaina poets, who were overwhelmingly monks ordained into

different orders, introduced, in accordance with their sectarian compulsions and objectives, certain notable innovations in the tradition that was sternly hedged by rigorous constraints. Their works are as such distinguished by certain novel characteristics which call for a dispassionate evaluation to facilitate proper appreciation of the Jaina *mahākāvya*.

The Jainistic authors seem to subscribe to the rhetorical precepts with regard to such gross a characteristic as benediction.[4] The *maṅgalācaraṇa* to the Jaina *mahākāvyas* is overwhelmingly salutatory or benedictive. Jayaśekhara, Puṇyakuśala and others of their ilk favour the third type, known as *vastunirdeśātmaka*. Besides the śāstric injunction, they were evidently actuated by stalwarts like Kālidāsa (*Kumārasaṁbhava*), Bhāravi and Māgha who prefer to plunge headlong into the theme, without straying into preliminaries that after all add up to a prologue to the poem. What, however, distinguishes the Jaina benedictions is that they are not always confined to a solitary verse, nor do they invariably eulogize the poet's favoured deity. In some of the *mahākāvyas* the *Siddhas*,[5] *Gaṇadharas*,[6] *Vāgdevī*[7] and Three Jewels are glorified in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* that spills over a multiety of verses. In accordance with its general non-conformist tenor, the benediction to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* (HM) also defies the theory. Its lengthy benediction of seven verses boils down to a pretty ode to the 'supreme light' (*param jyoti*) and some of the Jaina Tīrthāṅkaras and Hindu deities, eulogized with winsome *śleṣa*. This freedom from sectarian constraints bespeaks Nayacandra's catholicity of vision which is the hallmark of his poem.[8] With its formidable bulk, the benediction in the *Digvijaya-mahākāvya* transgresses all bounds of moderation. It embarks upon the prohibitive task of successively extolling, in twenty four long stanzas, all the pontiffs from Ṛṣabhadeva to Mahāvīra. Some of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* tend to treat each canto as an independent unit, so far as the benediction is concerned. Rājamalla's *Jambusvāmicarita* is addedly unique as its twelve cantos, besides the *kathāmukha*, commence with the *maṅgalācaraṇa* that ultimately emerges as an eulogy of the twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras. Such varied and exhaustive benediction in the non-Jaina *mahākāvyas* is simply unimaginable. Thus while adhering, in essence, to the classical tradition, the Jaina poets have introduced conspicuous changes in the concept of *maṅgalācaraṇa* that tend to militate against Hemacandra's injunction, as well. The *Nemināṭha-mahākāvya* (NNM) and the *Saptasaṁdhāna* (SS) are two such poems that pay homage to none else than the hero himself.

In drawing upon the known sources for its theme, the Jaina *mahākāvya* conforms to the theory. In the jargon of the poeticians, the theme, more often than not, is either *prakhyāta* (well-known) or *sadāśrita* (noble).[9] With the exception of the historical poems, the *purāṇas* form the fountainhead of the Jaina *mahākāvyas*, Therefore, whatever the type of *mahākāvya*, the Jaina poets deem it the realisation of their mission to detail and thereby extol, individually or collectively, the lives of

the holy personages, revered in the Jaina tradition. This convergence on the *purāṇas* sucks the Jaina *mahākāvya* deep into its ambit, though the divergences between the two are tangibly formidable. The authors of the literary *mahākāvyas* have doubtless pruned the puranic theme of the unpoetic details, but their sectarian propensities draw them to make frequent forays in the realm of the *purāṇas*. The incessant involvement of the deities of various orders in the activities of the hero, his stout aversion to mundane pleasures, acclaim of the Jaina sect and biting denunciation of the rival faiths—such like traits, encountered with frequency in Jaina poems, accord more with the *purāṇa* than the *mahākāvya*. Motivated odes to various deities, glued even to the literary poems, also betray the same tendency. Kālidāsa has also incorporated *stotras* in the body of his poems, but his odes are smoothly harmonised with the theme to form its inseparable ingredients. The eulogies in the Jaina *mahākāvyas*, on the other hand, appear to be forced appendages; nor are they distinguished by high poetic or philosophic excellence. It is rather an unpleasant fact that the puranic contents defiantly prowl the Jaina *mahākāvya* of all hues, threatening the reader into discomfiture. Even on shearing, as far as possible, these malignant aberrations, the Jaina poets have dealt with their theme with the poetic embellishments sanctioned by theory, which, not unoften, combine to turn the contents of the poem subservient to its form. Here their ideal is not Kālidāsa but those of the later poets who viewed the poetic trappings as the *summum bonum* of the *mahākāvya*.

The puranic *mahākāvyas* describe the theme, drawn from various *purāṇas*, in the same backdrop and style. In order to demonstrate the inviolability of *karma*, these poems, doubtless under the influence of their sources, seek to describe, at length, the previous births of the hero, which often encompass half of the poem and thus deal a fatal blow to the theme, reducing it to a hapless non-entity. Furthermore, these poems are beset with the miraculous and supernatural in abundant measure. The gods and demi-gods throng to convert the heroes into divine figures by bestowing upon them extra-terrestrial powers, curious charms and a plethora of miraculous objects and lores (*vidyās*) to be used, at will, to their advantage. The puranic *mahākāvyas* have also not been frugal in admitting folk-romanticism, with the result time-worn devices like change of form, abduction, journey to heaven or hell, play no mean role in shaping and diversifying their theme. The actors on the stage of the puranic *mahākāvyas* are mostly superhuman figures, endowed with unbounded prowess and inexhaustible resources. The world of these poems is indeed the incredible world of fantasy.

The Jaina puranic *mahākāvyas* are basically religious works. They seek to instruct through the medium of poetry. Therefore moral and religious instruction prominently pervades their entire structure and *rasa*—the soul of poetry sinks into oblivion. Ephemeral nature of the world, aversion to pleasures, right conduct, knowledge of the self and final emancipation etc., in essence, form the bastion on which is raised their edifice.

The historical *mahākāvyas* of the Jaina authors may be divided into two broad categories. The *HM*, *Kumārapālacarita*, *Vastupālacarita* (VC) and others of their class concern themselves with the rulers or ministers celebrated in history for their various achievements, valour, diplomatic skill and liberal patronage to art and letters. While the historical data in HM and VC are, notwithstanding minor aberrations, correct and authentic, with Nayacandra emerging as a counterpart to a modern historian; the *Kumārapālacarita* is loaded with fiction to the extent that historiography therein is submerged in the spate of fantasy.

The second group of historical *mahākāvyas* is formed by the poems that seek to depict, with poetic trappings, the pious and detached life of some of the outstanding Jaina monks. Because of their faithful presentation of the account of the pontiffs, these poems, besides being readable biographies, form worthy sources of religious history. Some of them are rated high for their poetic excellence also.

Bhaṭṭi left the trail of *śāstra-kāvyas* ablaze in Jaina literature as well. While the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* represents a *tour de force* in seeking to illustrate the rules of Pāṇinian grammar besides momentous rhetorical precepts; Jinapati launches upon an equally strenuous task of illustrating in his *Śreṇikacarita* the *Kātantra* grammar, as elucidated by the *Durgavṛtti*, in its entirety. By indulging in the popular device of *samasyā-pūrti*[10] and interweaving the lives of seven high personages,[11] Meghavijaya seems to divert the *śāstra-kāvya* to an equally unhappy course. The *śāstra-kāvya* has indeed been a favourite pastime with the Jaina poets.

Despite this four-fold division of the Jaina *mahākāvyas*, the various forms are frequently seen to intermingle. Not unoften, it is the preponderance of the particular style that decides the form. As it analyses and illustrates the various metres, Māṇikyacandra's *Śrīdharacarita*, for instance, can be justly rated as a *śāstra-kāvya*. Its smooth language and refined style, on the other hand, entitle it to be a literary poem. However, the spate of puranic contents in the last two cantos so overwhelms the poem that everything else is swept away and one is perforce driven to view it as a puranic *mahākāvya*. On account of its being an authentic source of Hīravijaya's life and the saga of his friendship with the Mughal emperor Akbar, *Hīrasaubhāgya* of Devavimala can be claimed to be a historical poem. But the way it contributes to perpetuate the Naiṣadha-tradition and the myriad poetic excellences that adorn it, couple to elevate it to the pinnacle of a literary *mahākāvya*.

The rhetorical injunctions with respect to the hero (*nāyaka*) of the poem[12] have met the approbation of the authors of the Jaina *mahākāvyas*, only partially. It is perfectly in keeping with the theory to accord to the divine figures or kings of *kṣatriya* race the status of the hero. But in elevating the personages, not recommended by theory, howsoever great and noble they might have been, the Jaina poets make a conscious departure from the established norm. It is evidently an attempt

to bring the *mahākāvya* down to the earth from ethereal heights. The heroes of *Hīrasaubhāgya*, *Somasaubhāgya*, *Sumatisambhava* etc. are scions of the third *varṇa*.

Some of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* are noted for the plurality of heroes, though they do not invariably belong to the same race (*Ekavaṁśabhavāḥ*). Bāhubali in *Puṇyakuśala's Bharatabāhubali-mahākāvya* (BBM), for example, so thoroughly permeates the warp and woof of the poem and meets such a sublime culmination that, by no stretch of imagination, can he be debunked from the highest pedestal. He is always more than a match to his elder brother Bharata, the acknowledged hero of the poem. It would be odious to treat him as a '*pratināyaka*'.[13] With his piety and towering personality, Hīravijaya sūri, like his pupil Vijayasena, is the undisputed co-hero of the *Vijayapraśasti-mahākāvya* (VPM). The *kāvya-maṇḍana* and *Saptasaṁdhāna* are unique in having five and seven incumbents respectively.

A vast majority of heroes in the Jaina *mahākāvyas* are endowed with the virtues, a *Dhīrodātta* type is required to imbibe.[14] However, such poems are also not wanting whose heroes, with their equanimity and detachment, belong to the *Dhīrapraśānta* class. The *Neminātha-mahākāvya*, *Somasaubhāgya*, *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* are some of the poems sanctified by such noble characters. The incumbent in Ratnacandra's *Pradyumnacariya* bristles with the traits of a *Dhīroddhātta nāyaka*. The hero of Padmanābha's *Yaśodharacarita*, on the other hand, is devoid of qualities like self-restraint, farsightedness, discernment and circumspection that are usually associated with a worthy hero.

To admit *Dhīrapraśānta* and *Dhīroddhatta* hero in defiance of the norms, is another notable feature of the Jaina *mahākāvyas*.

Quietism as the principal sentiment in the *mahākāvya* is commended by theory,[15] but it did not somehow much fascinate the non-Jaina writers. The number of the non-Jaina *mahākāvyas*, wherein the *śānta-rasa* is accorded the dominant position, is indeed limited. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, have raised it to sublime heights by admitting it as the chief sentiment (*aṅgī rasa*) in their poems. According to an ancient tradition, recorded by the Kannada poet Ranna. Jitendra is the sole upholder of quietism and 'knowledge of his true nature' (*tattvajñāna*) is its chief feeling (*sthāyibhāva*).[16] Hemacandra also seems to implicitly support the tradition.[17] To the Jaina poets quietism is the king of *rasas* (*rasādhirāja*) and a poem meets fulfilment only if it is thoroughly pervaded with the *Śānta-rasa*.[18] It was natural for the puranic poems to have been imbued with quietism, but interestingly even the literary *mahākāvyas* with heroic or erotic as the principal sentiment frequently culminate into quietism. The *Śrīdharacarita* and BBM deserve special mention in this regard. It was indeed an achievement for the Jaina poets to establish quietism as *aṅgī rasa* in the *mahākāvya*.

Contrary to the poeticians, the Jaina poets are equivocal, rather contradictory, in their views on the status the erotic sentiment to be allowed in the *mahākāvya*. To Ratnacandra, the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa* is abhorrent like the *kiṁpāka*.[19] Padmasundara, on the other hand, places it on the highest rung.[20] He is, unambiguous in his belief that a poem without *śṛṅgāra* is worthless like a straw-man.[21] Though in the flush of emotion, Nayacandra is also disposed to catapult '*ratirasa*' higher than the heavenly domain of '*paramātma-rasa*;[22] but his considered view appears to be somewhat different. He is insistent that whatever be the dominant sentiment in the poem, an imaginative touch of *śṛṅgāra* heightens it beyond measure.[23] There is obvious disparity between *śṛṅgāra* and the objectives the Jaina poets covertly espouse in the *mahākāvya*. However, they have not only accorded the highest position to *Śṛṅgāra*, but have also delineated it, perhaps in imitation of Māgha, with such abandon that they emerge, not infrequently, as uncanny masters of the science of love. It is also a measure of Māgha's influence on them that they have fondly depicted *Śṛṅgāra*, in its varied ramifications, with brutal frankness, even in poems that have *vīra* as their chief sentiment, with the result that auxiliary *rasa* overpowers the dominant sentiment and these poems appear to be basically the thesaurus of *śṛṅgāra*. However, such unbriddled depiction of *śṛṅgāra* is not in tune with the monastic inhibitions of the Jaina poets. After all, woman to them is a crucible of filth, excreta and urine.[24] They seem to have indulged in these gimmicks merely to honour the precepts of the poeticians.

Besides the historical *mahākāvya*, some of the literary poems also have *vīra* as their principal sentiment. Nayacandra, who had earlier expressed himself in favour of *śṛṅgāra*, has now no hesitation in putting the heroic sentiment (*samarasambhava-rasa*) on a higher plane.[25] In the name of *vīra-rasa* the Jaina *mahākāvyas* are more prone to focus on mannerisms like the twang of bows, trumpetings of elephants, dance of headless bodies (*kabandhas*), polemics and duels of the warring opponents, as a prelude to the final combat. The most absurd depiction of *vīra-rasa* is to be found in the *Śrīdharacarita*. Frequent intervention of the divine agencies, application of various lores and sudden eruption of the hero's compassion combine to convert the combat therein into a fictitious exercise. But violence is basically abhorrent to the Jaina monks. The desire to conform to theory seems to have been the sole rationale behind its depiction in their poems. Otherwise battle in their ethos is synonymous with poison and what to speak of weapons, fighting even with flowers is despicable.[26] The statement in HM—*na puṣpairpi prahartvyavidhirvidheyaḥ* (12. 83)—after prolonged description of the Rajputs' fight with the Khalji hordes, otherwise ridiculous, has to be viewed in this light.

Bhavabhūti, who deems fulfilment of the *karuṇa-rasa* in its capacity to move the stone to tears and to pierce the heart of the thunderbolt;[27] set the trend for the Jaina poets to follow in depicting the pathos. Like him, they are also disposed to treat wailings (*vilāpa*) as the potent substitute to pathos. The *karuṇa-rasa*, as detailed

in the Jaina *mahākāvya*, is, therefore, bereft of the incisive suggestiveness that characterises Kālidāsa's *karuṇa*. It at times touches the depths of heart, but the Jaina poets are more enamoured of recounting the supposedly unmatched virtues of the deceased and cursing the fate to hasten his fall, rather than stirring the human heart to its moorings. And that, in their opinion, constitutes its success. It would be, therefore, an extravagant evaluation to rate this superficial depiction of pathos in the Jaina *mahākāvyas* as 'a heart-moving torrent'.[28]

Other anciliary sentiments also contribute to heighten the pleasure the *mahākāvya* seeks to impart. Horror does not claim much of place in Sanskrit literature. The *bībhatsa-rasa*, as it is delineated in *kāvyamaṇḍana* and *Kumārapālacarita*, serves to attenuate the deficiency.

Some of the gifted Jaina poets are precisely aware of the importance of *rasa* in the *mahākāvya*. The YS, BBH, HM and SDC are so criss-crossed by currents of various *rasas* that they may justly be called fountain heads of *prapānaka-rasa*. Reversely, some of the poems like *Vastupālacarita* and *Somasaubhāgya* are devoid of soul and one hardly encounters therein any drops of sentiments.

With a view to strengthen the theme and to lend it variety and charm, the Jaina *mahākāvyas*, not unoften, break into poetic digressions. It is doubtless backed by rhetorical tenets.[29] The digressions are intended to serve two-fold purpose. On the one hand, they bring into relief the equipment of the poet in various arts and sciences besides his poetic talents, on the other they tend to reflect the contemporary society in its various facets. It is futile to expect all the poems to mirror, like Kālidāsa, the milieu in its entirety; but some of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* present a faithful picture of society and, as such, form a reliable source of social history.

For some of the motifs that distinguish these descriptions, the Jaina poets are obviously indebted to masters like Kālidāsa and Māgha. The description of dawn in the fifth canto (65-76) of *Raghuvaṁśa*, for instance, has deeply influenced the Jaina *mahākāvyas*. Jayaśekhara, Padmasundara and Kīrtirāja not only share with *Raghuvaṁśa* the locale in positioning their corresponding descriptions towards the close of the canto,[30] but have liberally borrowed some of its mannerisms also. The amorous descriptions of water-sports, boozing, copulation etc. in the heroic themes owe themselves to Māgha. Bhāravi and Māgha had exploited these amourettes to demonstrate their undisputed skill in the art of love (*kāmakalā*); but subsequently they established themselves as mannerisms that filtered down to many a *mahākāvya*. It is surprising that the Jaina poets have no qualms in transplanting these frivolities in poems where they run counter to their noble finale and avowed objective. The depiction of nature in the Jaina *mahākāvyas* also follows, both in style and contents, the trend set by Māgha. In close imitation of Māgha, the Jaina poets vie with each other to work up the banal figure of speech *Yamaka* in detailing nature in its different hues. The device

of *svayaṁvara* and the combat that invariably follows between the contending rivals thereafter, is first encountered in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI-VII). With unending prolixity and divine participation, Śrīharṣa, though himself indebted to Kālidāsa, has consigned it deep under the layers of improbabilities. While the depiction of *svayaṁvara* in *Kāvya-maṇḍana* and *Śrīdharacarita* closely follows Kālidāsa in moderation and poetic beauties; the impact of *Naiṣadha-carita* (NC) on Padmasundara is too deep to be belied. However, the description in *Yadusundara* (IV-VI), notwithstanding the divine claimants who descend upon the Vidyādhara metropolis, is not wholly divorced from reality, though it could have been profitably compressed further.

The impatience of the womenfolk to have a glimpse of the hero is one such motif that has nothing in theory to buttress it. Originating in Aśvaghoṣa, the device, however, so captured the imagination of the successive generations of poets that it came to command unwritten sanction. The popularity it gained, over the years, can be gauged from the fact that almost all the classical poets contributed, in their own way, to establish it on firm footing. The motif filtered down to the Jaina *mahākāvyas* as well and their authors readily exploited it to suit their purpose. While Jayaśekhara, Padmasundara and Kīrtirāja, obviously in imitation of the classical masters, have used the motif in the context of marriage;[31] the authors of HS, SS and *Vijayapraśasti* have described the onrush to spotlight the eagerness of the city-damsels to see the *kumāra*, proceeding to embrace asceticism. Kālidāsa had elevated the motif to its climax. Therefore, despite their unquestioned predilection for it, the subsequent poets including the Jaina writers, only echo Kālidāsa's ideas.

The forays of the warring forces prefixed to the final combat of the main contenders have their genesis in the parallel descriptions of Bhāravi (XVII-XVIII) and Māgha (XVIII-XX), who have been chiefly instrumental in whipping them into a mannerism. These digressive descriptions are met with in almost all the Jaina *mahākāvyas* that have *vīra* as their principal sentiment, though they are not always uniform in their worth.

Some of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* are primarily intended to parallel the illustrious classical poems. In the conception and execution of its theme, arrangement of various situations, depiction of *rasa* and close adherence to the tradition, the BBM is heavily indebted to Māgha.[32] Meghavijaya's *Devānanda-mahākāvya* not only follows the *Śiśupālavadha* in the scheme of its theme; it also serves to project the author's unquestioned learning by subjecting the first seven cantos of Māgha's poem to *samasyā-pūrti*. Māgha is indeed the undisputed master of post-Kālidāsa era. Even a gifted historiographer of Nayacandra's stature has not been able to resist his pervasive impact. While these poems are partially inspired by Māgha, the *Jaina Kumārasambhava* is evidently intended to be a counterpart to Kālidāsa's famed poem. Yadusundara, on the other hand, represents an interesting adaptation of Śrīharṣa's

magnum opus, the *Naiṣadhacarita*. Quite of few of other Jaina *mahākāvyas* are imbued, in a variety of ways, with the legacy of their predecessors.

It is indeed true that literature to the Jaina poets is not an exercise in artistry but a means to cultivate purity of conduct. However, the authors of the Jaina *mahākāvyas* were convinced that language was a potent instrument to project one's equipment in various disciplines.[33] The Jaina *mahākāvyas* are characterised by multiple tiers of language. They do not necessarily accord with the forms of the poems. A majority of literary *mahākāvyas*, besides some based on historical themes, are noted for their refined language, adorned with a variety of embellishments. Poems like JKS, HM, YS and HS abound in learned grammatical forms that represent a conscious effort to mirror the author's equipment in grammar. The *Hīrasaubhāgya* is so heavily infested with learned usages, drawn from *Naiṣadhacarita*, that they may well be catalogued into a sizable volume. The language of Meghavijaya's poems, whatever be their form, is consistently laboured and ponderous. The liberal use of *śleṣa* and *Yamaka* tends to make it a challenge even to the most mature scholarship. In poems like *Naranarāyāṇānanda*, NNM, SS, YS and *Digvijaya-mahākāvya* one is accosted by fearsome *citrakāvya* of varied sorts. The author of *Śrīdharacarita*, basically a puranic poem, has tried his hand at gimmicks like riddles and *Apabhraṁśabhāṣācitra* also. Vastupāla and Haricandra, obviously following into the footsteps of Māgha, do not hesitate to lavish one whole canto on these literary gymnastics. Whatever their worth as an index to the poet's learning, they only serve to raise frustrating impediments that have to be negotiated with diabolic grit and determination. The BBM, on the other hand, represents the other pole by virture of lucidity and simplicity of its language.

Since the puranic *mahākāvya* were primarily meant to disseminate the broad tenets of Jaina faith to the common folk, they could not simply afford to be abstruse or pedantic. In their zeal to realize the objective, the authors of these poems have not been meticulous to ensure the chastity of language. They are not only marked by a heavy sprinkling of unpāṇinian forms and *Deśī* vocabulary, they also have no hesitation in admitting a plethora of *Prākṛta gāthās* and floating verses to underline various philosophic or religious doctrines. Both in style and subject-matter, these *mahākāvyas* stand closer to the *purāṇas*.

The Jaina poets did not embark on the course of poetry to parade their scholarship, though their equipment is beyond question. With the exception of Jinapati and Meghavijaya, the figures of speech to them are not an end in themselves, but serve as a means to lend clarity to the subject. They are doubtless conversant with the utility of the *alaṁkāras* as sure instruments of embellishment,[34] but they justifiably caution moderation in their use.[35] Still, the authors of some of the poems seem to be at pains to establish their credentials as scholars well-versed in poetics, by various devices including the extravaganza of *śleṣa* and *yamaka*. Meghavijaya throws

all norms to winds in his obsession with these figures of speech. Of the *arthālaṁkāras*, the Jaina poets have taken special fancy for *upamā*. Some of their similies can be rated among the best in literature. Not unlike the classical authors, they have culled their *upamānas* from a vast range of sources. *Utprekṣā*, *Atiśayokti*, *Aprastutaprasaṁsā*, *Arthāntaranyāsa*, *Samāsokti*, *Kāvyaliṅga*, *Prativastūpamā* are some of the other *alaṁkāras* that have met their approbation.

In the use of metre the Jaina *mahākāvyas* apparently conform to the norm. Preponderance of one metre in the canto, its variation towards the close and multiety of metres in one canto—these precepts, almost in their totality, have been accepted by the Jaina authors. However, their departure from theory varies from one metre in the entire poem to plurality of metres in cantos, more than one. While the first device, particularly the use of *anuṣṭup*, serves to ensure uniformity and simplicity; the other is intended to display the poet's skill in handling various metres with ease and frequency. The *Śrīdharacarita* is remarkable not only for its use of ninety six metres, but it also seeks to illustrate the whole host from the pithy *Śrī* to the cumbersome *Daṇḍaka*. Besides pressing into service some rare metres like *Vadanaka*, *Aḍillā*, *Ākhyānakī*, *Caṇḍakāla*, Māṇikyacandra has dabbled with some *Prākṛta* and *Apabhraṁśa* metres as well. Cāritrasundaragaṇi seems to derive saddistic pleasure in confronting, in his *Kumārapālacarita*, the reader with an exuberance of metres in most of the cantos and *vargas*, the subdivisions of his *sargas*.

Thus the Jaina Sanskrit *mahākāvya*, though in essentials, a protrusion of the classical tradition, has an individuality of its own that engages attention because of its distinguishing traits.

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12. *Sadvaṁśaḥ kṣatriyo vāpi dhīrodāttaguṇānvitaḥ /*
Ekavaṁśambhavā bhūpāḥ kulajā bahavopi vā //
SD, *op. cit.*, VI. 316.
13. The detailed depiction of the *pratināyaka* has been denounced as a blemish. cf. KP, *op. cit.*, p. 362.
14. SD, *op. cit.*, VI. 32.
15. *Śṛṅgāravīraśāntānamekopi rasa iṣyate* / SD, *op. cit.*, VI. 317
16. *Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture*: Ed. R.C. Dvivedi, Delhi, p. 43
17. *Tathā hi tattvajñānasvabhāvasya śamasya sthāyinaḥ. . . /*
KAS, *op. cit.*, viveka, p. 121.
18. *Rasādhirājaṁ sevasva śāntam / Pradyumnacarita* (PC), XII. 243; *Śāntai rasaiḥ pūritaḥ / Hīrasaubhāgya*, XI. 94.
19. *Kimpākasadṛśaṁ muñca śṛṅgāram virasam puraḥ* / PC, XII. 243.
20. *Anyarasātiśayī śṛṅgārah / Yadusundara* (YS), VI. 53.
21. *Akabarasahiśṛṅgāradarpaṇa*, Ed. K. Mādhavakṛṣṇa, Bikaner, V. S. 2000 (1943 A.D.).
22. *Ratirasaṁ paramātmarasādhikam* / HM. VII. 104.
23. *Raso'sti yah kopi param saḥ kiñcinnarpṛṣṭaśṛṅgāraraso rasāya* / HM, XIV. 36.
24. *Purīṣamātramāṣāsu Yoṣāsu / Śrīdharacarita*, IX. 144; *Jambūsvāmicarita*, X. 13; HM, VIII. 44. Also compare *Puruṣārthopadeśa* (Ed. K.V. Sarma), Hoshiarpur, 1969, Verse 28.
25. *Śṛṅgārataḥ samarasambhavo raso nānaṁ viśeṣamadhuratvamañcati* / HM, XII. 13.
26. *sangaro gara ivākalanīyah* / BBM, XVI. 21; *vigraho na puṣpairapi kāryaḥ* / *Ibid.*, XVI, 24.
27. *Uttararāmacarita* (Ed. M.R. Kale), Bombay, 1924, I, 28.
28. *Rājasthān kā Jaina Sāhitya*, Jaipur, 1977, Introduction, p. 17.
29. SD, *op. cit.*, VI. 322-323.
30. *Jaina Kumārasambhava*, X. 70-84; *Yadusundara*, XII. 59-88; *Neminātha-mahākāvya*, II. 36-62.
31. *Jaina Kumārasambhava*, V. 37-45; *Yadusundara*, VII. 73-87; *Neminātha-mahākāvya*, X. 13-24.
32. For detailed discussion on the subject see my paper 'Sources of Puṇyakuśala's Bharata-bāhubali-mahākāvya', *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 3-4 p. 280-86
33. *Ākṛtyaivāvabuddhaṁ ca Paṇḍitynmiua bhāṣayā / Pārśvanāthacarita*, III. 161.
34. *Sālaṁkāroh kāveḥ kāvyasandarbh iva vyabhāt / Pārśvānāth-mahākāvya*, III. 156.
35. *Yathaucityamalaṁkārān sthāpayāmasa pārthivaḥ / Pārsavanāthacarita*, IV. 291.

25

Yaksha-worship in Kurukshetra

O.P. BHARADWAJ

The history of Yakṣa-worship goes back to hoary antiquity. It was widely prevalent in India and its neighbouring countries since immemorial times.[1] However, while it may well be called pre-Vedic[2] there is hardly any justification for describing it as non-Aryan or pre-Aryan.[3]

In later literature the Yakṣas are usually bracketed with the Asuras, Rākṣasas and Piśācas[4] and placed by lexicons[5] in the category of demi-gods like Vidyādharas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Guhyakas, Siddhas and Bhūtas. These demi-gods share some peculiar characteristics so that distinction in their worship is often blurred even where the presiding deity is specifically named, as we find in case of Muñja-vaṭa. At this *tirtha* the same deity has been described as a Piśācī[6] and Rākṣasī[7] in the *Mahābhārata* and as a Yakṣiṇī in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.[8]

The word Yakṣa has been derived from the root √यक्ष् (यक्ष्-अ) "to speed on, to manifest", in the sense of "a mysterious being", "a supernatural being revealing himself suddenly" (as did the Yakṣa to Yudhiṣṭhira in the Vana Parva of the *Mbh.*) as well as in the sense of (यक्ष्-इन) "pursuing-avenging" which reminds us of his later characteristic of "seizing, possessing" expressed in the term 'Yakṣa-*graha*[9]'. Piśāca (=Piśitāśa) is "one who eats raw flesh" (पिशितं मांसमश्नातीति=पिशित+अश्—अ).[10] Yakṣa has thus a split personality, as it were, both pleasant and unpleasant while Piśāca has little pleasant about him. This etymological dichotomy between the pleasant and unpleasant or benevolent and malevolent aspects of the personality of Yakṣa persists all along through the ages.

The word Yakṣa occurs several times in the *Ṛgveda* (*R.V.*)[11], the oldest literary testament of mankind and, although the meaning assigned to it is not always free from doubt, it has often been made to yield a sense which is not entirely unhelpful for our purpose. In vii. 56.16,[12] Yakṣas are mentioned as models of beauty while in x.88.13,[13] Agni is presented as more powerful than even the Yakṣa who, by implication, was counted among the powerful. By contrast in iv.3.13,[14] Agni is

requested not to visit even secretly the house of one who frequents the abode of the Yakṣa; in vii.61.5,[15] the purport appears to be that only immature and unintelligent people believe in strange gods like Yakṣas and in v.70.4,[16] the poet prays to the gods to save him from an encounter with a Yakṣa. The word Piśāca in the only instance of its appearance (i.133.5), has undoubtedly a demoniac sense.[17] In the *Atharva-veda* (*A.V.*) Yakṣa is called "a soulful prodigy"[18] and "holy folk"[19] on the one hand and "a soul-possessing monster"[20] on the other. Piśāca stands for a class of demons who "are eaters of raw flesh" (क्रव्याद्).[21] According to the *Kauśika Sūtra*[22] in a rite for curing a person caught by the Piśācas, the medicine-man-priest makes powder of Pṛṣṇiparṇī (*Hemionitis Cordifolia*), performs an offering with *A.V.*,1.35, pours the remnants of that offering on the powder, utters the same hymn on it and besmears the patient with it from top to bottom. The Piśācas were thus probably already recognised as *grahas* or seizers of human beings in the age of the *A.V.*

The position does not change in later Vedic literature. In the *Brāhmaṇas* Yakṣa appears only a few times and applies to a 'wonderous thing'.[23] However, they could not have been uniformly held in great esteem as Kubera, their king and lord in later literature, is a Rākṣasa and lord of robbers and evil doers in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[24] and his hosts appear as plagueing children in the *Sūtras*.[25] Thus even while being an ideal for beauty[26] the Yakṣa is considered an "evil being".[27] This also finds support in the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*. The *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* couples Yakṣas with Rākṣasas and Piśācas as killers.[28] So does the *Śivopaniṣad* (5, 3) which justifies their destruction.[29] According to the *Sāmarahasyopaniṣad* (v.7) worshippers of Yakṣa are always to be abandoned.[30]

The ambivalence in the attitude towards Yakṣa has left Piśāca unaffected. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[31] and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[32] (*J.B.*), we find him standing in the company of Asuras and Rākṣasas in opposition to the gods, fathers and men. According to *J.B.*[33] the wife of Triyaruṇa, king of the Ikṣvākus was a Piśācī and she suppressed the power of their fire. She is destroyed by Vṛṣa, son of Jana, the domestic priest of Triyaruṇa by reciting some verses of the *Ṛgveda*. The *Maitrāyaṇyupaniṣad*[34] describes the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Gaṇas, Piśācas, Uragas as *grahas* who seize beings. According to the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭa*[35] a town infiltrated by Piśācas, Rākṣasas and their likes soon suffers destruction of human life by epidemics.

The dual character of Yakṣa survives in Jain and Buddhist works also. Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs appear as protectors of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, each Tīrthaṅkara having a Yakṣa and a Yakṣiṇī as attendants.[36] They are called Vyantara or gods of intermediate status[37] and said to be dwelling in unoccupied houses, trees, forests or woods, ponds etc. which are then said to be possessed (*adhiṣṭhita*) by them.[38] Their temples known as Yakṣāyatanas, Yakṣakulas, Yakṣagṛhas or Yakṣabhavanas, Yakṣaprāsādas and Yakṣacaityas were located outside the city[39] and visited by dubious characters like the robber Vijaya who was in the habit of wandering through

gambling dens, drink-saloons, courtesans' houses and cross-roads.[40] Some Yakṣas are devoted to the Buddha[41] while others molest his followers in their woodland haunts.[42] In the Ayakūṭajātaka Yakṣas annoyed with the Buddha, on being denied *bali*, plan his assassination.[43] There are direct references to sacrificial offerings to the Yakṣa demons in the Jātakas.[44] Malalasekera[45] classifies different kinds of Yakṣas, known in Buddhism, as spirits, ogres, dryads, ghosts, spooks—generally speaking decadent divinities—beings half deified, having a deva's supernatural powers, particularly as regards influencing people, partly helpful, partly harmful. At many places Devatā and Yakṣa are synonymous.[46] Nonetheless there is a tendency in Buddhism to restrict the designation Yakṣa to demons.[47] A passage in the *Dīghanikāyo* sums up all the demoniac attributes of a Yakṣa.[48] In later Buddhist literature they have been degraded to the state of red-eyed cannibal ogres.[49] The female Yakṣas (Yakṣiṇīs) are, in these cases, more fearful and evil-minded than the male. They eat flesh and blood and devour even men and corpses. They eat babies and are full of spite and vengeance. Jātaka stories abound in instances of this nature.[50]

In the Epics and *Purāṇas* the degeneration of Yakṣa to his malevolent self is largely accomplished and he gradually becomes almost a regular member of the Asura-Gandharva-Bhūta-Piśāca-Guhyaka-Vetāla group.[51] It is in keeping with this development that the *Rāmāyaṇa*[52] derives Yakṣa from the root Yakṣ "to gobble". Tāḍakā, originally a Yakṣiṇī, becomes a Rākṣasī[53] while Ulūkhalamekhalā is at the same time a Yakṣī, Piśācī as well as a Rākṣasī.[54] Although at one place the *Rāmāyaṇa*[55] compares them to blooming lotuses in the sky at another[56] they are described with the Rākṣasas and horrifying Piśācas as creatures who wander in the night. Manu[57] mentions meat and intoxicating drinks as the food of Yakṣas, Piśācas and Gandharvas. In the *Mahābhārata*[58] Rākṣasas, Piśācas and others of their group are known as "eaters of raw flesh". They eat human flesh and drink blood.[59] The Yātudhānas and Piśācas steal oblations.[60] The Yakṣī named Jarā of Rājagṛha is described as मांसशोणितभोजना.[61] There are Piśācagrahas and Yakṣagrahas.[62] One possessed by a Yakṣa soon turns mad and is known as Yakṣagraha.[63] The *Purāṇas* give a detailed account of the nature, food and habitat of the Piśācas. They are said to dwell or congregate in cremation grounds together with Bhūtas, Vetālas, Yakṣas etc. and move about at twilight frequenting deserted houses, royal roads and doorways.[64] One who sees them or other demons will die within nine months. They can be propitiated with small and mean offerings such as food that has been sneezed or stepped on, food mixed with hair, insects or tears, or licked by a dog, or unconsecrated food. They are given offerings of liquor, flesh, rice, curd, sesamum, incense, black cloth etc. They have the power of invisibility and can easily enter the mouth of anyone and penetrate to the intestines and they feed on faeces.[65] The Yakṣas, just by a glance, the Rākṣasas by entering and the Piśācas by afflicting or pressing, drink the blood and eat the flesh and marrow of human beings.[66]

According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[67] the Rākṣasas, deranged by hunger, attacked, together with the Yakṣas, Brahman himself who had assumed a nightlike body, and the creator cried out to them not to eat, but to protect him. Their king is Kubera, the lord of Alakā.[68] Ulūkhala-Ulūkhalī are counted among Piśāca couples.[69] We shall revert to them again.

Still later about the second half of the 11th century A.D. we come across a Yakṣa as gigantic as a mountain in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[70] In the same work[71] Bhūtivarmā Rākṣasa tells Kāṇabhūti that the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas rejoice in the night since, eclipsed by the brilliance of the sun, they wield no power during the day. A Vidyādharī named Madanamañcukā makes an offering of wine, flesh and other dainties with her own hand to Yakṣas.[72] We hear of a Yakṣiṇī of heavenly beauty, surrounded by many Yakṣas with feet turned the wrong way and squinting eyes, enjoying all kinds of meat and drink.[73] Four Pāśupata ascetics stay overnight in a deserted temple of Śiva in a wood where each one of them falls prey to Yakṣiṇī Śṛṅgotpādinī who, playing on a lute of bones recites a charm which produces horns on him. Bewildered he rises up and dances till he falls into the blazing fire from which he is dragged out half-burnt by the Yakṣiṇī and devoured with delight. She is ultimately subdued by their companion Niścayadatta.[74] A Yakṣa named Supratika is turned into a Piśāca by the curse of Kubera.[75]

The *Nilamata Purāṇa*[76] relates a story according to which Kashmir was occupied, in consequence of a curse of Kaśyapa for six months of each year by the Piśācas, who forced the human settlers to retire from the country from the full moon day of Aśvayuja to that of Caitra. The *Grāmadevatāpratiṣṭhā*[77] includes Yakṣas among *grāmadevatās* in the company of Pūtanā and others who kill children, Bhūtas, Pretas and Piśācas, Kūṣmāṇḍas, Śākinīs, Ḍākinīs, Vetālas and others. As V.S. Agrawal[78] has shown Yakṣa-cult is still widely prevalent in the form of worship of various local male and female deities like Bīrs or Pīrs, Mātās and Yoginīs. However, now it rests more on fear than on genuine respect.

Having formed an idea of the character of the Yakṣas and their kin and of the nature of Yakṣa-worship we can take up a brief survey of the Yakṣa cult in Kurukṣetra. The observations arising from the evidence of our earliest literary works are of course, largely relevant in case of Kurukṣetra which is regarded as the cradle of Indian civilisation. We shall therefore take note of more specific traditions only. In the remote past when the austerities of king Kuru were successful god Viṣṇu, granting him the desired boons, assigned for the protection of Kurujāṅgala the Yakṣa named Candra, the serpent Vāsuki, the Vidyādhara Śaṅkukarṇa, the Rākṣasa chief Sukeśi, the king Ajāvana and the great god Agni.[79] A Yakṣa was thus associated with the region from the very day it acquired the name Kurukṣetra. A verse common to the *Mahābhārata*[80] and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[81]

describes the heartland of Kurukṣetra, with a radius of five *yojanas* on all sides and therefore known as Samantapañcaka, as bounded on its four corners by four Yakṣas called Dvārapālas or guardian deities. This core of the country was also named Uttaravedī of god Brahmā.[82] The four Yakṣas were Tarantuka, Arantuka, Kapila and Macakruka.[83] Cunningham[84] has identified Tarantuka with Ratan Yakṣa in the N.E. corner close to the town of Pipli on the G.T. Road near the Sarasvatī, Arantuka with village Ber or Baher to the N.W. of Kaithal where a Yakṣa Kuṇḍa exists, Macakruka with village Sinkh in the S.E. corner and Kapila Mahāyakṣa of Rāmahrada with the present town of Ram Rai in the S.W. corner where we have a *tīrtha* named after Kapila. In place of Rāmahrada the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[85] names the *tirtha* Muñjavaṭa which local tradition connects with a neighbouring village called Barahban. The *Mahābhārata*[86] describes one *Śaṅkhatīrtha*, three other *tirthas* away from Vinaśana upstream on the Sarasvatī, where Yakṣas, Vidyādharas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas and Siddhas in thousands subsisted on the fruit of that tree while moving about unseen by human beings.

As the statement appended at the end shows the identification of the towns associated with the four guardian Yakṣas of Kurukṣetra is by no means free from confusion. Some other suggestions, even though rather unorthodox, are more in keeping with the traditional geographical definition of Kurukṣetra, as a sacrificial altar given in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* with Khāṇḍava as the southern half, Srughna the northern half, Pariṇat the lower or western half and Marus or the Rajasthan desert as its Utkara or rubbish heap. V S. Agrawal[87] places Macakruka Yakṣa at Jakhala in the N.W. of Kurukṣetra across the Sarasvatī-Ghaggar. The name is probably a corrupt form of Yakṣasthala and its location makes it an ideal site for the Yakṣa Dvārapāla in the N.W. corner. There are other centres of Yakṣa-worship like Jakhepal identified with village Yakṣapālaka[88] and Patran identified with Pāṭalā[89] in the same region. The *Vāmana Purāṇa*[90] names Mālavaṭa Yakṣa near Pañcanada. Some other Yakṣas are also mentioned in the region.[91] The pilgrim is advised to go to Pañcanada after propitiating Rantuka or Arantuka Yakṣha.[92] Since Pañcanada figures as a *tirtha* it obviously refers to the place below Multan, now in Pakistan which went by this name[93] and not generally to Punjab as a land of five rivers. If Rantuka or Arantuka was near Pañcanada we have to place one of the Dvārapāla Yakṣas of Kurukṣetra somewhere deep in the Marus which agrees better with its traditional western corner.[94] Placing all the four Dvārapālas to make a much smaller rectangle within the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvatī *doab* would lead to the conclusion that the geographical definition of Kurukṣetra had shrunk to denote a very small unit by the age of the Great Epic and the *Purāṇas*.[95]

The *Āṭānāṭiya*[96] *Sutta* contains a vivid description of the Yakkha kingdom of Uttarakuru which, according to Buddhist literature, denoted the hilly region to the north of Kurukṣetra extending from Srughna into the high Himalayas.[97] In the

Dīghanikāya two Yakkhas, Yugandhara[98] and Serīsaka,[99] are mentioned who were apparently the guardians of the two important towns of Yugandhara or Jagadhari in the N.E. and Śairīsaka or Sirsa in the N.W. The *Mahāmāyūri*, translated into Chinese in the 4th century A.D.,[100] gives names of numerous localities together with the names of their presiding Yakṣas Several of these are from Kurukṣetra. The text assigns Kapila Yakṣa to Bahudhānyaka,[101] the country about Rohtak,[102] Mālyadhara[103] and Muñjakeśa[104] to Agrodaka or the present town of Agroha,[105] Kārttikeya to Rohitaka or Rohtaka,[106] Duryodhana[107] and Siddhayātra[108] to Srughna identified with the site of Sugh near Jagadhari,[109] Arjuna to Arjunāvana,[110] Purañjaya to Yaudheya,[111] Sthuṇa to Sthūṇa[112] and the Yakṣa chiefs Tarārka and Kutarārka,[113] and the well-known Yakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā[114] generally to Kurukṣetra. The last three immediately remind us of Dvārapālas Tarantuka and Arantuka[115] and Yakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā wife of Kapila Yakṣa[116] of Rāmahrada.[117]

The *Mahāmāyūri* is supposed to belong to the class of works called the Dhāraṇīs or "protective spells" which constitute a large and important part of Mahāyānist Buddhist literature. It is one of the five Dhāraṇīs collectively entitled Pañcarakṣā which is extremely popular in Nepal. The other four Dhāraṇīs are *Mahāpratisarā* for protection against sin, disease and other evils, *Mahāsahasrapramardini* against evil spirits, *Mahāśītavati* against hostile planets, wild animals, poisonous insects and *Mahā* (*rakṣā*) *mantrānusāriṇi* against diseases. The *Mahāmāyūrī* frequently entitled Vidyārājñī—"Queen of secret sciences"—is for protection against snake-poison. It takes its name from the notorious hostility of *mayūra* (peacock) towards the snakes, but was also used as a general remedy for diseases.[118]

The popularity of the *Mahāmāyūri* in Kurukṣetra of the 7th century A.D. deserves special notice. In the *Harṣacarita*[119] Bāṇa describes how Harṣavardhana, returning in haste on account of his fathers' terminal illness, enters the royal palace and finds people performing various kinds of ceremonies and sacrifices and chanting the *Mahāmāyūrī* hymn. This popularity of *Mahāmāyūri* need not be taken to reflect the spread of Buddhism in the region. In spite of extensive proselytising activity by Gautama Buddha himself and zealous royal patronage extended particularly by Aśoka and Kaniṣka Buddhism failed to make a dent in the religious leanings of the people of Kurukṣetra.[120] The Nalanda Clay Seal and Sonepat Copper Seal[121] and Madhuban Plate[122] inscriptions of Harṣa describe his father as a *Paramādityabhakta* (devout worshipper of Āditya or sun) and *Varṇāśramavyavasthāpanapravṛttacakra* (the upholder of *Varṇāśramadharma*). According to Bāṇa, the conversion to Buddhism of Harṣa and his sister took place only after the completion of his conquests under the influence of the Buddhist ascetic Divākaramitra.[123] Even then he did not patronise Buddhism to the exclusion of other religions. His inscriptions refer to him as a *Paramamāheśvara* (devout Śaiva) and his Sonepat seal as well as the seal presented to him by a village headman, as recorded in the Harṣacarita, bore a Nandī device, while his coins carry Śaiva devices.[124]

As observed by Winternitz[125] 'the Dhāraṇīs belong to a period at which Buddhism in India began to be more and more assimilated to Hinduism, while outside India it tended to make compromises and to become contaminated by the popular religions of the countries in question. In the course of time the difference between the Dhāraṇis and the Mantras belonging to the Tantras, became more and more obliterated and finally the Dhāraṇis were completely supplanted by the Mantras." There is for instance "a Gaṇapati Dhāraṇī, addressed to the Śivaite god Gaṇapatī in spite of the fact that it is proclaimed by Buddha". This observation finds full support in the prevalence of Śaivism and Tāntric worship in Kurukṣetra side by side with the popularity of the *Mahāmāyūrī* as testified by Bāṇa. The *Harṣacarita*[126] narrates the performance of the exordium of the potent rite *Mahākālahṛdaya* in the great cemetry by Bhairavācārya with the active assistance of none else but king Puṣpabhūti, the progenitor of the dynasty. The rite was performed in the night and its successful completion involved the subduing of a Vetāla or goblin, a ghost occupying a dead body. The people in the capital city of Sthāṇvīśvara are said to have included worshippers of Caṇḍī and Mahākāla.[127] The Bhairavācārya too, was a Śākta who had offered human flesh to Śakti and the Piśācas and thereby secured superhuman powers.[128] Evidently, therefore, the reason for the popularity of the *Mahāmāyūrī* in Sthāṇvīśvara was not the popularity of Buddhism but the fact that it was not considered an exclusively Buddhist text any more.

To some of the Yakṣas the *Mahāmāyūrī* assigns whole *Janapadas* or districts/regions instead of single towns. Thus Kapila is the presiding Yakṣa of Bahudhānyaka or the region around Rohtak, which was conquered by Nakula after vanquishing the Mattamayūraka Yaudheya warriors in a fierce fight.[129] Arjuna Yakṣa presides over Arjunāvana which is probably a scribal error for Ārjunāyana, the country where the Ārjunāyanas held sway.[130] Purañjaya Yakṣa is assigned to Yaudheya which is described as a *Janapada* in the *Yaśastilakacampu*[131] with its capital at Rajapur identified with the present town of Rajpura situated on the G.T. Road about 25 kms. from Ambala on the way to Ludhiana.[132] The town would be an appropriate choice for a capital of the Yaudheyas, at any time, controlled the whole of Haryana and Punjab upto the Sutlej as the wide provenance of their coins suggests.[133] Yakṣa chiefs Tarārka and Kutarārka and the Mahāyakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā also commanded a very wide area of influence as they have been assigned to Kurukṣetra generally which was in early ages almost coterminus with the present state of Haryana.

Archaeological evidence also confirms the prevalence of Yakṣa cult almost all over the region. Yakṣa images provide the earliest specimens of lithic art in India.[134] They can be distinguished by their colossal size, massive build, emphasis on muscular strength, a bulging belly, a turban on the head, scarf thrown on shoulders and arms with a knot around the chest, *dhoti* as a lower garment fastened with

a girdle, heavy ear-rings, heavy torque, flat triangular necklace and armlets with feathered projections.[135] Yakṣa sculptures have been recovered from places scattered all over Kurukṣetra and even across its boundaries :

(i) A head and bust of a colossal Yakṣa image of red sandstone was found at Palwal in Gurgaon district in 1914 and is now deposited in the Provincial Museum Lucknow (0.107). The style of the turban and the torque, the necklace and the armlets with feathered projections seen in the side view, all point to the image being an early Yakṣa type that may be assigned to the early Śuṅga period about the second century B.C.[136]

(ii) Two Yakṣa sculptures have been reported by D.S. Punia,[137] one from village Bhadas, 63 kms. south of Gurgaon on the Delhi-Alwar road and the other from village Hathin, 77 kms. south-east of Gurgaon on the Palwal-Hathin road. The Bhadas figure (190 × 26.67 cm.) carved on a railing pillar in red sandstone, with mutilated face and headgear, wearing a *dhotī*, a seven-stringed bracelet reaching above the navel, seven-stringed armlets and five-stringed wristlets, stands in a *samabhaṅga* pose on a fish-tailed *makara*. The Hathin sculpture, similarly carved on a railing pillar (142.50×25.40 cm.) of red sandstone, stands in *samabhaṅga* pose on a *bhāravāhaka* dwarf who appears to support the pillar. In this case too the face and headgear are partly mutilated. The figure wears a *dhotī* tied with a *kāyabandha*, a *saṅghāṭi* as upper garment and four-stringed bangles. Both sculptures appear to belong to the Śuṅga period.

(iii) One beautiful image of a Yakṣī was recovered from Mehrauli near Delhi which was traditionally a part of ancient Kurukṣetra. It is preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (No. A-29). Made in buff sandstone, the Yakṣī is shown standing under a tree, embracing its trunk with her left arm in an attitude suggesting a Śālabhañjikā figure and has been assigned to the second century B.C.[138]

(iv) The ancient mound of Khokrakot at Rohtak yielded a carved lion-capital fragment, 3 ft. in width and 18 inches in height which is now preserved at the National Museum in New Delhi. On one side of this fragment two winged lions (*sapakṣa siṁhas*) are seated facing in opposite directions while its backside carries lions without wings with a couple holding reins in a traditional manner. The figure to the left is a Yakṣī and to the right a male Yakṣa offering her a cup of wine with his extended right hand, in a pleasant mood.[139]

(v) About 8 kms. to the S.S.E. of Thanesar, in village Amin, the traditional site of the Cakravyūha in the Mahābhārata war,[140] were discovered two inscribed red stone rectangular pillars from the Thakurji shrine on the west bank of the tank called Suraj Kunda. R.C. Agrawal[141] and A.K. Coomaraswami[142] place these pillars some-

where in the Śuṅga period. The pillar to the left side depicts a male person in the *sthānaka mudrā* wearing a typical Śuṅga turban, a *dhoti* tightened with the help of a *kāyabandha* (waist-cloth), long ear rings and two full-bloomed lotuses carved above his head. The figure has been identified with a Padma-Pāṇi Yakṣa who appears to be pondering over some problem out of great anxiety.

The pillar to the right side depicts a couple in an amorous scene. The lady with very large breasts wears a typical Śuṅga turban, three necklaces, heavy *kuṇḍalas* in her ears and a *dhoti* tightened with a *kāyabandha*. She is looking with a smile at the male who holds a wine cup in his left hand. The couple is taken to represent a Yakṣa *mithuna*.

Moving further in the north, the well known site of Sanghol, about 40 kms. from Chandigarh on the road to Ludhiana, has yielded a number of interesting sculptures carved on railing pillars. Following four of these represent Yakṣas and Yakṣīs.

(vi) Paribhoga-darśiṇī (Yakṣī with mirror) 100 cm. (H) 19 cm (W) 15 cm (D)-Yakṣī standing gracefully over a dwarf Yakṣa and admiring herself in a mirror. Her bent left hand is holding a mirror; the index finger of her bent right hand is pointing towards nail marks (*nakha-kṣata*) in the shape of a crescent on her right cheek.[143]

(vii) Yakṣārohī (Yakṣī riding Vāma Yakṣa) : Yakṣī seen being borne by a Yakṣa under a śāla tree (*shorea robusta*). She is astride his back, her hands on his shoulders and her thighs pressing his sides, her eyes and lips curved in a joyous smile.[144]

(viii) Darpaṇa-dhāriṇī (Yakṣī with a mirror) : Yakṣī seen standing over a crouching Yakṣa under a Kadamba tree (*stephegyne parviflora*) in full bloom wearing a nūpura, *mekhalā* and necklace which she is looking in the mirror to see how it sets off her beauty.[145]

(ix) Yakṣī holding lotus flowers seen holding a bouquet of lotus flowers by their stalks in her right hand beside her face standing over the back of a kneeling Vāma Yakṣa grasping her *mekhalā* or girdle and wearing bangles on her forearms, *kuṇḍalas* in her ears and *nūpuras* on her ankles.[146]

(x) From Sirsa in the N.W. has been recovered a headless terracotta figurine depicting a pot-bellied male wearing a *yajñopavīta* and a shawl over his shoulders who apparently represents a Yakṣa.[147]

Two of these sculptures described at numbers iii and v have been counted by V.S. Agrawal[148] among 18 notable Indian Yakṣa-Yakṣī images.

But for the depredations of invading hordes from the north-west much more sculptural wealth would undoubtedly have been avaliable today because the region was in no way wanting in artistic activity. Bāṇa[149] describes Śrīkaṇṭha *Janapada*, another name for Kurukṣetra, as the country where stone-cutters were busy chiselling and carving stones for use in temples.

A peculiar aspect of the traditional attitude towards the Yakṣa *tirthas* of Kurukṣetra deserves special notice. The pilgrims are allowed only a hurried visit to these places and night stay or more than one night's stay is not permitted. We are referring particularly to Rāmahrada[150] or Muñjavaṭa, Yugandhara, Acyutasthala and Bhūtālaya.[151] Of Rāmahrada and Yugandhara the former, as already noted, is the seat of Mahāyakṣa Kapila and his wife Mahāyakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā. This is a rather strange couple. While the husband is described as the guardian of one of the gates of Kurukṣetra and is said to destroy sins and grant good position after death[152] his consort is depicted as quite the opposite of it. The *Mahābhārata*[153] calls her a Piśācī and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[154] adds the adjective *Mahāgrāhī* pointing to her demoniac characteristic of seizing body and mind of people and causing insanity etc. She comes of the family of the Piśāca couple Ulūkhala and Ulūkhalī whose horrifying looks are characterised by rigid, unwinking eyes and a long darting tongue.[155] The adjective of *Piśitāśana*-eater of raw flesh given to Piśāca, becomes really meaningful in her case in view of her threat to eat up the female pilgrim during the night[156] which is the time for the Yakṣas and Piśācas to operate. Night stay is therefore forbidden. The eating of curd, one of the items to be offered to Piśācas and Yakṣas, is disallowed at Yugandhara[157] (Jagadhari) which is the seat of the Yakṣa bearing identical name. Hardly four kms. away lies Srughna or Sugh which is assigned to two Yakṣas, Duryodhana and Siddhayātra. Acyutasthala has not been identified so far. Bhūtālaya probably signifying 'abode of Bhūtas' fellow creatures of the Yakṣas, has been placed at Jind. At Acyutasthala sleeping or night stay and at Bhūtālaya taking of bath is forbidden which confirms their Yakṣa connection. This is contrary to the normal requirement of a purifying bath at other *tirthas*. In the land of Kurukṣetra particularly, every *tirtha* has its pond or tank, often with *pucca* bathing *ghats*. At bigger sacred complexes like Thanesar there are many tanks and a dip in each one of these has its own special merit. Although the centres of Yakṣa cult present in the night an atmosphere entirely opposite to that during the day there is no doubt whatsoever the merit of visiting them during the day. In fact the pilgrim is required to begin his *tīrthayātrā* in Kurukṣetra with a visit to the Rantuka Yakṣa.[158] Also the ban on night stay is limited only to these Yakṣa *tīrthas* and does not apply to the region of Kurukṣetra generally as V.S. Agrawal thinks.[159] Kurukṣetra is the holiest of the holy *tīrthas* according to the *Mahābhārata*[160] and the *Purāṇas*[161] and there is not even a trace of any idea of Kurukṣetra-Kutsana in the Great Epic.[162]

It has been observed that in early centuries of the Christian era assimilation and synthesis of the Yakṣa cult within the fold of Śaivism was in progress.[163] The *Mahāmāyūri*[164] counts Śiva Mahākāla in its list of Yakṣas as the presiding deity of Śivapurāhāra and Varanasi. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*[165] many Yakṣas enrolled themselves as *gaṇas* of Śiva and several others got converted to Śaivism. Even Mahāyakṣa Kubera was raised to the position of Gaṇeśa and Mudgarapāṇi enrolling himself in the service of Śiva began acting as a doorkeeper of the citizens of Varanasi.[166] The phenomenon is however best illustrated by the story of Harikeśa, son of the Yakṣa king Pūrṇabhadra, who disregarding his father's opposition, worships Śiva and wins a boon to become the guardian deity—Kṣetrapāla of Varanasi and chief of all his *gaṇas* there.[167] All this however does not justify the sweeping assertion that only Yakṣa-worship existed earlier and Śiva-worship developed entirely out of the Yakṣa-cult.[168]

Fusion of the Yakṣa-cult with Tāntric worship was another contemporary and correlated phenomenon. We find the Mahāyakṣa-Senāpati figuring in a Tāntric *mantra* in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*:[169] ॐ नमः खड्गवज्रपाणये महायक्षसेनापतये स्वाहा। This process of assimilation, synthesis or fusion, whatever we might call it, was wide-spread and covered Kurukṣetra too. Mañjavaṭa, the seat of Mahāyakṣī Ulūkhalamekhalā, is called a *tīrtha* of Mahādeva and a pilgrim passing a night there is promised the status of Śiva's Gaṇapati.[170] The mention of the Yakṣiṇī there gets only the second place. Saptacaru, below Vinaśana, is a Śaiva *tirtha* also connected with Yakṣas, Guhyakas and Rākṣasas etc.[171] In case of two other *tirthas* of Śiva, namely Pañcanada and Koṭitīrtha, the pilgrim is advised to undertake a visit after first paying homage to the Yakṣa Arantuka who is one of the four Yakṣa gate-keepers of Krukṣetra.[172]

We have also seen above how Yaksiṇī Śṛṅgotpādinī devours four Pāśupata ascetics staying in a deserted Śiva temple during the night before she is subdued there.

The nexus between Śāktism and Tāntrism and Yakṣa-worship suggested by the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* above can also be similarly supported. The region dotted with centres of Yakṣa-worship has an equally generous share of Śāktapīṭhas. The names include Sarasvatī,[173] Jyotiḥsara.[174] Brahmāvarta,[175] Pṛthūdaka,[176] Ṛṇamocana, [177] Kapālamocana,[178] Oghavatī,[179] Kurukṣetra,[180] Karavīrapura[181] and Kṛtaśauca.[182] Like some of the Yakṣa-centres quite a few of the Śāktapīṭhas are located across and adjoining the boundaries of Kurukṣetra, as for instance Pāṭalā,[183] Śatadru,[184] Pañcanada,[185] Mathurā[186] and Hastināpura.[187] And of course some of these are not exclusive to one of them but common to both.

All this evidence leads to the conclusion that the Yakṣa-cult was, at one time, fairly wide-spread in the land of Kurukṣetra and its adjoining areas and constitutes an important chapter in the history of development of religious beliefs in this region.

TABLE

Yakṣas with villages/towns to which they are assigned by different authorities.

Authority	*Arantuka*	*Tarantuka*	*Macakruka*	*Kapila*
Cunningham ASR Vol. XIV (pp. 89-90)	Ber/Baher W.N.W. of Kaithal	(= Ratan Yakṣa) Near Pipli on the Sarasvatī 6 kms. N.E. of Thanesar	Sinkh (a Yakṣa-Kuṇḍa exists)	Ram Rai 17 kms. W. of Jind
Sharma R.S.	—do— (p. 33)	Sinkh (p. 29)	(=Ratnuk Yakṣa) Ratgal near Pipli (p. 28)	—do—
Dyali Ram (Hindi)	—	(=Ratan Yakṣa) Samak near Panipat (p. 63)	—	—
Dyali Ram (Urdu)	Sinkh (p. 74)	(=Ratan Yakṣa) Ratgal near Pipli (p. 66)	—	—
Silak Ram	Barta 18 kms. N.W. of Kaithal	—do— (p.16) Also (=Tarkhu Tīrtha) Sinkh, 16 kms. N. of Gohana (p. 17)	Kirmach 16 kms. S. of Thanesar (p. 16)	Ram Rai

(*Continued*)

Authority	*Vāsuki*	*Ulūkhala*	*Bhūteśvara Bhūtālaya*	*Hara Yakṣa*	*Yakṣa* (*no name given*)
Cunningham ASR Vol. XIV	—	—	—	—	Ber/Baher/Sinkh
R.S.	—	—	Jind (p. 30)	—	
Dyali Ram	—	—	Jind (p.71)	Baher W.N.W. of Kaithal (p. 83)	Kaithal (p. 85) and Samak (p. 63)
Silak Ram	Barta 18 kms. N.W. of Kaithal (p. 18)	—	Jind (p. 71) Ram Rai (p. 18) (Also locates Yugandhara at Ram Rai)	—	Dakhni Khera 8 kms. S. of Jind (p. 18)

Works cited : (i) Cunningham Alexander, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XIV (1878-79), Reprint, Varanasi 1970.
(ii) Sharma R.S., *Kurukṣetra Rahasya*, (Hindi), Jind 1926.
(iii) Dyali Ram Lala, *Kurukṣetra Darpaṇa* (Hindi), Ambala Cantt. 1941.
(iv) Dyali Ram Lala, *Kurukṣetra Darpaṇa* (Urdu), Ambala Cantt. 1941.
(v) Phogat Silak Ram, Tīrthas of Kurukṣetra as Enumerated in the *Mahābhārata* and *Vāmana Purāṇa*, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-2, 1976, pp. 14-32.

Notes and References

1. Tavakar, N.G., *The Essays throwing new light on the Gandharvas, The Apsarasas, The Yakshas & The Kinnaras*, Bombay 1971, p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
3. Coomaraswamy, Anand K., *Yakṣas*, New Delhi 1971, Intro. p. 3.
4. See the account of creation in *Manu Smṛti*, 1.37 (i):
   यक्ष रक्ष: पिशाचांश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसोऽसुरान् ।
5. e.g. *Amarakośa*, Svarga, 11.
6. Cr. ed., Vana, 129.8:
   अत्रानुवंशं पठत: शृणु मे कुरुनन्दन ।
   उलूखलैराभरणै: पिशाची यदभाषत ।।
7. *Ibid.*, Karṇa, 30.46:
   इति तीर्थानुसर्तारं राक्षसी काचिदब्रवीत् ।
   एकरात्रशयी गेहे महोलूखलमेखला ।।
8. Cr. ed , S.M. 13.39:
   उषोष्य रजनीमेकां गाणपत्यमवाप्नुयात् ।
   तत्रैव च महाग्राही यक्षिणी लोकविश्रुता ।।
9. Suryakanta, *A Practical Vedic Dictionary*, Delhi 1981, p. 536.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 430
11. *Vedic Index*, II, 182.
12. .. ..यक्षदृशो न शुभयन्त मर्या: ।
13. ..... अग्निं...यक्षस्याध्यक्षं तविषं बृहन्तम् ।।
14. मा कस्य यक्षं सदमिद्धुरो गा
15. अमूरा विश्वा वृषणाविभा वां न यासु चित्रं ददृशे न यक्षम् ।
    द्रुह: सचन्ते अनृता जनानां न वां निण्यान्यचिते अभूवन् ।।
    For interpretation Cf. Agrawal V.S., प्राचीन भारतीय लोकधर्म, Varanasi 1964, p. 120.
16. मा कस्याद्भुतक्रतू यक्षं भुजेमा तनूभि: । माशेषसा मा तनसा ।।
17. Keith, A.B., *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, Reprint, 1970. Pt. i, p. 74.
18. X.8.43. For English translation & notes see Whitney William Dwight, *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā*, Two Volumes, Delhi 1962.
19. Stutley, Margaret & James, *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, New Delhi 1986, p. 345.
20. X.2.32
21. V. 25.9 Cf, *Vedic Index*, I. 533.
22. 26.36.
23. See e.g. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Raghuvira & Lokesh Chandra, 2nd revised ed., Delhi, 1986, III. 203.
    & *The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, ed. Gaastra Dieuke, Leiden, 1919, 1.1.1.
24. xiii. 4.3.10.
25. Keith, *op. cit.*, I. 242.

26. Cf. *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* III. 4.28 & *Drāhyāyaṇa Gṛhya Sūtra* III. 1.25 :
यक्षमिव चक्षुष: प्रियो भूयासम्
27. E.g. *A.V.* X. 2.32. Whitneys' tr.
28. XII. 5 : नैनं यक्षो न पिशाचो हिनस्ति । न जम्भको नाप्यसुरो न यक्ष: ।।
29. *Upaniṣad Saṅgraha*, ed. Shastri J.L., Delhi 1980, Pt. II, p. 337:
यक्षरक्ष: पिशाचानां ध्वंसनं मंत्रसत्कृतम्
रक्षार्थं बालरूपाणां सूतिकानां गृहेषु च ।।
30. *Ibid.*, p. 235:
यक्षोपासका: सदा त्याज्या: ।
31. II. 4.1.1 : देवा मनुष्या पितरस्तेऽन्यत आसन्नसुरा रक्षांसि पिशाचास्तेऽन्यत: ... ...
32. I. 154.
33. III. 96 :..... पिशाची वा इयं त्रियरुणस्य जाया सैनत् कशिपुना छादयित्वा अध्यास्त इति । तद् अभिव्याहरत्...इप्येवैनाम् इदम् अग्नेर हर ऊर्ध्वम् उद्द्रवत् सर्वाम् प्रादहत् ।
34. *Upaniṣad Saṅgraha*, p. 176:
यक्षराक्षसभूतगणपिशाचोरगग्रहादीनाम्
35. 70.15.4 : संप्रविष्टै: पिशाचैर्वा रक्षोभिर्वापि तान्निभै : ।
अचिरान्नगरं तत्र जनमारेण भार्यते ।।
36. Tavakar, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
37. Venkatasubbiah, A., *Vedic Studies*, Mysore 1932, p. 152.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 152f.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 153 & 156.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
41. Haldar, J.R., in *Religious Life in Ancient India*, ed. D.C. Sircar, Calcutta 1972, p. 156.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Fausboll. V., *The Jātaka*, 7 Vols, London 1962. Vol. iii, p. 146 :
.....यक्खा बलिकम्मं अलभमाना बोधिसत्तस्स कुज्झित्वा हिमवन्ते यक्खसमागमं कत्वा बोधिसत्तस्स मारणत्थाय एककक्खलं पेसेसुं । .....
44. Haldar, J.R. *op. cit.*, p. 155.
45. Malalasekera, G.P., *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 Vols. London 1960, Vol. ii. p. 675.
46. Venkatasubbiah, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
47. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, prt. ii, Addenda p. 7.
48. Ed. Kashyap Bhikkhu J., 3 Vols. Nalanda 1958; Vol. III. p. 157, IX. 3.9 :
अयं यक्खो गह्णाति, अयं यक्खो आविसति, अयं यक्खो हेठेति, अयं यक्खो विहेठेति, अयं यक्खो हिंसति, अय यक्खो विहिंसति, अयं यक्खो न मुञ्चतीति ।
49. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 676.
50. *The Jātaka* (Eng. Tr. of Jātaka Stories) Ed. Cowel E.B., 3 Vols. London 1957, Jātaka Stories No. 1, pp. 96, 155, 196, 398, 510, 537 & 546 etc.
51. *Mbh.*, Ādi, 1.35. & 111. 10-11; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* v. 1.19. Also *Amarakośa*, Svarādi Kāṇḍa. 11.
52. VII. 4.13 :
रक्षाम इति यैरुक्तं राक्षसास्ते भवन्तु व: ।
यक्षाम इति यैरुक्तं यक्षा एव भवन्तु ।।

Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 45.20 (ii) :
खादाम इति ये चोचुस्ते यक्षा यक्षाणादिद्विज ।।

53. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Prt, ii, p. 5.
54. See *supra* notes 6 & 7. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* also a Yakṣa named Supratika is turned into a Piśāca by the curse of Kubera. See n. 75. *infra.*
55. V. 57.3 (ii) :
भुजङ्ग यक्षगन्धर्वप्रबुद्धकमलोत्पलम् ।
56. I. 34.18. :
नैशानि सर्वभूतानि विचरन्ति यतस्तत:
यक्षराक्षस संघाश्च रौद्राश्च पिशिताशना: ।।
57. XI. 96 :
यक्षरक्ष : पिशाचान्नं मद्य मांसं सुराऽऽसवम् ।
तद्ब्राह्मणेन नात्तव्यं देवानामश्नता हवि: ।
58. Bhīṣma 82.44 (i) :राक्षसाश्च पिशाचाश्च तथान्ये पिशिताशना: ।
59. Sauptika, 8.127 & 113-133 :
तथादृश्यन्त रक्षांसि पिशाचाश्च पृथग्विधा: ।
खादन्तो नरमांसानि पिबन्त: शोणितानि च ।।
पीत्वा च शोणितं हृष्टा: प्रानृत्यन्गणेशोऽपरे ।
इदं वरमिदं मेध्यमिदं स्वादिति चाब्रुवन् ।।
मेदोमज्जास्थिरक्तानां वसानां च मृशाशिता: ।
परमांसानि खादन्त: क्रव्यादा मांसजीविन: ।।
वसां चाप्यपरे पीत्वा पर्यधावन्विकुक्षिला: ।
नाना वक्त्रा स्तथा रौद्रा : क्रव्यादा : पिशिनाशना : ।।
Also Droṇa, 48, 47-48 & 51. and *Vāmana P.*, 9. 41-42.
60. Anuśāsana, 90.16 :
तिलदाने च क्रव्यादा ये च क्रोधवशा गणा: ।
यातुधाना: पिशाचाश्च विप्रलुम्पन्ति तद्धवि: ।।
61. Sabhā, 16.38 :
ते चतुष्पथनिक्षिप्ते जरानामाथ राक्षसी ।
जग्राह मनुजव्याघ्र मांसशोणितभोजना ।।
62. Vana, 219. 51-52.
63. Vana, 219. 51. :
आविशन्ति च यं यक्षा पुरुषं कालपर्यये ।
उन्माद्यति स तु क्षिप्रं ज्ञेयो यक्षग्रहस्तु स: ।।
64. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 8.108 (i) :पिशाचभूतवेतालडाकिनी यक्षसंकुलम् ।
65. *Ibid.*, 43.5 : दृष्ट्वा प्रेतपिशाचादीन् गन्धर्वनगराणि च ।
सुवर्णवर्णान् वृक्षांश्च नवभासान् स जीवति ।।
Vāyu P.. Uttara, 8. 281-282 :
मधुमांसौदनैर्दध्ना तिलचूर्णसुरासवै: ।

धूपैर्हारिद्रकृशरैस्तैलभद्रगुडौदनैः ।।
कृष्णानि चैव वासांसि धूपाः समनसस्तथा ।
एवं युक्ताः सुबलयस्तेषां वै पर्वसन्धिषु ।। .....
Also *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, II, 3.7. 359-411 .

66. *Vāyu P.*, Uttara, 8. 191 :
यक्षा दृष्ट्वा पिबन्तीह नृणां मांसमसृग्वसाम् ।
रक्षांस्यनुप्रवेशेन पिशाचाः परपीडनैः ।।

67. III. 20. 19-21 :विससर्जात्मनः कायं नाभिनन्दंस्तमोमयम् ।
जगृहुर्यक्षरक्षांसि रात्रिं क्षुत्तृट्समुद्भवाम् ।।
क्षुत्तृड्भ्यामुपसृष्टास्ते तं जग्धुमभिदुद्रुवुः ।
मा रक्षतैनं जक्षध्वमित्यूचुः क्षुत्तृडर्दिताः ।।
देवस्तानाह संविग्नो मा मां जक्षत रक्षत ।
अहो मे यक्षरक्षांसि प्रजा यूयं बभूविथ ।।

68. *Vāyu P.*, Uttara, 8. 190.
यक्षाणां राक्षसानां च पौलस्त्यागस्त्ययश्च ये ।
तेषां राजा महाराजः कुबेरो ह्यलकाधिपः ।।
& *Mbh.*, Udyoga, 16.33.

69. *Vāyu P.*. Uttara, 8. 251-254. 254 (ii) : उपचारोपचारश्च उलूखलउलूखली ।।

70. Eng. Tr. '*The Ocean of Story*', Tawney C.H., 10 Vols., London 1924, Vol. II p. 52.
Also cf. *Mbh* ., Vana, 297. 20 :
विरूपाक्षं महाकायं यक्षं तालसमुच्छ्रयम् ।
ज्वलनार्कप्रतीकाशमधृष्यं पर्वतोपमम् ।

71. Vol. I, p. 76-77.
Particularly i. 7.35 : दिव नैषां प्रभावोऽस्ति ध्वस्तानामर्कतेजसा ।
यक्षरक्षः पिशाचानां तेन हृष्यन्त्यमी निशि ।।

72. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 25.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 118.
74. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 187f.
75. *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 7.
76. Ed. Vreese K. De., Leiden 1936, vv. 208. 326; cf. Stein M.A. *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Delhi 1961, Vol. I, p. 184, n. to v. 710.
77. Oppert Gustav, *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa or India*, Reprint, Delhi. 1972, p. 455.
78. *Op. cit.*, p. 132 ff.
79. *Vāmana P.*, Cr. ed., A.S. Gupta, Varanasi, 1967, 23. 39-41 :
तस्य क्षेत्रस्य रक्षार्थं ददौ स पुरुषोत्तमः ।
यक्षं च चन्द्रनामानं वासुकिं चापि पन्नगम् ।।
विद्याधरं शंकुकर्णं सुकेशिं राक्षसेश्वरम् ।

अजावनं च नृपतिं महादेवं च पावकम् ।।
एतानि सर्वतोऽभ्येत्य रक्षन्ति कुरुजांगलम् ।
अमीषां बलिनोऽन्ये च भृत्याश्चैवानुयायिनः ।।

80. Vana, 81.178 :
तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरम् रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य च ।
एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ।।
81. S.M. 1.14.
82. The Verse is repeated in *Mbh.* Śalya, 53.24 too with प्रजापतेः as a varlant of पितामहस्य
83. The *Vāmana P.* gives Caturmukha in place of Macakruka in S.M. 1.14(ib) :
.....यदन्तरं रामह्रदाच्चतुर्मुखम् ।
84. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XIV, Reprint, Varanasi 1970. pp. 89-90 & 97-106.
85. S.M. 13. 38-39. See n. 170. *infra*.
86. Śalya, 27. 19-24.
87. *Vāmana Purāṇa-A study*, Varanasi, 1964, p. 49.
88. Bharadwaj O.P., *Studies in the Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 176.
89. *Ibid.*
90. 18.44, 53 & 67.
91. *Ibid.*, 18.67; & S.M. 13. 24-26. The whole region is called यक्षमण्डल in *Vāmana P.* 18.59.
92. *Vāmana P.*, S.M. 13. 24-26.
93. See Sachau E.C., *Alberuni's India*, Reprint, Delhi 1964, Vol. 1, p. 240.
94. Marus have been called the Utkara of the Vedī of Kurukṣetra in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* VIII. 1.1. :
देवा वै सत्रमासत । ... तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् ।
तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत् । तूर्घ्नमुत्तरार्धः ।
परीणज्जघनार्धः । मरव उत्करः ।।
95. The definition given in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* covers a much bigger area and is co-terminus with the present state of Haryana.
96. *Dīghanikāya*, Ed, Kashyap Bhikkhu J., 3 Vols. Nalanda 1958 Vol. III Pāthika Vagga, p. 155ff. Also Cf. Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 677.
97. Cf. Bharadwaj, *op. cit.*, p. 160. *The Varāha P.*, Cr. ed., Gupta A.S. Varanasi 1981, 81-83 mentions a hundred towns of Yakṣas on the Śataśṛṅga, a name used for the Shivalik range.
98. IX. 3.9. v. 3.
99. *Ibid.*, v. 4.
100. See Agrawal V.S., The Geographical Contents of the Mahāmāyūrī, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XV. Pt. 2 (December 1942, p. 24-52).
101. *Ibid.*, p. 27. v. 15.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 27. v. 18.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 28. v. 70.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 27. v. 21.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 27. v. 23.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 28, v. 60.
109. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta 1924, p. 395f.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 27. v. 23.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 28, v. 56.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 28. v. 60.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 28. v. 57.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 28. v. 58.
115. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
116. *Vāmana P.*, S.M. 13. 44-45.
117. *Mbh.*, Vana, 129. 6-8.
118. Winternitz Maurice, *History of Indian Literature*, Revised ed., Vol. II, Delhi, 1983, p. 371.
119. Ed. Kane, P.V., Reprint, Delhi, 1973, Ch. V. p. 21 पठ्यमान महामायूरी ... Also Mookerji, R.K., *Harsha*, 3rd. ed., Delhi, 1965, p. 141.
120. See Bharadwaj, O.P., *op, cit.*, pp. 149-165.
121. See Thaplyal, Kiran Kumar, *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhutis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1985, p. 186. II. 5-6. The first twelve lines of the two seals are identical, p. I88.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 182. LL 3-4.
123. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
124. Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
125. *Op. cit.*, p. 373.
126. Ch. iii. p. 49f.
127. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 141,
128. Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, Notes on chapters i-iii, p. 200.
139. *Mbh.*, Sabhā, 29. 4-5.
130. Cf. Agrawal, V.S., Geographical Contents of Mahāmāyūrī, p. 35 n. 8. & Dasgupta, K.K., *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, Calcutta 1974, p. 18.
131. Pūrvakhaṇḍa, ed. Sunder Lal Shastri, Varanasi 1960, p. 8.
.... यौधेयो नाम धाम संपदो जनपदः ।
132. See Handiqui, K.K., *Yaśastilaka & Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949, p. 395.
133. Cf. Agrawal, Jagannath, An Ancient Republic of the Punjab—The Yaudheyagaṇa, in *Dr. M.S. Randhawa Fel. Vol.*, Chandigarh, 1970, pp. 49-55, p. 54; Sahni, Birbal, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay 1955, p. 7 ff. & Allan, John, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Reprint, Oxford, 1967, pp. *cxi-vii* ff. & 265 ff. etc.
134. Agrawal, V.S.,भारतीय कला, Reprint, Varanasi, 1987, p. 125.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
136. Agrawala R.C.; 'Early History & Archaeology of Haryana' in *Haryana Studies in History & Culture*, Kurukshetra, 1968, p, 20.
137. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Kurukshetra University, pp. 182-183, Plates xx & xxii.
138. *Journal of U.P Historical Society*, Vol. xxiv-xxv, p. 191f (cited by Punia).
139. Agrawal R.C. in *Haryana Studies*, p. 26f.
140. *A.S.R.*, Vol. xiv. p. 97ff.
141. *Haryana Studies*, 20-21.
142. Coomaraswamy A.K., *A History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 32.
143. *Kuṣāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol* (1st-2nd century A.D.) Vol. I, ed. Gupta S.P., New Delhi, 1985, p. 116, fig. 1.

144. *Ibid*., p. 118, fig. 7.
145. *Ibid*., p. 119, fig. 8.
146. *Ibid*., p. 123, fig. 20.
147. Shukla, V.S., Some terracotta Figurines from Sirsa (Haryana), *Indological Studies* (Essays in Memory of Shri S.P. Singhal), Delhi, 1987, p. 81. fig. 4.
148. भारतीय कला, p. 123.
Harṣacarita, Ch. iii. p. 43 :
149. सुरालयशिलाघट्टनटङ्कनिकरनिकृत्ता इव व्यदीर्यन्त विपदः.....
Also Cf. Devahuti, D., *Harsha—A Political Study*, Oxford, 1970, p. 57.
150. *Mbh*., Vana, 129. 8-10.
151. *Vāmana P*., S.M. I3. 38(ii)-48.
152. *Ibid*., v. 44.
153. Vana, 129.8 quoted *supra*.
154. S.M. 13.39 (ii).
तत्रैव च महाग्राही यक्षिणी लोकविश्रुता ।।
155. *Vāyu P*. (Venkateswar Press ed.) Uttara, 8.268 (i) :
विष्टब्धाक्षा महाजिह्वा लेलिहाना हयुदूखलाः ।
156. *Vāmana P*. S.M., 13. 48 (i) :
दिवा मया ते कथितं रात्रौ भक्ष्यामि निश्चितम् ।
157. *Mbh*., Vana, 129.9 :
युगन्धरे दधिप्राश्य उषित्वा चाच्युतस्थले ।
तद्वद् भूतालय स्नात्वा सपुत्रा वस्तुमर्हसि ।।
Vāmana P., S.M., 13.47. is identical but for इच्छसि in place of अर्हसि. Parui, S.S., (*Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1976. p. 77) agrees with this interpretation. Agrawal, V.S. (*Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, 1964, p. 67) thinks curd or milk was eaten as a *prasāda* in Yugandhara. According to him this *Gāthā* verse is open to many inferences. The interpretation accepted by us appears to suit the context better and finds support from *Mbh*., Karṇa, 30.42 also :
युगन्धरे पयः पीत्वा प्रोष्य चाप्यच्युतस्थले ।
तद्वद् भूतिलये स्नात्वा कथं स्वर्गं गमिष्यति ।।
158. *Vāmana, P*., S.M. 12.19-21 & 13.11 :
रन्तुकं च नरो दृष्ट्वा द्वारपालं महाबलम् ।
यक्षं समभिवाद्यैव तीर्थयात्रां समाचरेत् ।।
159. *Bhārata Sāvitrī*, three volumes, Delhi 1977, Vol. I, p. 259f. & Vol. II, p. 264.
160. E.g. Vana, 81.184 :
पांसवोऽपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना समुदीरिताः ।
अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ।।
161. E.g. *Matsya P*., 109.3 (ii) :
पृथिव्यां नैमिषं पुण्यम् अन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् ।
त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते ।।
For religious importance of Kurukṣetra also see Lakṣmīdhara, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Baroda, Vol. III, pp. 175-79.

162. Cf. Bharadwaj, O.P., Is There Kurukṣetra-Kutsana in the *Mahābhārata*? in '*Indological Studies*' (Essays in Memory of Shri S.P. Singhal), New Delhi, 1987, pp. 295-301.
163. Kantawala, S.G., *Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa*, Baroda, 1964, p. 191f.
164. p. 27, v. 28 & v. 12.
165. 183. 63-66.
166. Kantawala. *op. cit.*, p. 172.
167. Agrawala, V.S., *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 279.
168. Agrawal, भारतीय कला, p. 127.
169. i. 78.10 (i) Also cf. Avasthy, A.B.L., गरुड़ पुराण-एक अध्ययन, Lucknow, 1968, p. 256.
170. *Vāmana P.*, S.M., 13.38 (ii)-39 (i) :
ततो मुञ्जवट नाम महादेवस्य धीमत: ।।
उपोष्य रजनीमेकां गाणपत्यमवाप्नुयात् ।
171 *Mbh.*, Vana, 80.106—107 and variant readings under these verses.
172. *Vāmana, P.*, S.M. 13.24-26 & 28 :
ततो गच्छत विप्रेन्द्रा द्वारपालं त्वरन्तुकम् ।
तत्रोष्य रजनीमेकां स्नात्वा तीर्थवरे शुभे ।।
द्वितीयं पूजयेद्यत्र द्वारपालं प्रयत्नत: ।
ब्राह्मणान् योजयित्वा च प्रणिपत्य क्षमापयेत् ।।
तव प्रसादाद्यक्षेन्द्र मुक्तो भवति किल्विषै: ।
सिद्धिर्मयाऽभिलषिता तया सार्धं भवाम्यहम् ।
एवं प्रसाद्य यक्षेन्द्रं तत: पञ्चनदं व्रजेत् ।। .....
कोटितीर्थानि रुद्रेण समाहृत्य यत: स्थितम् ।
तेन त्रैलोक्य विख्यातं कोटितीर्थं प्रचक्षते ।।
173. Sircar D.C., *Śākta Pīṭhas*, 2nd revised ed., Delhi, 1973, p. 26.
174. *Ibid.*
175. *Ibid.*, pp. 26 & 30.
176. *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 26 & 30.
180. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 31, 36, 41, 51, 60, 63.
181. *Ibid*, p. 69.
182. *Ibid*, p. 89.
183. *Ibid*, p. 26.
184. *Ibid*, p. 29.
185. *Ibid.*
186. *Ibid*, p. 89
187. *Ibid*, p. 85.

26

Kusana Idiom in Mathura

R.C. SHARMA

Beside literature and traditions, the archaeology also proves that Mathurā flourished as a big urban centre several centuries before the Christian era.[1] It emerged as a celebrated school of sculptural art under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. It was so prolific that the products were exported to far and distant places as Taxila and Begrām in west, Chandraketugarh and Mahāsthān in east and Śrāvastī and Kuśīnagar in south.

Characteristics

The sculptural art of Mathurā is distinct by several peculiarities viz.

1. The media of artistic creation is usually red sand stone with creamish spots or the buff sand stone which sometimes contains dull red patches. In certain sculptures efforts are seen to remove the adverse effect of spots or patches through the application of a coat of colour.
2. Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished simultaneously at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period, hence the icons and shrines of all the three sects were fabricated in a large number. While Brāhmanism continued to be the religion of the masses, Buddhism received the royal patronage and Jainism had the following of the rich merchant community.
3. The symbols were replaced by the anthropomorphic representation of the deities.

4. Despite heavy religious impact the Mathurā School of Art maintained its secular spirit. The skilled workers and artisans worked for different creeds according to the demand. The spirit of secularism is further marked by the depiction of symbols, decorative motifs, flora and fauna and social and folk scenes common to all sects.

5. Assimilation of different artistic forms and fusion of a great deal of alien traits were the important features of the Mathurā School. The outburst and natural reflection of the contemporary social, religious and political movements has to be estimated in the proper perspective. Mathurā art during the Kuṣāṇa age actually served as a bridge to correlate and unite two distinct currents, i.e. indigenous and alien and this task was successfully accomplished through the dynamic force of adoptability, fusion, amalgamation and interaction.

6. Presentation of female beauty to serve as a vehicle of art was a novel experiment of the Mathurā Studio. In the earlier monuments of Bharhut and Sānchī the women-folk is seen rather unconcerned with this phenomenon. Their function is either to worship if represented in mundane form or to receive worship if elevated to the super human status of *devatā* or *yakṣī*. But the Kuṣāṇa period sculptor at Mathurā viewed the feminine beauty from a different angle. Arrested by beautiful face, long hair, heavy hips, voluptuous breasts, graceful movements, attracting looks and inviting gestures he transformed and further fructified his revelation into the sculptural creations which blended the fervour of sensuous emotions in religious and spiritual environment.

7. Some names of the artists of Mathurā School have been noticed, recorded on the pedestals of sculptures. Of the Kuṣāṇa period artists mention may be made of Rāma, Dharma, Saṅghadeva, Joṭisa, Dāsa, Śivarakṣita, Singha, Nāyasa, Deyahu, Viṣṇu and Jayakula.[2]

After highlighting the important characteristics of the Kuṣāṇa art in Mathurā it is now proposed to present a bird's eye view of representative products of the School.

BRĀHMANICAL ICONS: In Kuṣāṇa period the Brāhmanical pantheon developed manifolds and the main deities carved were as under:

Viṣṇu: Early Brāhmanism or Hinduism at Mathurā was based on the Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva cult and it was but natural that the Mathurā artist conceived the icons of Viṣṇu and his associates at an early stage. The Viṣṇu figures have been found in different forms. The two arm representation seems uncommon (Mathurā Museum No. 1150).

The four armed icons hold a mace (*gadā*), disc (*cakra*), waterpot (*kamaṇḍalu*), and the fourth hand either remains in protection (*abhaya*) or in boon bestowing (*varada*) pose (Mathurā Museum No. 15.912, 15.948, 28.1729 and No. 34.2520, fig. 5, second deity). Sometimes the mace is replaced by the conch (*śaṅkha* No. 57.4267). The lotus (*padma*) does not appear in this period. The eight armed figures of Viṣṇu are also met with but as the hands are broken the attributes remain obscure (No. 15.1010 and 50.3550 and Lucknow Museum No. 49.247). In one sculpture the deity is seen mounting on his vehicle *garuḍa* in bird form (No. 39.2858).

The concept of incarnation was in its infancy as evidenced by only a few specimens. The Lucknow Museum stele (No. J. 610) probably shows the giant (*trivikrama* or *virāṭ*) form. The boar incarnation (*varāha*) has been identified in another stele (Mathurā Museum No. 65.15). The deity is lifting the earth who is seen personified on his left shoulder.[3] A fragmentary sculpture in the Mathurā Museum (No. 17.1344) is interpreted as Vāsudeva crossing the river Yamunā with a basket over his head. Yet another stele (No. 19.1563) may probably be identified as Rāma and Sītā.

The cosmic (*caturvyūha*) form of Viṣṇu is seen manifest in an image of the Mathurā Museum (No. 14.392-95). Out of the central deity, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa, emerge other figures from his right shoulder and head. The existence of third figure is indicated by the remains on the left shoulder. At present only Balarāma is recognised with the snake canopy and the cup. The high crown and *vanamālā* (garland made of the forest leaves and flowers) of the main deity are noteworthy.

Balarāma: The cult of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, was already established as suggested by the discovery of an earlier image from Junsuṭī, Mathurā (Lucknow Museum No. G. 215). In Kuṣāṇa period the figures of Balarāma are seen with two or four arms holding a cup in the left hand and the right hand raised up in the protection pose (*abhaya mudrā*). Conceived as the incarnation of the cosmic serpent Śeṣa, Balarāma is shown with a snake canopy (Mathurā Museum No. 14.404). Sometimes he carries a lion staff plough (*siṁhalāṅgala hala*). Rarely between Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa stands a female deity, identified as Ekānaṁśā, sister of the two brothers (Mathurā Museum No. 67.529).

Śiva: Numerous finds suggest that Mathurā was a seat of the Śaiva cult also. The depiction of Śiva with Nandī on some of the coins and the epithet of 'Māheśvara' used by Vema Kadphises indicate that some of the Kuṣāṇa rulers were the followers of Śaivism.

Śiva in Kuṣāṇa period is represented in two forms viz. Liṅga (phallus form with the nut portion projecting from the shaft and fastened with a flat band, (Mathurā Museum No. 83.3) and Puruṣa (anthropomorphic form). Quite often a combined aspect is also seen and in this case the *liṅga* is shown with one face, two faces, four

faces or five faces. The heads known as *tatpuruṣa, aghora, vāmadeva, sadyojāta* and *īśāna* face east, south, west, north and upper direction respectively. The Ardhanārīś-vara form (composite figure of Śiva and his spouse Pārvatī) is also met with from the early Kuṣāṇa period. In this form the right half is generally represented as male with matted hair, half vertical third eye and the organ in upward position (*ūrdhvaretas*). The left female half is shown graceful with earring, anklet etc. (Mathurā Museum No. 34.2520).

Kārtikeya: Skanda or Kārtikeya was also a favourite deity in the Kuṣāṇa iconography at Mathurā. The texts ascribe him as son of Śiva[5] and also of Agni.[6] He is known as god of war and commander of the divine army (*devasenānī*). In the Kuṣāṇa period he is shown as two armed youngman, wearing a crown or turban holding a long spear in the left hand and the right hand in the protection pose (Lucknow Museum No. 57.458, Plate 8). An image of this deity in the Mathurā Museum (No. 42.2949) dated in the year 11 labels '*Kārtikeyasya pratimā*'. He is sometimes shown with a cock or a peacock (Mathurā Museum No. 33.2332). A bronze plaque unearthed from the excavations at Sonkh could be identified as Kārtikeya.[7] His nativity is also sometimes shown with one or more mother goddesses (*mātṛkās*), holding a child and with a jar (Lucknow Museum No. 0.250).

Gaṇeśa, the younger brother of Kārtikeya appears late in art but a post-Kuṣāṇa period statuette represents him as an elephant headed nude dwarf wearing a snake thread (*vyāla yajñopavīta*) and eating the sweet balls (*laḍḍūs*) with his trunk (Mathurā Museum No. 15.758).

Sūrya: The sun god (Sūrya) in Kuṣāṇa period is seen squatting in cart drawn by two horses and wearing a coat with embroidery work, trousers, turban and shoes and holding a stalked lotus bud in right and a dagger in the left hand. The whole appearance suggests an alien treatment as marked on the contemporary royal portraits (Mathurā Museum No. 12.269, *Plate* 9). These tight features are sub-sequently relaxed and the number of horses also increases from two to four (No. D. 46). Here the nimbus looking like the disc of the sun, is also added. The wings on the shoulders remind us of the early Vedic concept of the sun bird Garuḍa.[8]

Yakṣas: The dominating *yakṣa* cult of earlier age at Mathurā was subdued with the emergence of other popular deities in the Kuṣāṇa period, hence the *yakṣas* were made grotesque, dwarfish with pot belly (No. C. 3) and serving as attendants. Their mundane and lower nature is indicated by the depiction of excessive drinking (No. C. 2) sometimes explained as Bacchanalian scenes suggesting a Greek impact through Gandhāra art.[9] The *yakṣas* are also seen carrying a bowl or supporting some load as witnessed in a new *yakṣa* bust recovered from Govindnagar, Mathurā (Mathurā Museum No. 77.31, *Plate* 10).

Nāgas: The *nāga* (snake) worship was also prevalent at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period. Beside the icons of Balarāma, we come across the independent images of the

nāga deities in human form but surmounted by the snakehoods and holding a cup in the left hand, the right hand raised up in the protection pose (No. C. 13). The site of Sonkh has revealed the remains of a *nāga* shrine of the Kuṣāṇa period. One lintel depicts the *nāgas* and *nāgīs* with a snake scalp while the devotees or visitors bear the turban (SO IV-36, *Plate* 11).

Duel between the *nāga* and *garuḍa* (bird deity) has also been shown (41.2915). The *garuḍa* figures were carved in bird as well as in human form.

Female deities: A large number of female deities or mother goddesses of Kuṣāṇa period have been recovered from Mathurā. The important ones are Gajalakṣmī (No. 34.2520, third deity), Lakṣmī, Hārīti, *yakṣas*, *mātṛkās*, Ṣaṣṭhī, *nāgīs* etc. A popular goddess of the age was Durgā or Mahiṣāsuramardinī (No. 33.2317).

Eclectic figures: A few sculptures from Mathurā suggest that efforts were made to avoid disharmony between the different sects growing simultaneously in the Kuṣāṇa age. An interesting example is a stele in the Mathurā Museum (No. 34.2520) representing four deities at one place viz. Ardhanārīśvara, Viṣṇu, Gajalakṣmī and Kubera (the lord of the *yakṣas*).

JAINA FIGURES: The excavations conducted by A. Führer in the years 1888-91 at the Kaṅkālī mound, Mathurā yielded hundreds of Jaina antiquities most of which are housed in the State Museum, Lucknow.[10] These range from the 2nd century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. but the majority belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period. The *āyāgapaṭas* serve as the base for the development of the Jaina pantheon and some of them belong to the pre-Kuṣāṇa era, and at least one records the name of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāṣa (Lucknow Museum No. J. 1). Since these belong to the transitional phase between the representation of symbols and inception of icons these may be dated from the pre-Kuṣāṇa to the early Kuṣāṇa epoch.

The *āyāgapaṭas* according to the central theme may be classified differently i.e. *cakrapaṭa* (representing wheel J. 255), *Svastikapaṭa* (representing auspicious cross J. 252), *caityapaṭa* (showing the *stūpa* or *caitya* J. 555, *Plate* 12, with a beautiful railing, gateway flanked by two female dancers and the nicely undercut epigrah recording that the stone tablet was set up by Śivayaśa wife of a dancer Phalguyaśa for the worship of *arhata*), and the *arhatapaṭa* or *tīrthaṅkarapaṭa* when the Jina (main deity) is carved replacing the symbol (J. 252). Some of these tablets depict a variety of beautiful motifs which were conventionalised as eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgalacinhas*).

The Kuṣāṇa period Jina images are generally broad chested, stiff and shaven headed or with small hair. The mark of *śrīvatsa* on the chest of a Jina is an essential feature at Mathurā. The palms and soles are usually marked with *triratna* or *cakra* as cognizances of great man (*mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa*). In early phase the halo round the head is plain, devoid of any concentric band but carved with scalloped border

(*hastinakha*). With the passage of time the decoration on the field of halo increases. The Jina or Tirthaṅkara statues are found in three postures viz. standing in austerity (*kāyotsarga* No. J. 76) and fourfold (*sarvatobhadra* No. J. 235).

It is not possible to identify all Jinas in the Kuṣāṇa period for want of congnizances which developed subsequently. Ṛṣabhanātha can, however, be identified by the fall of hair on the shoulders and Pārśva or Supārśva with a snake canopy. The depiction of life events of Jinas is a rare site but a Kuṣāṇa period stele is explained to illustrate the episode of the transfer of embroy of the last Jina Mahāvīra from the womb of Brahmāṇī Devanandā to that of Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā (No. J. 626). Neminātha, the twenty-second Jina who is described as cousin of Kṛṣṇa was represented flanked by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa.

The pedestals of the Jina images are of considerable significance to reconstruct the contemporary cultural history. Beside the epigraphs with date, we get a good glimpse of the Kuṣāṇa period society and of the organisation of the Jaina church. Apart from the Jina images some other sculptures of the Jaina pantheon are also important. The headless image of squatting Sarasvatī (J. 24) dated in the year 54 labels the deity as Sarasvatī. The elevated souls (*siddhas* and *munis*) hiding their nudity with a piece of cloth (*ardhaphālaka* J. 623) are also met with.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES: The Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā earned its real fame in producing hundreds of excellent Buddhist images which were installed not only in the Mathurā region but also exported to the distant quarters of the country. The evolution of the Buddha image was an important landmark in the history of world art and Mathurā has made a great contribution in this regard. The credit of the origin of the Buddha figure is given to Gandhāra and Mathurā both but the religious background and long established art tradition provided a more commensurate atmosphere for the evolution of the Buddha figure at Mathurā slightly earlier than the commencement of the Kuṣāṇa rule.[11]

Before the emergence of the Buddha in human form in art, the Master's presence was conveyed through different symbols viz. elephant for Birth, horse for Renunciation, tree for Enlightenment, wheel for turning the Wheel of Law and *stūpa* for Demise. These symbols were in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period at Mathurā and continued for some time even after the introduction of the human form.

The pre-Kaniṣka Buddha figures are characterised by the snail shell (*kaparda*) on head, inconspicuous drapery marked by the incised line on the left shoulder, deep navel, pedestal with three tiers or two lions supporting the seat, no date or era recorded and corpulent body with *yakṣa* impact giving crude, primitive and archaic look. The notable figures are B. 12b, J. 531, J. 295 or 339 all in Lucknow and H. 2, M. 3, 76.104, A. 66 in the Mathurā Museum.[12]

Soon a set formula was evolved and an ideal form of the Buddha was conceived in the beginning of the reign of Kaniṣka with the following features: high relief,

nimbus bearing scalloped border, back slab showing foliage of *bodhi* tree, two celestials hovering in sky, acolytes fianking the deity, top of hair shaped like snail shell, remaining head being smooth, right hand in protection and the left resting on the left knee, earlobes small, circular (*ūrṇā*) mark on the forehead, almond shaped wide open eyes and slightly smiling expression on the face.[13] The best example is the Buddha (recorded as Bodhisattva in the epigraph) from the Kaṭrā mound (Mathurā Museum No. A. 1, *Plate* 13).

During the reign of Huviṣka the Mathurā School experienced the Gandhāra impact and the notable change is the drapery covering both the shoulders (*ubhayāṃsika saṅghāṭī*, Mathurā Museum No. A. 4, *Plate* 14). The influence penetrated deeper during the last years of the reign of Huviṣka when the drapery becomes thick and stiff with broad pleats (Mathurā Museum No. 76.17). The distinction between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva was made clear and now the Buddha was shaped as monk while the Bodhisattva was adorned with crown and ornaments giving a princely look (Lucknow Museum No. B. 26). Beside the protection (*abhaya*) pose we now notice a few more postures viz. meditation (*dhyāna*), earth touching (*bhūmi-sparśa*), preaching or teaching (*upadeśa* or *vyākhyāna*) and turning the wheel of law (*dharmacakrapravartana*).

The Buddhist patheon grew manifold and the discovery of a pedestal recording the name of Amitābha Buddha in the year 26 or 28 proves that the tradition of the *Dhyānī Buddha* was prevalent at the beginning of the reign of Huviṣka.

PORTRAITS: The Mathurā School of art during the Kuṣāṇa period introduced the royal portraits also.[15] These life size or heroic statues of Vema Kadphises, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka were discovered from the mound of Ṭokrī or Iṭokri near Māṭ in the Mathurā District. The epigraph on the pedestal of the statue of Vema (Mathurā Museum No. 12.215) informs that a *devakula* was constructed on the site. It may be explained as a 'portrait' gallerys of the Kuṣāṇa kings who used the title of *devaputra*. As the statues bear lot of Central Asian impact, a section of scholars believe that these royal portraits were the creations of foreign sculptors settled at Mathurā.[16] Of the royal portraits the headless statue of '*mahārāja rājātirājā devaputro Kaniṣko*' suggests a very forceful treatment (Mathurā Museum No. 12.213, *Plate* 15).

ARCHITECTURE: Thousands of architectural fragments have been unearthed from Mathurā and these belong to all the three major religions. The Buddhism, however, surpassed Brāhmanism and Jainism as we get the direct or indirect references of about forty Buddhist establishments most of which belonged to the Kuṣāṇa period.[17] The *stūpa* which preserved the relics of a pontiff or great man was the common site. Its railing consisting of the basement stone (*ālambanapiṇḍikā*), pillar (*thaba*), crossbar (*sūcī*) and coping (*uṣṇīṣa*) was the centre of attraction. It was tastefully carved with auspicious motifs, scrolls, religious and social scenes,

jātaka narrations (stories of the previous births of the Buddha), life events of great men etc.

The sculptors derived much pleasure in presenting the female beauty in the most attractive fashion. The railposts are carved with ladies in different charming and graceful actions viz. plucking the flowers or bending the branch of the tree (*śālabhāñjikā*), applying cosmetics (*prasādhana*), playing in the garden (*udyānakrīḍā*), holding a lamp (*dīpadhāriṇī*), fixing the necklace or girdle, playing on flute, feeding a parrot etc.[18] A young woman is seen squeezing her hair after bath and the swan below is eager to receive and swallow the fallen drops. Her midi skirt adds further charm (Mathurā Museum No. 18.1509). A pillar of the staircase depicts a lady probably carrying a toilet basket and a flask. The full blown *campā* flowers on top are really beautiful (No. 14.369). The railposts revealed from Bhūteshwar in the western vicinity of Mathurā town are some of the superb creations of Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā. The lady fastening her garment and mounting on a dwarf, who seems to enjoy the kicks of the damsel, is one of such specimens (J. 4). There are some outstanding pillars in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A bracket figure which joined the doorjamb with architrave in a *nāga* shrine at Sonkh shows a young girl in the *śālabhañjikā* pose (holding the branch of the tree No. SO IV-27). One railpost from Chaubārā mound is interpreted to represent the ecstasy of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga when he had the maiden experience of the company of the women (J. 7).

A square umbrella in the Mathurā Museum (No. 76.12) is important for the fact that it belongs to the period when the tower (*śikhara*) of a shrine had not developed and such umbrellas served as roof of which the ceiling was richly decorated with full blown lotus and other motifs. In the present sculpture these eight auspicious motifs (*aṣṭamaṅgalacinhas*) are conch (*śaṅkha*), basket of fruits or jems (*ratnapātra* or *phalapātra*), full vase (*maṅgalakalaśa*), mystic cross (*svastika*), a pair of fish (*matsyayugma* or *mīnamithuna*), and three jewels (*triratna*). The three undercut grooves and two postholes explain its position as roof for a shrine.

IMPACT: Thus the sculptural art of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period was in the most creative and blooming stage and its products were in heavy demand throughout the Northern India. The impact of Mathurā art is seen on other contemporary and subsequent sculptural styles. As already discussed it borrowed several traits from Gandhāra no doubt, but it was the mutual give and take. The *jātaka* narration, lotus seat, drapery covering one shoulder, symbolic representation, protection pose, monks wearing *dhotī* and scarf, lion throne etc. were some of the important Mathurā trends which were adopted in Gandhāra.

Similarly the second phase of development at Amarāvatī owes much inspiration from Mathurā. This may particularly be said about transformation of aniconic representation to the human form of the Buddha. Coomaraswamy traced Gandhāra impact at Amarāvatı through Mathurā.[19] The Sārnāth School which developed in the

Gupta period had its foundation on the late Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā.[20] The contribution of Mathurā towards the development of Indian art and particularly in the sphere of Buddhist art has been marvellous and of far-reaching consequences.

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27

Some Syncretistic Representations

CHANDRASHEKHAR GUPTA

Syncretistic icons are important source for studying religious rivalry, harmony as well as attempts at reconciliation and rapproachment amongst the followers of different sects or cults. The beginnings of the concept of unity of various gods, representing different elements, which subsequently developed in various sects and cults, are to be found in the *Ṛgveda* itself. The famous *ṛcā* of the seer Dīrghatamas (*RV*, I, 164, 46), according to J. N. Banerjee, never lost its force in subsequent times, and it must have exercised its deep influence on many of the exclusive worshippers of subsequent times. In this *ṛcā* the *ṛṣi* emphasised that the sages call the one eternally existing principle in various ways (*ekaṁ sadviprā bahudhā vadanti*) and the names denoting this principle may be different, such as Indra, Agni, Garutmān—the celestial sun-bird, Yama Mātariśvā, etc. In this context the eternally existing principle is the sun god.[1] Sun and the members of its system *viz.* Moon and other planets, *rāśis*, *nakṣatras*, etc. later on turned into a separate sect called *Saura Sampradāya*. But since Sun is a primary element, the source of life, respect was paid to him by all sects and faiths. This has resulted in the installation of some minor cults in the Paurāṇic sects. These cults have naturally produced some syncretistic representations. A group of some icons depicting the god or an incarnation holding the solar divinities Sun and Moon in upper hands are being discussed in the following pages.

The earliest representation belongs to Kuṣāṇa period and comes from Mathurā. In this fragmentary plaque (Mathurā Museum no. 65.15) the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu is shown standing in *ālīḍha* posture facing right. He is having four hands. Two are kept akimbo while the upper two support two discs. In these discs solar deities mounted on chariots each driven by four horses, are shown. Earlier both the divinities were identified as Sun but now the other is considered as the representation of Moon.[2] The God is adorned with *vanamālā, Śrīvatsa, kaṭaka, keyūra,* etc. The earth goddess Pṛthvī is shown hanging on his tusk but unfortunately the head of the figure is broken. The pedestal bears a fragmentry inscription in Brāhmī of 1st-2nd cent. A.D. which leaves no doubt about its period (*Plate* 16).

According to some scholars this appears to be a representation associated with the cults of Varāha (i.e. Viṣṇu) and Mihira (Sun-god of the Magians and counterpart of Indian Mitra). The cult probably called Varāhamihira originated in Iran and came to Indian soil subsequently. The famous astrologer Varāhamihira was a follower of this seet and probably was named so after it.[3]

Besides this unique representation we have no other example of Kuṣāṇa period. In Gupta period we find some traces of it. The famous figure of *Yajña-Varāha* at Eran has depictions of Sun and *rāśis* on its *kaṇṭhamālā*. The interesting feature is that *rāśis* are shown mostly with animal heads.[4]

This cult appears to have been more popular in Central Asia after 4th cent. A.D. where several paintings showing Varāha and Śiva holding Sun and Moon have been found. But unfortunately these figures of Varāha are described as Gaṇeśa.[5] In these Varāha representations from Khotan. Bazaklik, Khadalik, the god is shown holding Sun and Moon in the upper two hands. One more circular object, similar to that representing Sun and Moon, is held in his right hand placed near the chest (Plate 17). It probably represents the earth goddess which is associated with Varāha incarnation.

Recently M.K. Dhavalikar[6] has argued in favour of identifying these representations with Gaṇeśa and said that the tusk is not depicted realistically and the holding of Sun and Moon in upper hands constitute a feature of the iconography of Gaṇeśa in Central Asia. He further draws attention to the similar representations in cave nos. 7 and 32 and non-resemblance with the head of wild boar at Bazaklik.

Without going into unnecessary details we would like to point out that in these frescos it is clearly a snout of the boar and not the trunk of the elephant. Secondly, the ears are too small to match with those of an elephant. Thirdly, the eyes and the flames shown in the halo of the god shows *ugra* aspect which is absent in the entire mythothogy of Gaṇeśa. Lastly, the third disc representing Pṛthvī has association with Varāha only.

The figures of Gaṇeśa from these Central Asian sites clearly depict him with elephant head and other attributes associated with the god. In these representations the association of Sun and Moon is totally absent, which according to Dhavalikar constitutes a feature of the iconography of Gaṇeśa in Central Asia.

Sun and Moon are also seen associated with the Trivikrama form of Viṣṇu. The panel depicting the god in this form found at Padamapavāyā (Gwalior) shows flanking figures of Sun and Moon seated in chariots.[7]

Śiva is also shown holding Sun and Moon is this style. Several sculptures and paintings show this feature. N.P. Joshi has brought to light a *Vyūha* figure of Śiva from Muktadevi Temple in Musanagar village of Kanpur district, U.P. In this sculpture Śiva is shown seated in *sukhāsana* with a lion or tiger seated under it. The human figures are further attached to it. Two figures are emerging near his shoulders and one above his head which show the *vyūha* aspect. The figure on the head of the god is holding Sun and Moon in his raised hands (*Plate* 18).

One more representation of Śiva seated on Nandī with Pārvatī on his left has also been illustrated by N.P. Joshi. Śiva has three heads and four hands. The normal hands show *abhayamudrā* and a *gadā*, while the upper raised hands show Moon and Sun (*Plate* 19). This sculpture was found in Pakistan and no details are given by Joshi except its line drawing.[8]

A terracotta plaque from Rang Mahal (Bikaner district, Rajasthan State) published by R.C Agrawal is quite interesting. In this Śiva is shown seated on Nandī in the company of Bhāgīratha, Pārvatī and Kārttikeya. He is three headed and two armed. But one more bust is shown above his central head with hairlocks untied and Gaṅgā approaching him. He is holding Sun and Moon in his raised hands (*Plate* 20).[9]

Several frescos are known from Central Asia which show Śiva holding Sun and Moon in this mode. Here the god is called Maheśvara.[10]

A figure painted on a wooden panel from Dandan-Uiliq shows Śiva with three heads and four arms, seated in a crosslegged posture on a cushion, supported by a pair of bulls. He is holding Sun and Moon besides a white circular object and the *vajra* (*Plate* 21).[11]

A similar figure from Balawaste in Eastern Turkistan, Central Asia shows identical features and attributes. A skull is shown tied to the *jāṭā* of Śiva (*Plate* 22).[12]

Śiva is also shown in the company of his *śakti* or consort Pārvatī in one illustration from Dandan-Uiliq.[13] In this he holds her with lower left hand. The upper hands are raised holding Moon and Sun (*Plate* 23).

In all these Śiva figures the most important thing is that he is not shown in his normal form. He is always *ūrdhvameḍhra* (ithyphallic) and in his *vyūha* form. Except in one example (*Plate* 21) he is always of fair complexion.

N.P. Joshi has cited literary references from *Matsya Purāṇa* showing the significance of Sun and Moon with Varāha and other gods. The time aspect said to be represented in the form of solar deities is said to be subordinate to the god Varāha. The same is true in respect of other gods also.[13]

Besides these Paurāṇic deities, Sun and Moon are also shown associated with Buddhist deities. The famous Relic Casket from Peshawar shows Buddha flanked by the figures of Sun and Moon. A fresco from Central Asia (now in National Museum) depicts them on his chest. Garuḍa and Gaṇeśa in Dacca Museum are also known to have been associated with these solar deities.[14]

In the later period this association of Paurāṇic and solar deities took a different turn and the main god of the sect himself was adorned with the titles of solar deities. Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and Malhārī—Mārtaṇḍa are representatives of this phenomenon.

Notes and References

1. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 5-6, 540 ff.
2. N.P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Appendix III, Mathura 1966; 'Kushana Varāha Sculpture, *Arts Asiatiques* XII, Rome 1965, pp. 113-119; *Bhāratīya Mūrtiśāstra* (*BM*) in Marathi, Nagpur 1979, pp. 66ff; *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Mūrtivijñāna* (*PBM*) in Hindi, Patna 1977, pp. 86ff.
3. My guru Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri is discussing this problem in his recent work on *Varāhamihira and his Times.*
4. *BM*, pp. 67, 287.
5. Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Vol. I. p. 185, pl. xiv kha II 4; Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph on the Elephant faced God*, New Delhi 1971, p. 41 fig 4; M.K. Dhavalikar, "Gaṇeśa in Central Asia;" *Giridharaśrī: Essays on Indology* (Dr. G.S. Dikshit Felicitation Volume, Delhi 1987), pp. 39 ff; Amarendra Nath, *Buddhist Images and Narratives*, Delhi 1986, p. 66.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
7. *BM*, p. 294; *PBM*, p. 101.
8. *Ibid*,, Line drawing no. 38.
9. 'Terracottas in the Bikaner Museum', *Lalit Kalā*, no. 8, pp. 66-68.
10. Amarendra Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 91 ff.
11. P. Banerjee, "Hindu Deities in Central Asia," *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras, 1970, pp. 284 ff. pl x.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 284, Fig. 50.
13. *BM*, p. 293, fn. 52.
14. Bhattasali, *Buddhist Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 103, 106, pl. XXXVI.

28

Agroho Revisited

DEVENDRA HANDA

Agroha is situated about 22 km. north-west of Hisar on the metalled road to Sirsa in the Hisar district of Haryana. Many old mounds lying to the north-west of the present town, the largest of them being about 87 feet high and occupying an area of nearly 650 acres,[1] are indicative of the past glory, importance and expanse of the site.

The present name Agroha is derived according to a local tradition from Agrasena, the legendary king and progenitor of the Agrawal *banias*.[2] The fort on the top of the mound is pointed out to be the residence of king Agrasena. In reality, however, it was got built by Diwan Nannomal, an Agrawal employee of king Amar Singh (1765-81 A.D.) of Patiala.[3] The name Agroha can certainly be said to be a corrupt form of the old Sanskrit name Agrodaka which is met with in the Buddhist text *Mahāmāyūrī*[4] and on the old coins found from here.[5] Barnett gives another derivation also: (Sanskrit) Agra-rodhaka > (Prakrit) Agga-rohaya > Agroha.[6] But the derivation from Agrodaka seems to be more logical because of the literary and numismatic evidence. It is corroborated by a medieval inscription of 1328 A.D. which mentions the place as Agrotaka.[7] The Pabhosa inscription dated Saṁvat 1881 also mentions the donor of a Jaina temple as belonging to Agrotakānvaya.[8] Agrodaka lay on the trade route from Taxila to Mathura in ancient times.[9]

In a Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* of the Mūla—Sarvāstivādins (*Dulva*, III. 629), Buddha is stated to have lived at "*bab chu rab-tu bzan-mo' Gramdu*" (=on

the bank of the River Excellent), on his itinerary from Bhaddiya (Bhadraṁkara, i.e., Śākala = Sialkot) to Sāvatthi (= Śrāvastī). Przyluski thinks that the Tibbetan translators had before them probably, the original Sanskrit word 'Agrodaka'.[10] The place mentioned as A-kia-lou-t'o (Agroda) on the Chinese traveller Tche Mang's journey from Śākala to Rohitaka (= modern Rohtak) is also very probably our Agrodaka.[11] Aṅguttarāpa and Aggaḷapura found in the *Vinaya* and mentioned in the itineraries of Meṇḍhaka and Revata[12] are the distortions of the place-name Agrodaka according to Przyluski.[13] Barnett supports Przyluski's identification of Aggaḷa-pura with Agrodaka but on different ground. He thinks that Aggaḷa-pura signifies "Town of Aggaḷas" and that Aggaḷas is synonymous with Agāca-*janapada* of the coins found from Agroha.[14] Barnett takes both the names, Aggaḷa-pura and Agodaka[15] to be the name of one town, i.e., Agroha.[16] Agrodaka itself, however, seems to be a derivative name meaning a water-store or tank at Agra which may have been the original name of the place.[17] This Agra may be identified with Ptolemy's Agara.[18]

From the word Agāca of the legend '*Agodaka Agāca janapadasa*' found on Agroha coins[19] Barnett deduces the existence here of an oligarchic tribal state of the Agāca *janapada*.[20] He derives Agāca from Sanskrit *Agrā-tya* or *Agrāt-tya* meaning 'The inhabitants of Agra'. On another class of Agroha coins, Barnett read the legend as '*Agācamitra-padābhiṣṭhayināṁ*' meaning '(coins) of the rulers (or ruler) of the allied state of the Aggācas' and held that "it is possible that the Aggācas may have been admitted into the confederation which was under the hegemony of the Sālvas. . . . . Another possibility is that they had, formed a league with their neighbours the Śibis".[21] Barnett identified the Agras or Aggaḷas with the Agalasseis,[22] a tribe in Punjab, which fought fiercely against the Greeks, as we learn from Quintus Curtius, and when they could not resist they burnt their houses and thus killed their women and children.[23] Diodorus (XVII. 96) tells us that Agalasseis were a tribe in the neihbourhood of the Siboi, i.e., the Śibis who dwelt in and around Shorkot in Jhang (now in Pakistan).[24] In Alexander's time, both the Siboi and the Agalasseis were large tribes[25] who probably occupied spacious areas extending far beyond Shorkot and Agroha and possibly included between them the region which separates Jhang from Hisar. According to Barnett, the name Agalasseis itself supplies some evidence as it was probably translated from the common word Aggaḷāso or Aggaḷāse, a nominative plural from Aggaḷa in Pali.[26]

The Meṇḍhakāvadāna acquaints us of the expansion of Buddhism in the north-west including Agroha.[27] We learn from the *Cullavaga*[28] that Aggaḷapura and the Audumbara capital were recognized as the strongholds of Buddhism in the north-western regions.[29]

It is well-known that Aśoka raised monumental stone pillars, called *dharma-stambhas*, by the side of the *stūpas*, sacred structures and perhaps independently

also. The lustrous buff Chunar sandstone Aśokan pillar which now stands majestically on the top of a three-storeyed structure in Firoz Shah Kotla complex at Delhi was originally brought by Sultan Firoz Tughlaq from village Topra on the Yamuna, about 10 km. south-west of Jagadhari in district Ambala.[30] Another Aśokan pillar now stands near the Gujri Mahal in the Fort of Hisar. It still preserves some patches which show the typical Mauryan polish though the whole of its lower portion which may have carried an Aśokan inscription, has completely chipped off.[31] Prinsep, and following him Cunningham also, thought Hansi to be its original site from where it was probably transferred to Hisar-i-Firoza by the Tughlaq Sultan who founded the city.[32] We, however, think that Agroha was the original place of this pillar from where it was brought by Firoz Tughlaq who destroyed Agroha and made use of its materials in the construction of the new city.[33] We have already referred to Buddha's visit to Agroha. It was visited by Jīvaka and Tche Ming also.[34] Knowing its association with Buddha, Aśoka may have set up a pillar at Agroha. A terracotta figurine of a Bodhisattva assignable to the Gupta period[35] on stylistic ground and the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa* datable probably to the period of Harṣa have also been excavated at Agroha.[36]

Archaeological excavations conducted at Agroha throw a welcome light on the life-history of the town and its inhabitants. Recent excavations (1979-85) by the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh have revealed the use of the Painted Grey Ware by the first settlers of Agroha.[37] As such, the town may have been founded in Buddha's time. The town was fortified and a moat was laid all around it about two millennia ago. It seems to have remained occupied almost continuously even though occasionally deserted and destroyed.

Terracotta art began flourishing at Agroha from the Mauryan period as indicated by a typical star-shaped mother-goddess figurine recovered during the recent excavations.[38] Of the Śuṅga terracottas mention must be made of a figurine of Kubera (*Plate* 24), slightly pot-bellied, seated in *utkuṭikāsana*, holding a wine-cup in his right hand and an indistinct object in the left. A similar stone image of Kubera has been recovered from the Śuṅga levels of the Khokrakot (Rohtak) mound also and is now preserved in the Department of History, M.D. University, Rohtak.[39] Srivastava's excavations of Agroha during 1938-39, too, had brought to light a small stone figure of Kubera of a slightly later period indicating the popularity of the god of wealth at Agroha which is traditionally connected with the mercantile class of Agrawal *banias*. Another Śuṅga terracotta figurine recovered from the site is unfortunately broken. It shows the back side of a human figurine (Yakṣī) wearing a triple stringed pearl waist-band, strapped sandals and having roundish hips and muscular calves (*Plate* 25). The Kuṣāṇa period is represented by a fragmentary head, broken below the neck, showing an oval face with fish-like eyes. The pupils are perforated. The arched eyebrows shaped like a bow (*cāpākāraṁ*) are marked by an

incised line. The nose is slightly damaged but still prominent. The lower lip is thicker than the upper one. The vertical third eye carved prominently on the forehead reveals that it is the head of three-eyed Śiva. The hair seem to have been marked with schematic lines. The elongated ears are adorned with rings. Stylistically, this head resembles Indo-Scythian pieces[41] and may be assigned to *circa* first-second century A.D. This, thus, is the earliest example of three-eyed Śiva from Haryana.[42] Another fragmentary head, probably that of Śiva, belongs to the Gupta period (*Plate* 26). It shows a very serene face with beautitudinous smile. The matted hair on the head have a small vertical slit, probably for flowers. As such, it may have been an object of worship. A divine grace exudes from the eyes and the face.

The number of the Gupta terracottas recovered from Agroha is so large that it seems to have been an important centre of terracotta art during that period. A Bodhisattva head has already been referred to above. The terracottas are generally of large size indicating that they adorned some Gupta temple originally. Rodgers, during his excavations of the site in 1888-1889, had also obtained numerous fragments of sculptures and portions of carved bricks.[43] He also came across terra-cotta images which were deeply encrusted with whitewash as though an attempt had been made to hide them.[44] One of the terracottas recovered in the recent excavations depicts the head of a demon (*Plate* 27) and may have originally represented some scene from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some others probably depicted Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes[45] while two beautiful pieces show the head and foreparts of Nandī, the mount of Śiva (*Plates* 28-29). Some beautiful human heads (*Plates* 30-32) reveal that the Gupta art-tradition had a very firm footing in this region. Fragmentary decorative elephant and crocodile heads obtained from the site may have originally decorated temples at Agroha. That the terracotta art continued to flourish at Agroha even in the late Gupta period is indicated by a bearded tricephalous head of Brahmā[46] and some other pieces stylistically assignable to *circa* 6th century A.D. The existence of a stone temple during that period is evidenced by a *kīrtimukha* and *nara-śārdūla* figure now preserved in the Lahore Museum.[47]

Srivastava's partial excavations in 1938-39 of the high and extensive mound immediately to the south of the road had brought to light a punch-marked coin and one coin each of Antialkidas, Appolodotos, Strato and Amyntas (all in one vase), a hoard of 51, mostly rectangular coins of the Agāca *janapada*, in another vase, a clay seal with the Brāhmī legend in two lines (1. *Pāvanesa Rudra*, 2. *dharma*?) below the bull (palaeo-graphically ascribable to 2nd-3rd century A.D.) and bearing marks of severe burning besides terracotta and copper objects, fragments of stone sculptures, plaques, grinding stones, beads of various types, small objects of ivory, horn and shell, terracotta tablet containing the seven musical nodes in reverse order, viz., *ni*, *dha*, *pa*, *ma*, *ga*, *ri*, *sa* in 9th century characters, a burnt birch-bark manuscript also ascribable to 9th century etc.[48] Rodgers, too, had dug out similar coins, beads,

fragments of sculptures and terracottas encrusted with lime and bearing signs of burning.[49]

Swami Omanand Saraswati has published a score of interesting seals and sealings from Agroha.[50] Of these the one with the following legend is particularly important for throwing a very welcome light on the political organisation of the Yaudheyas and indicating Agroha to have been the third geographico-administrative unit of the Yaudheyas alongwith Sunet and Naurangabad:[51]

Yaudheya-gaṇa-puraskṛtasya Mahārā—
ja-Mahākṣatrapa-Mahāsenāpate Rājya—
mitra-gṛhītasya Mahārāja-Mahākṣatrapa—
Senāpater=apratihata-śāsanasya
Dharma-mitra Nandavarmaṇaḥ.[52]

One sealing bears the legend *Pāvanesa Rudre/dhama* with Nandī sitting to right[53] and is obviously similar to the one published earlier by Srivastava. Of the rest those of Pitṛ-datta, Sādhuvṛddhi, Śaṅkara-mala, Jñāna-kusula,[54] Vacha-pālaka,[55] Śrī-Yāka, Siṁha, Bhadra, Śiva-caraṇa, Śaśāṅka,[56] Titrila[57] etc. are of some importance. Amongst the recent sigillographic finds[58] mention may be made of the following.

Stylistically assignable to *circa* 2nd-1st century B.C. is a sealing representing a female figure in a frontal pose (*Plate* 33). Unfortunately, it is not in a very good state of preservation but the round face, robust breasts, broad hips and slender legs may still be made out clearly. Both the front hands are suspended (*pralamba*) but in her additional hands raised to the level of the shoulders, she seems to carry lotus flowers. As such she may be identified with Śrī-Lakṣmī. It is notable that a class of Agāca coins also shows Lakṣmī on the reverse.[59] We have already seen above that the people of Agroha worshipped Kubera, the god of wealth, during the Śuṅga and later periods. The present sigil corroborates that evidence and shows that the inhabitants of Agroha, regarded the deities of wealth in high esteem.

A Kharoṣṭhī legend on a sealing reads *Vasamuti* (= *Vasumatī*) in the characters of 1st century B.C.[60] (*Plate* 34.a). There is a general rarity of seals and sealings with Kharoṣṭhī legends and those with the names of females are still rarer.[61] So the importance of this piece cannot be overstated. Very important, however, is another diminutive clay sealing showing a tree-in-railing in the centre and the Brāhmī legend *Agodaka-Kula—ma* palaeographically assignable to about the first century B.C. If the last word of the legend is restored as *druma*, then the tree-in-railing depicted as the main device may be regarded as the sacred tree of the Agrodaka family. Agra coins also show this device.[62] It is, however, not possible to identify the tree with certainty. Interesting from the view-point of device and legend is another and well-baked sealing showing an eight-spoked discus flanked by a slantingly placed

conch on either side with the Brāhmī legend *Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-de/va-prakṛtā* (*Plate* 34.b) in the characters assignable to *circa* third-fourth century A.D. The legend may be translated as "made (or created) by Śrī Nārāyaṇa-deva" and seems to be a trade-mark sealing. It also throws light on the development of Vaiṣṇavism in the region during the 3rd-4th century A.D. as also does a motto sealing of about the same period bearing the legend *Namo Viṣṇau* (*Plate* 34.c) and still another showing a discus and the legend *Śrī Viṣṇu-mitrasya*. Sealings bearing a *Svastika* and with Brāhmī legends reading *Śrī Go-dattasya*,[63] *Śrī-nu svami*, *Śrī Sādhu-vṛddhisya* (*Plate* 34.d and e), Śrī Ś(Y)ākasa (*Plate* 34.f) etc. have also been found in the recent explorations and excavations.

Besides the coins referred to above, the new finds include some more Agāca coins, probably a coin of Sūryamitra (with a tree-in-railing on the obverse), small Mālava coins, Kuṣāṇa and Yaudheya coins—all in copper, 63 Indo-Sassanian silver coins of the crude bust and fire-altar type along with two *korīs* found as a hoard in a small earthen vase,[64] another silver Indo-Sassanian coin of the same type, silver coins of Ādivarāha type of Bhoja, copper coins of Somaladevi, Ala-ud-Din Khilji, late Mughal coins etc.[65]

The epigraphic material obtained from Agroha consists of a small mottled sandstone piece containing a few ornamental Brāhmī characters ascribable to Harṣa's time.

We have already referred to about a hundred sculptures and terracottas found from the site by Rodgers. He, however, did not describe any of them. All of them, as also those excavated by Srivastava which included small Mahiṣamardinī plaques, a figure of Kubera and a headless image of Varāha,[66] were sent to the Lahore Museum. A part of this collection obtained as the Indian share is now housed in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

The earliest stone image recovered from Agroha is that of Viṣṇu belonging to the late Kuṣāṇa period now preserved in the Gurukula Museum, Jhajjar (Rohtak). Unfortunately it is not in a good state of preservation. All the hands are broken but the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* with a lion face motif and the long garland may still be clearly discerned.[67] A late Gupta jamb showing a mythical animal with a soldier riding it and a *kīrtimukha* panel below published by Joanna Williams[68] from the Lahore Museum collection corroborates the evidence obtained in the recent excavations regarding the existence of temples during the Gupta and late Gupta period at Agroha. That art activity continued at Agroha subsequently is evidenced by a beautiful head of a female divinity (Pārvatī?) assignable to *circa* 7th century A.D. (*Plate* 35)[69] and some small plaques depicting Viṣṇu and Vaikuṇṭha in a stylized fashion assignable to almost the same period.[70]

The most beautiful image recovered from Agroha, however, is a representation of an almost life-size Viṣṇu (Ht. 145 cms.) standing in contraposto with an exquisitely

carved aureole at the back of the head (*Plate* 36). The principal hands are broken below the elbows. The additional left is shown as holding a discus which also serves as the gloriole of the male attendant figure, presumably *Cakra-puruṣa*. The corresponding right hand of the god holds the thicker end of the mace placed vertically on the ground behind the head of the female attendant, the *Gadā-devī*. The *āyudha-puruṣas* stand gracefully flanking the god who wears usual, but very exquisitely carved, ornaments and jewellery including a lozenge shpaed *śrīvatsa* on the chest[71] and the *vanamālā*. Bhattacharyya sees certain similarities between this image and the figure of Śiva in the Kalyāṇasundara panel from Kanauj and assigns it to *circa* 9th century A.D. on stylistic grounds.[72] To us, however, this image reminds of the figure of Viṣṇu recovered from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Acc. No. H. 111).[73] Datable to the Gupta period, it may have been a precursor of the Agroha figure which still shows some classical traits. We, therefore, feel inclined to assign it to *circa* 8th century A.D.

Another standing Viṣṇu, recorded to be from Kashmir in the Register of the Museum, broken below the thighs and holding a conch in the only surviving principal left hand (*Plate* 37) has also been ascribed to Agroha on stylistic grounds by Bhattacharyya who compares its facial type, the form of its crown, the plastic treatment of the torso and the style of the conch in the lower left hand of Viṣṇu in a Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa image from Agroha (*Plate* 39) in the same museum.[74] We appreciate Bhattacharyya's stylistic analysis as we can now corroborate this ascription of provenance by another fragmentary relief of Viṣṇu found recently and betraying similar treatment of the torso, the sacred thread, the multi-fold sash on the thighs and exactly same mode of supporting the conch horizontally[75] in the lower left hand with the middle three fingers inserted in the groove, the *kaniṣṭhikā* providing a firm support and the thumb stretched along the spiral head (*Plate* 38). Both the figures may be assigned to *circa* 10th century A.D. The facial expression, the hairdo and the crown of Viṣṇu (*Plate* 37) may also be compared to that of Vaikuṇṭha found from Haryana and now preserved in the Gurukula Museum, Jhajjar (Rohtak).[76]

The Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa image in the Government Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh (*Plate* 39) has been described in details by Bhattacharyya.[77] He has, however, wrongly identified the attendant figure standing near the right foot of Viṣṇu as *Gadānārī*. The figure is that of a male attendant standing gracefully holding a conch vertically in both of his hands near the chest. There is thus absolutely no doubt to its being *Śaṅkhapuruṣa*, the figure on the corresponding side being that of *Cakrapuruṣa*. Bhattacharyya ascribes this image to *circa* 12th century A.D. but the simple eight-petalled gloriole, the plain back-slabs, the pearl necklaces, the hair coiffures, the treatment of the figures and the crown of the god bedecked with pearl

strings comparable to Viṣṇu (*Plate* 37) described above indicate a date earlier than the one suggested by Bhattacharyya by at least a century if not more.

Another image bearing stylistic affinity to those of Agroha figures and described as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa by Bhattacharyya[78] seems to us to be a panel of the *rūpa-śākhā* of a door-surround of a medieval Vaiṣṇava temple as it is small in size (20 cms. high), shows the couple in the unusual posture with the female standing on the right side of the male figure, who has only two hands, embracing the female with his right hand with left akimbo, and bears a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on his head. The *śrīvatsa* is absent but the presence of the *vanamala* would indicate that the panel belongs to a Vaiṣṇava temple. The decadent style suggests a date later than the 12th century A.D. assigned to it by Bhattacharyya.

The female figure standing gracefully holding a water vase in her raised left hand and face slightly turned to her left in three-quarter profile, identified by Bhattacharyya as Gaṅgā,[79] may too belong to an attendant of the river-goddess standing behind her on the *pedyā* of a door-surround as in the medieval temples of theregion Gaṅgā is never shown alone and never the last figure on the *pedyā* as the position of the present figure would indicate.

Another very exquisite image from Agroha now on display in the Government Museum & Art Gallery at Chandigarh is that of the Sun god standing to front on a *pañca-ratha* pedestal accompanied by his acolytes Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and spouses Chāyā and Suvarcā[80] (*Plate* 40). The image is 56 cms. in height. Both the hands of the god which may have held lotus flowers originally are broken below the elbows. The face is also mutilated. The god wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*[81] bedecked with pearls and jewels, a pearl necklace, *avyaṅga*, *dhotī* secured by a waist-band having golden chain forming loops on the outer sides of the thighs and then falling vertically with their pendents touching the knees, long boots and a scarf simulating Viṣṇu's *vanamālā*. The lotiform halo behind the head of the god has the outer frame as if emitting the radiance of the Sun god. Hovering on either side of the head of the god are the celestial Gandharva couples mutilated considerably. The females are shown as seated on the legs of the Gandharva males stretched backwards. The Gandharva male on the proper right of the god is depicted as holding a bow in his two hands. The corresponding figure on the other side, too, may have held some object but that is not clear because of the mutilation the figure has suffered. Bhattacharyya has wrongly identified these figures as the representations of Uṣā and Pratyuṣā.[82] He dates the image to *circa* 12th century A.D. which too should be revised to the 11th century A.D. if not still earlier. The lower portion of a similar Sūrya image has also been recovered from Agroha in the recent excavations.[83]

The popularity of the worship of Umā-Maheśvara at Agroha in *circa* 12th century A.D. is indicated by a 52 cms. high image of the divine couple seated in

lalitāsana on a raised *pañca-ratha* pedestal (*Plate* 41). The dangling feet of Śiva and Umā are placed on a bull and a lion respectively. Bhṛṅgi is also shown standing between the mounts.[84] A fragmentary relief showing a headless female figure, with the surviving left hand in *abhaya-mudrā*, standing gracefully turned towards her right and with her left breast cuddled by a hand coming from behind may also be a part of some medieval Umā-Maheśvara image. It has been recovered recently from the site.[85]

The Chandigarh Museum also possesses some other reliefs from Agroha of which *apasaras*, couples etc. have been described by Bhattacharyya.[86] The recent excavations of the site have brought to light some more fragments which include Viṣṇu's discus,[87] a hand (of Gaṇeśa) holding a bowl of sweet balls, two hands (of Mahiṣamardinī) holding a drinking bowl and the shaft (of the trident), *nāga* figures with folded hands and anguine lower portions, jambs showing panelled dancing *gaṇas* and *gaja-śārdūlas*, attendant figures, human heads and busts, architectural pieces, fore part of a lion etc.[88] The most important amongst those, however, is an image of Nārasiṁhī (*Plate* 42), measuring 44×30 cms., recovered during the excavations in 1983-84.[89] The quadrumanous goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* on a full-blown lotus flower under which are depicted two lions seated back to back, holds a wine cup and a sword, both attributes being slightly damaged, in her principal and rear right hands, the back left hand is broken and the normal left, touching the folded left leg, holds some roundish object, a fruit or a *bījapuraka*. The lower tip of the shaft of the attribute in the broken upper left hand may be seen resting on the left thigh of the goddess. The face of the deity is slightly mutilated but the erect ears and long manes clearly betray her identity. The goddess wears a rounded beaded ornament on the head, pearl necklace whose pendent string falls from between her two breasts, beaded armlets, bracelets, *dhotī* secured by a *netra-sūtra* and anklets. The upper part of the back-slab has been rounded off and its border beaded to serve as the halo. Stylistically, it may be assigned to *circa* 8th century A.D. An almost similar Nārasiṁhī figure (with a bell in the back left hand) has been discovered from Gujjar Kheri in district Sonepat.[90]

Jainism is said to have been propagated at Agroha by the Jaina monk Lohācārya (A.D. 14-38).[91] No early relics of Jaina affiliation are, however, known from the site. In the medieval period, the existence of a Jaina temple here is evidenced by the discovery of a *toraṇa* architrave of the *parikara* of a Jina image (*Plate* 43) showing a miniature Jina in *padmāsana* in a small niche in an ornamental arch flanked by garland-bearing *vidyādharas*. On the sides are the niched figures of Gaṇeśa and Kubera with *makara-mukhas* on the extremities. Stylistically the relief may be assigned to *circa* 10th-11th century A.D.

Agroha was probably attacked and burnt by Muhammad Ghori in 1194 A.D.[92] but the town flourished again and formed an important division of Hisar-i-Firuza as

we learn from Barani[93] and Afif.[94] During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq it was deserted because of a severe famine[95] and the Hindu temples and other secular buildings of this place were got demolished and their material utilised by Firuz Tughlaq in constructing Hisar-i-Firuza.[96] The deserted town, however, was reoccupied after some time and was rebuilt. At present it is one of the important towns in Haryana.[97]

Notes and References

1. H.L. Srivastava, "Excavations at Agroha (Punjab)", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 61, Delhi 1952, p. 1; C.J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1889-89*, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 41-43.
2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 242.
3. Srivastava, *loc. cit.*
4. *Agrodake Mālyadharaḥ* (Line 8) and *Agrodake Muñjakeśaḥ* (Line 70) of *Mahāmāyūrī*, edited by Sylvain Levi in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, pp. 19-138.
5. John Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1936, pp. cliii-viii; Barnett, L.D., *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. X (1940), (1940), pp. 277-84; Gupta, P.L., "Identification of *Agācha* on Agroha Coins, "*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 49 ff.; K.K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 1 ff.; M.B. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, Vol, 7, London, 1976, p. 649 etc.
6. Barnett, *loc. cit.* In Punjabi *rohi | rohiya | rodhikā* denotes among other things the bed of a stream itself. So in such town-names *rohā* may have practically meant a stream and thus Agroha would be an almost exact equivalent of Aggodaka.
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 93 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, II, p. 234.
9. Moti Chandra, *Sārthavāha* (Hindi), Patna, 1953, p. 15.
10. J. Przyluski, *Ancient Peoples of the Panjab*, English tr. by Chitrabhanu Sen, Calcutta, 1962, p. 9.
11. *Ibid.*
12. G.P. Malalasekhera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1960, pp. 9 and 22.
13. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 11. To quote him: "Agroda (or Agrodaka) may be the Sanskrit name of the city which is called in Pāli Aggaḷapura or Aṅguttarāpa. Aṅgutta, Agoda and Agroda could then be derived from the same place-name modified by the popular etymology in order to obtain a sense in Pāli or in Sanskrit: Aṅguttara, aggaḷapura, agra+udaka." Cf. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, *Buddha-Kālīna Bhāratīya Bhūgola*, Prayāga, V.S. 2018, p. 12, who locates Aṅguttarāpa in the Aṅga-deśa.
14. Barnett, *loc. cit.*; Cf. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 213-14.
15. The name actually found on the coins from Agroha.
16. Barnett, *loc. cit.*
17. Altekar, A.S., 'Editorial Note' to P.L. Gupta's article in the *JNSI*, Vol. IV, p. 54.
18. Srivastava, *loc. cit.*; K.D. Bajpai (Gen. Ed.), *The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India*, Part-I, Varanasi, 1965, p. 8.

19. For a discussion of the legends on Agra coins see Devendra Handa, *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi, 1985, pp. 44-49.
20. Barnett, *loc. cit.* K.N. Dikshit thought that Agāca may be the corruption of a Sanskrit name like Agatya, Agastya or Aṅgatya (*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1939, pp. 9-10). Allan also suggested Agastya to be the original (*B.M.C.A.I.*, pp. cliii-viii). Prof. Jagannath also derives Agāca from Agastya (*A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, 1957, p. 111). P.L. Gupta has identified it with Agra of Pāṇini (IV. 1, 99). Cf. Āgreya of the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, 255.20.
21. Barnett, *loc. cit.* Sircar (*loc. cit.*), however, reads the legend as '*Agrātya-mitrapad-ābhiṣṭhāyināṁ*' and interprets it as "(This is the coin) of those who dwell at the feet of (the god) Agrātyamitra". Agroha has yielded a beautiful image of Sūrya (described in this paper) and a fragment of another. Of course these are medieval reliefs but the tradition of Sun worship may have continued from ancient times. Could we then suggest that 'Agrātyamitra' stands for the god Sun which may have popularly been worshipped by the Agras?
22. Barnett, *loc. cit.*
23. J.W. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, Westminster, 1901, p. 232. Certain legends prevalent among the Agrawal community also allege that Alexander besieged Agroha and a fierce fighting ensued in which innumerable warriors were killed on both sides. When the war ended the wives of the warriors of Agroha became *satī* according to the custom of those days—Brahmachari Brahmananda, *Śrī Viṣṇu Agrasena Vaṁśa Purāṇa*, Bhūtakhaṇḍa, pp. 49-52 as quoted by P.L. Gupta (*JNSI* IV, p. 52). We, however, know for certain that Alexander did not reach Agroha and never besieged it. The legends seem to have preserved the account of the fight between the Greeks and the Agalasseis in the western Punjab.
24. Cf. Smith, V.A., *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, pp. 685 ff. and chapter IV of his *Early History of India* where he locates the Śibis north-east of Jhang town on the map, not making any allowance for their admitted presence in Shorkot.
25. According to Diodorus, they mustered 40,000 foot and 3,000 horses. Also see Quintus Curtius, IX. 4.
26. Barnett, *loc. cit.*
27. *Divyāvadāna* (Ed. P.L. Vaidya), Darbhanga, 1959, pp. 77 ff.
28. XII, 1.9.
29. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
30. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. XIV, pp, 78-79. Also see E. Hultzsch, "Delhi-Topra Pillar Edicts", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, Oxford, pp. 119-47 and *Marg*, Haryana Heritage Number, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Sept. 1974), pp. 8-9.
31. Chhabra, B.C., "Aśokan Pillar At Hissar, Panjab", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur, Vol. II, Part ii (Sept., 1964), pp. 319-22.
32. Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. V, p. 142.
33. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
34. Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
35. Devendra Handa, *Heritage of Haryana: Buddhist Remains*, (Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh (under print), p. 23, fig. 24.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Painted Grey Ware was assigned a date-bracket of *C.* 1100-800 B.C. by B.B. Lal (*Ancient India*, no. 10-11, pp. 21-25) in 1954-55. Subsequently various views have been expressed regarding the time-span of this ware bringing it down by about half a millennium even. The recent researches and recalibration of Carbon-14 dates, however, indicate that Painted Grey Ware may well have been in vogue during the period of Buddha.
38. Still unpublished.

39. It was seen by us through the courtesy of Prof. Silak Ram and Dr. Manmohan Sharma.
40. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 3, pl. X.
41. Cf. J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts Of the Kushans*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, fig. 19.
42. Handa, Devendra, "Trinetra Śiva From Haryana", *Indologica-Jaipurensia*, Vol. II (1988), fig. 1 (under print).
43. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
44. *Ibid.*
45. One of these may be the representation of Keśi and another terracotta showing a wrestling scene may depict Śāla-*vadha* or a wrestling match between Bhīma and Jarāsandha or even a scene of the wrestling arena of Mathura. For details see Handa, Devendra, "Kṛṣṇa in the Art of Haryana", figs. 3-4 (to be published in Shri R.C. Agrawal Felicitation Volume).
46. Handa, Devendra, "Some Unpublished Terracottas From Haryana", *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, Bhopal, Vol. XII, no. 1-2, 1984, p. 30, fig. 6.
47. Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, New Delhi, 1982.
48. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4.
49. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.
50. Swami Omanand Saraswati, *Ancient Seals of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V.S. 2031, pp.76-80, nos. 31-50.
51. Handa, Devendra, "Another Yaudheya Sealing", Paper presented at the Patna Session (December, 1987) of the Numismatic Society of India.
52. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, no, 31. Also see *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part-II, 1970, pp. 154-55 and P.L. Gupta's 'Editorial Note' on pp. 156-57 amending the reading.
53. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, no. 41.
54. Handa, Devendra, "On The Readings of Some Ancient Seals and Sealings", *Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume* (*Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*), Indore, Vol. VI, 1988, pp. 76 ff. & pl. IV. Swamiji (*op. cit.*, no. 35) had read the legend as *Nūna-Kusula.*
55. *Ibid.* Swami Ji had read the legend as Visa-pālakasa (*op. cit.*, no. 36).
56. Swamiji (*op. cit.*, no. 44) had read the legend as *Dadākasya.*
57. Swamiji (*op. cit.*, no. 45) had read the legend as *Śrī-tatunya.*
58. These sealings are preserved in the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh (henceforth HARDAM).
59. *BMCAI*, p. 283, pl. XLV. 24; Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
60 It was kindly deciphered by Prof. B.N. Mukherjee for us at Nasik during the Second International Colloquium in January 1987.
61. K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972, p. 295.
62. *BMCAI*, pp. cliii-viii & 279-83, pl. XLV; Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
63. The reading is only tentative.
64. The hoard is awaiting chemical treatment and systematic study. The depositing of the *korīs* along with silver coins is, however, interesting as it indicates that the *korīs* served the purpose of low denomination coins in Haryana during the post-Gupta and early medieval periods.
65. All these coins are preserved in HARDAM.
66. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 3, pl. X. For a detailed account of the Varāha image see Handa, Devendra, "A Nṛ-Varāha From Agroha (Haryana)", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XVII (1979), pp. 238-46 & pl. I.
67. Handa, Devendra, "Vaishṇava Icons from Haryana", *Panjab University Research Bulletin* (*Arts*), Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, no. 2, October 1985, p. 128, fig. 1.
68. *Supra* fn. 46.

69. D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in The Govt. Museum & Art Gallery Chandigarh*, Chandigarh, 1981, p. 69, fig. 28.
70. Handa (1985), *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39, figs. 16-17.
71. Bhattacharyya (*op. cit.*, pp. 43-45) has missed it.
72. *Ibid.*
73. N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow*, Part I, Lucknow, 1972, pp. 82-83, pl. 2, figs. 4-5.
74. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43, fig. 13.
75. This seems to have been a popular style of depiction of the conch and may also be seen in many other sculptures. For details and comparison see Handa (1985), *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15 etc.
76. Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, fig. 34.
77. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54, fig. 19.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, fig. 21.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79, fig. 36.
80. Bhattacharyya (*Ibid.*, p. 83) refers to them as Saṁjñā and Chāyā.
81. Bhattacharyya (*Ibid.*) regards it a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Now preserved in the HARDAM.
84. Bhattacharyya (*op. cit.*, pp. 20-21) has missed this figure.
85. Now preserved in HARDAM.
86. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-5, figs. 52-54.
87. Handa (1985), *op. cit.*, fig. 31.
88. All preserved in HARDAM.
89. It was recovered from Trench XAT-19, Quadrant II, layer 1.
90. Handa, Devendra, "Some Unpublished Sculptures From Gujjar Kheri (Haryana)", *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Vol. XVII, no. 1, April 1986, p. 113, fig. 8.
91. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1947.
92. Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1958, p. 41.
93. H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 245.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
95. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 153. The famine was so severe that even human flesh had become a common article of food.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
97. The antiquities obtained during the recent excavations of Agroha (1979-85) are preserved in HARDAM. We had directed the excavations during 1984-85 and studied the material obtained from the site till then while serving as Deputy Director in HARDAM. We are thankful to the Director and all our colleagues in the Department, Shri Madhava Acharya in particular, for the facilities of study and photographs published here. Plates 35-37 and 39-41 are published here by the courtesy of the Director, Govt. Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

29

Inscribed Terracotta Plaques Representing the Scenes of Ramayana from Bangladesh

AMITA RAY

Chance discovery has recently laid bare a hoard of terracotta sculptures from a place called Palasabari in north Bengal, in Bangladesh, depicting the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the records of the Bangladesh National Museum these images are entered as having been acquired by a private person from the village Palasabari. We have in our possession photographs of only five panels of the series, depicting isolated scenes of the epic, identified by the labels inscribed on them. The sculptures are very interesting, since these throw light on a period which provides very little materials to enlighten us about the prevailing artistic tradition.

From the large number of terracotta plaques found from one place it may be presumed that these plaques were used to decorate the walls of a brāhmaṇical temple. Of great interest these sculptures have been found from a land lying near and around the Karotoyā, Yamunā, Ātrāi rivers, the hub-centre of the Guptas which was taken up by them and their successors for large scale colonisation of the brāhmaṇas. The curious concentration of several brāhmaṇic settlements, and religious

* I am thankful to Professor B.N. Mukherjee for kindly supplying me the necessary material from the text of the epigraphs.

establishments dedicated to brāhmaṇical Gods as gleaned from the epigraphs[1] from such a small cluster, leave no room to doubt that a rich, thriving brāhmaṇical culture grew up all around, despite the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the region during this period. The upsurge of brāhmaṇism in the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. during the time of the Guptas, may be viewed as an attempt to bring Bengal into the fold of *Smārta paurāṇic* brāhmaṇism. It is understandable that once neo-brāhmaṇism made a headway into this part of the country, and the nobility and rich people of the region started performing *dānas* to the brāhmaṇas for their settlement, and ritualistic observances, the region then witnessed not only proliferation of icon makings and temple buildings, but the related myths and legends became popular and began to find sculptural expressions. It is important to note that Vaiṣṇavism achieved primary importance during this time and consequently Vaiṣṇava shrines outnumbered the other religious establishments.[2] Archaeology has not yielded us any temple of this period, not even in ruins; but it is likely that the plaques under consideration must have been the decorative pieces which used to adorn one such temple. Considering the find place of these objects, these terracotta pieces appear to be most significant. One would quite reasonably enquire whether the present day Palasabari may stand for Palāśavṛndaka as mentioned in the Damodarpur copper plate issued during the time of Budhagupta in c. 483 A.D.

We come to know from this epigraph that with the permission of the authorities of Palāśavṛndaka lands were purchased by a *grāmika* named Nabhaka near Baigram.[3] There has been no positive identification of this centre, Radhagovinda Basak, however, favours the idea of locating the site in the Dinajpur district. But if Baigram as referred to in epigraph is situated[4] in Bogra district as suggested by Professor Sircar, Palāśavṛndaka then corresponds approximately with the area of Palasabari, which is said to have been the place from where the hoard was discovered. The Archaeological Survey Report of Bogra district tells us that there is a mound in the present village Palasabari, measuring 100′ × 80′, now used as graveyard. The report further says that the local legend associates this site with the myths of Kaṁsa and Śrīkṛṣṇa indicating the connection of the place with Viṣṇuite religion. There is thus a likelihood that this modern village Palasabari located close to the north western corner of Gokulmedh near Mahasthangarh site is the same as Palāśavṛndaka as mentioned in the Damodarpur copper plate. If such identification is established, the discovery, of the hoard may meaningfully be explained. We are aware that Palāśavṛndaka, being located in the core region of the Gupta-occupied area, was an important centre during this time. This was not only an important administrative centre, but near and around this place individual brāhmaṇas settled and along with them a number of shrines, possibly of Vaiṣṇava affiliation, were built up. The terracotta plaques which we have in our view and which are said to have been dug out

by a villager from a mound at Palasabari seem to have been the plaques used for adornments of a temple built in the vicinity of ancient Palāśavṛndaka.

From an analysis of the theme of these terracotta plaques, it seems very clear that these terracotta pieces depicting the scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* were used to form a picture gallery around a temple, each one in a rectangular panel with an identificatory label and placed on the wall, perhaps, one below the other in a sequential narration. The method of narration indicates at once an adoption of the age-old practice of *paṭachitra* formula. Needless to say that the objective of representing such stories reflected the mind, tradition, cultures and ideology of a patron whose intention was to popularise brāhmaṇical myths and legends as essential accompaniments of the newly emerged brāhmaṇical cult. Artistically speaking, the quality of style surely affiliates with Gupta classical art of the fifth-sixth century A.D. This reminds us of three hundred Gupta-style terracotta panels portraying episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* discovered in a ruined shrine at Saheth-Maheth.

The evidence of the continuity of Gupta stylistic elements in Bengal would be evident if we briefly describe the images.

Of the five specimens available with us, *Plate* 44 represents Janaka welcoming Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with a plate filled with *dānas*. It retains its vivid sense of mass and exhibits plasticity in variegated movements and actions. Despite the fact that the figures represent celestial beings, it shows a lively secular tradition of sculpture which must have existed along side the hieratic art of the newly developed icons during the Gupta period. The second one (*Plate* 45) shows Janaka standing in front of three persons, the first man with extended hands is accepting the *dānas* offered by Janaka. The dominant manner of the narrative is shown in the technique of the story being conceived in terms of its single central incident, a stylistic character which denies the concept of unbroken continuum of time. The movement created in this narration is caused largely by the varied stances of the figures and also by the faces looking at different angles, giving an impression of constantly changing directions. But the striking peculiarities of these images as reflected in the puffy faces, wide open eyes, the full protruding sensuous lips, the perfectly round face, the plain hanging drapery treated as separate plastic volume tend to suggest strong Gupta tradition. The physiognomical forms, shorter in appearance, but outlined with precision and sensitivity and modelled with a lively and sensuous rotundity, reveal gentle sweetness of the Gupta—related materials. *Plate* 46 is a lively group of five; Rāma seated in half-kneeling position is saluting Janaka, the disciple of Kanva *Rāma Kanva Chhātra Jankee* (*p*)*raṇāma* (?). The comprehension of a story as a dramatic incident is projected through figures who stand in different poses and look with intent gaze. Individual figures are brought out in respective volumes by introducing varying density of their forms. Stylistically it is difficult to

determine a specific date, but considering the minimal jewellery, curly hair, and hair dresses and soft plastic volume they appear to belong to the Gupta/post-Gupta period. The fourth relief (*Plate* 47) represents Rāma, the jewel of the royal family—*Nareśa Kula* [*Tilaka*] *Rāma*, in a physiognomical form expressive of enormous energy in the act of shooting the arrow with his bow. The sharply defined features of both Rāma and his companion who is watching the act of archery with rapt attention exhibit modelling that gives a plastic effect which is not much different from that of the Gupta plastic idiom. The fifth one (*Plate* 48) presents a scene of rejoicing with an epigraph reading *Ṛṣi* (?)—*kanyā*. A woman is shown holding a bugle, and a man holds a drum-like instrument, both permeated by a slowly gliding curve swaying through the movements of their bodies. Even the draperies are shown fluttering with the tune of the curve. Modelling shows delicacy of the Gupta prototypes, but surprisingly in all these reliefs fingers and toes are only indicated, not modelled.

The aforesaid survey clearly reveals that the five terracotta reliefs under discussion provide an illuminating picture of the plastic tradition prevalent in Bengal during the Gupta-post-Gupta period. Their decorative and iconographic embellishments, quality of linear movement and plastic treatment affiliate these figures to the Gupta plastic idiom.

But could one really date them to the end-Gupta period? A problem arises however regarding this, from the probable time span evident in the accompanying epigraphs. Beginning with (*Plate* 44) we find that the epigraph on the relief reads *Janake Viśv(ā) m (i) (tra) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa*. Palaeographically the characters of this epigraph belong to the 5th century A.D. The second one (*Plate* 45) bearing on it an inscribed line '*Janake lubhaha karatha*—means Janaka (by virtue of his *dāna*) makes others covetous. Here *Ka* in the upper panel represents typical Gupta character, but in the lower panel the same word reminds us of the script current in the 6th-7th century A.D.; the important epigraphic record of this is found in the Lokanātha copper plate inscription of the 7th century A.D.[4] The dialect is a sort of eastern Prākṛit, which seems to have been prevalent in Bengal during this period. It is thus clear that the epigraph accompanying the relief reveals a picture of a curious mixture of writings where some letters traceable in the early inscriptions are found continued along with the later. The chronological span known from this epigraph seems to stretch from the 5th to the 7th century A.D., which means that the plaques under discussion should be dated closer to the 7th century A.D. But we have noted that the testimony of art offers a different picture, which bears an unmistakable stamp of the classical art of India. One may recall in this connection that in Bengal the Gupta classical art exhibiting the characteristics of the Sarnath tradition did continue for a longer period. It is therefore understandable why the dominant element of art

evident in these specimens is primarily Gupta; but what is important to notice is that here the delineation of Sarnath-Gupta form seems to have been endowed with a secular mood.

A few lines regarding origin and precedence of the traits of art exhibited in the terracotta relief under study may not be out of context. Looking at these sculptures, there is no doubt that the stylistic source of this art has been the wide-spread carving tradition of the fully developed Sarnath-Gupta idiom which has percolated in Bengal through Magadha. This is visible not merely in isolated specimens, but in the complex itself; not merely in stone but in stucco and terracotta art as well. The terracotta plaques of Palasabari bear unmistakable affiliation to this tradition. The simplified treatment of the body with the suggestion of gentle roll of flesh reveals close stylistic connection with the eastern version of the Sarnath based classical idiom. The strings of amulet boxes with which some figures are bedecked demonstrate the period very well, as similar adornment is found very common in this region, especially in terracotta art.

Despite the overwhelming Gupta stylistic trend, the artistic traits of these terracotta work express a strong local character which had undoubtedly emerged from the ethnic base of the region. These are discernible in the short but slender physical frames and in the facial features which are both round and slightly elongated with projected cheek-bones. The human figures presented in the relief look intent with curious stares in their looks, and different because of variation of faces. The artists show their great involvement with the themes, and hence there is no iconographic statism in the arrangement and treatment of the figure. On the other hand, one would notice a comprehension of the drama in the story allowing a quality of dramatic movement in the compositions and in figurations as well. Though the technical facility involved in this art suggests the influence of Gupta art, the sensuous vitality and characteristic charm of the image probably draw on an indigenous mainspring.

It may be of interest to note that for a comprehension of a story as a dramatic incident which has been inseparably involved with the mundane life of the time, the artists in Bengal have gone for clay, the natural material of the region. The secular quality of this art work evident in this relief has come from the dominantly rural ambience of the region, and thus while the sculptures in stone depict iconic preoccupation, they exude an involvement with emotive participation which has been so vital in the life of Bengal at the time. It is in this formative period of temple-terracotta art that we have to seek for the genesis of exuberant examples of Paharpur and Mainamati terracotta work.

Notes and References

1. R.G. Basak, "Baigram Copper Plate Inscription of the (Gupta) year 128" *Epigraphia Indica* XV. p. 137 ff, XXI p. 80; J.C. Ghosh "Notes on the Nandapur Copper plate of the Gupta year 169" *E.I.*, XXIV. pp. 126-27; B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* pp. 106-07; D.C. Sircar "Kalaikuri Copper plate incriptions of the Gupta year 120" *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIX (1943), pp. 12-26; N.B. Sanyal "Sultanpur Copper plate Inscription" *E.I.* XXXI (1955-56), p. 63; Morrison, B.M., *Political Centres and Culture regions in early Bengal*, Table 6, p. 86.
2. Baigram cp. (*E.I.* XXI. 78); Damodarpur cp. Nos. IV. and V (*E.I.* XV. 137 ff.); Gunaighar C.P. D.C. Bhattacharyya 'A newly discovered Copper plate from Teppera, *I.H.Q.* VI 40.
3. R.G. Basak. *E.I.* XV. p. 137 ff; XXI, p. 80.
4. R.G. Basak " Teppera Copper plate grant of Lokanātha: the 44th year" *E.I.* XV, p. 301.

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The Visvarupa of Siva and the Parel Sculpture

D.C. BHATTACHARYYA

In Indian iconography, almost every important cult deity is conceived and represented in two basic forms: the subtle form (*sūkṣmarūpa* or *sūtrarūpa*) and the supreme form (*virāḍrūpa* or *viśvarūpa*).[1] The latter is concerned with two aspects of the deity—the immanent and the transcendental, suggesting respectively that everything in the universe is glorified by the presence of the grace (*vibhūti*) of the deity, and that the deity is the divine repository of all elemental beings and things (*jaṅgama* and *sthāvara*). This unique conception of the Supreme Form of Kṛiṣṇa or Viṣṇu has been elaborately explained in the tenth and eleventh chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The contents of these two chapters, read together, enable us to understand the true import of the Supreme Form. Likewise, the sixth and the seventh chapters of the *Śivagītā* have similar titles like the *vibhūtiyogaḥ* and *viśvarūpadarśanaḥ* respectively, and they deal with the Supreme Form of Śiva. The *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* gives an account of a parallel concept of the Devī, although the treatment of the theme is somewhat different. The *Devīgītā* (I.49) and the *Bhagavatīgītā* (IV.21) also treat of the subject without earmarking any separate chapter for it. The all-pervading concept of the Sun-god is contained in the *Ṛgvedic* passage stating that the Sun is the soul of all movable and immovable things: *sūrya ātmā jagatatasthusaśca*. This is recited by the brāhmins daily in their performance of the

rituals of the *sandhyā*.[2] Moreover, the supreme concept of the Sun-god has been clearly pronounced in a salutation verse (*praṇāmamantra*) of the god claiming that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—the lords of the Trinity—are the three manifestations of the Absolute, as revealed during the morning, midday and the evening respectively:

prabhāte brahmarūpañca madhyāhne viṣṇurūpiṇam /
sāyāhne hararūpañca śrīsūryadeva namo'stu te.[3] //

It is interesting to note that the supreme form of the Buddhist goddess Tārā is conceived almost in the line similar to that of the Devī or Caṇḍī as visualized in the Devīmāhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.[4] One of the forms of the goddess Tārā is referred to in the *Sādhanamālā* as Viśvamātā or the Universal Mother, and the goddess, in this form, is given all supreme epithets.[5] In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the supreme form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is described, and, there, it is stated that numerous divinities emerged out of this supreme form of the god:

evaṁ anye'pi devāśca sarvalokādhipā api /
tasya mahatmano dehāt samudbhūtā jagaddhite.[6] //

Indian artists have visually expressed, in plastic and pictorial forms, the concept of the Supreme Form or *viśvarūpa* of various divinities.[7] Most of the artistic expressions of the kind known to us pertain to the representation of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu in that form. Some scholars have studied them in a fairly detailed manner.[8] But due notice of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva has not been taken as yet by any scholar,[9] although there exists such a form in Indian iconography, and its representation in art is not altogether unknown.

There are literary references to the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva. The *Śatarudrīya* section of the *Yajurveda* gives an elaborate account of the supreme nature and form of Śiva. The expression "*viśvarūpebhyaḥ*" used in it clearly points to the cosmic form of the lord.[10] The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (10.12) refers to Śiva thus: *ūrdhvaretṣaṁ virūpākaṁ viśvarūpāya vai namaḥ*. The *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* also offers a similar obeisance to the supreme form of Śiva:

namaḥ śambho, trinetrāya rudrāya varadāya ca /
śivāya viśvarūpāya svapnādhipataye namaḥ[11] //

The references to the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva are more explicit in the *Purāṇas*, not only for the detailed exposition of the form concerned, but also in view of the iconographic description of the form that they contain. The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has two chapters dealing with the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva.[12] There the lord confides to Brahmā that he (the former) has a cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*) the female counterpart of which (*viśvarūpa*) is represented by Gāyatrī. A similar statement is there not only in the *Vāyupurāṇa*,[13] but also in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*.[14] These three *Purāṇas* contain an interesting description of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva. We will refer to it later in details.

Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, showed his huge form (*viśvarūpa*) to his friend-devotee, Arjuna, on the eve of the battle of Kurukṣetra, as narrated in the *Mahābhārata*. A detailed description of this huge form of the god is the subject-matter dealt with in the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*. A Śaivite parallel of this theme, interestingly, is contained in the *Śivagītā*. The sixth and the seventh chapters of the *Śivagītā*, which deal with the supreme form or *viśvarūpa* of Śiva, have the titles, *Vibhūtiyogaḥ* and *Viśvarūpadarśanaḥ*, respectively, exactly in the lines similar to the corresponding tenth and eleventh chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Similarity is there in their contents, and, surprisingly, also in the usage of expressions and their versifications. In the *Bhagavadgītā* account of the *viśvarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, the interlocutors are Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, whereas the conversation pertaining to the similar form of Śiva, as given in the *Śivagītā*, takes place between Śiva and Rāmacandra, the son of Daśaratha. While both the accounts are characterised as the *upaniṣad*, the *Bhagavadgītā* is a part of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Śivagītā* is a part of the *Padmapurāṇa*, as known from the respective colophon statements.[15] Presumably, therefore, the *Śivagītā* account of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva was inspired by the Vaiṣṇavite version of the *Bhagavadgītā*. But the description of the form in the earlier *Purāṇas*, e.g., the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa*, and, above all, the reference to the form concerned in the *Śatarudrīya* section of the *Yajurveda* and in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, noted above, stand testimony to the antiquity of the concept of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva.

From the above literary references, three formulations of the iconography of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva emerge. These are as follows:

1. The all-pervading nature of the lord Śiva as an expression of the *viśvarūpa*, mentioned in the *Śatarudrīya* section of the *Yajurveda*, in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, and similar other texts. In these texts, the iconographic specifications of the supreme form are not mentioned. The artists following these texts presumably enjoyed unlimited freedom of imagination while giving its visual expression.

2. The conception of the supreme form as the aggregate of all other comprehensible forms—living and non-living. The usual mode of representation of such a magnificent form is to show a number of subsidiary forms either as emerging from or as merging into the principal form, thus pointing to the supremacy of the latter. The *Śivagītā*, and also the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, give the description of this type of the *Viśvarūpa* of Śiva. This is exactly in the line of the description of the supreme form of Kṛṣṇa as given in the *Bhagavadgītā*. This mode of representation of the *viśvarūpa* is conventional in nature. But interesting variations, even of this formulation, could be seen in the examples of Indian art.

3. In the *Purāṇas*, particularly the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, and the *Liṅga-purāṇa*, we come across the description of an iconographic formulation of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva which seems to be exclusive to Śaivite iconography, and the type and temper of the form are intimately related to the basic ideologies of the Pāśupata sect in particular. The example of the representation of this formulation is not unknown in Indian art.

The best expression of the first mode of representation of the concept of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva is represented by the iconic form referred to as the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti of Śiva, the prime motive expressed through the image being the all-pervading nature of the lord. The legend behind the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti has it that Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who, respectively as a swan and as a boar, soared up and burrowed down to comprehend the crest and root of a fiery column suddenly appearing before them, but failed, confessed, and got enlightened by the sudden appearance of Śiva from amidst it. This theme has time and again been represented by Indian sculptors, particularly of the medieval period. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his celebrated *Śivalīlārṇava* eulogises this image-concept in his inimitable diction in Sanskrit language.[16] It has to be pointed out that the concept of the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti of Śiva, viewed in the context of the legend behind it, pertains to the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva and that it seems to be the Śaivite parallel of the *Bhagavadgītā*[17] concept of Kṛṣṇa as the incomprehensible one conceived through the following description of the *Viśvarūpa* of the latter: *nāntaṁ na madhyaṁ na punastavādiṁ paśyāmi viśveśvara viśvarūpa.*[18]

The precise point that the legend of the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti of Śiva purports to suggest is that the supremacy of the latter is proved once Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the two other possible claimants for the position, have recognised the incomprehensibility of Śiva. The subordination of other divinities, as if, thereby becomes redundant. The idea of the inter-relationship, between one of the gods of the Trinity on the one hand and the remaining two on the other, is expressed through various iconic motifs, the most celebrated of which is the concept of the Trimūrti.[19] In this iconic concept, although Śiva or Viṣṇu at times is given a comparatively superior position in the hierarchy, the emphasis is rather on the complementary nature of the three divinities. On the contrary, the sentiment contained in the Liṅgodbhava-mūrti betrays a sectarian note about it.[20] The Supreme Form or *viśvarūpa* of deities, seen from one point of view, seems also to belong to this category. The *viśvarūpa*, precisely speaking, embodies the idea that the concerned principal god is the supreme one, since he comprehends within him all others as the constituents. Arjuna saw in the body of Kṛṣṇa (*apaśśaddevadevasyaśarīre*) the entire universe together at a place (*tatraikastha̍mjagat*),[21] and, because of this, lord Kṛṣṇa could claim that there is nothing that can exist without him—he is the root of everything (*na tadasti vinā yat syānmayā bhūtaṁ carācaram*).[22] The Liṅgodbhava-mūrti of Śiva contains an allusion, in a somewhat different way, to a similar all-pervading concept of the god.

The second mode of representation of the *viśvarūpa* follows the convention as noticed in the case of the supreme form of Kṛṣṇa described in the eleventh chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*. As we have stated earlier, the *Śivagītā*, in its seventh chapter, gives a vivid account of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva, and the description of the form there is similar, in respect of the context and descriptive attributes, to its more well-known Vaiṣṇavite prototype contained in the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is interesting, that, in both the cases, the description of the respective supreme forms is preceded by the chapter dealing with the graceful omnipresence (*vibhūtiyogaḥ*) of Viṣṇu on the one hand and Śiva on the other. The *Śivagītā* account of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva, like its Vaiṣṇavite counterpart, alludes to the composite nature of the form concerned. According to it, everything—divine, semi-divine, human, living and non-living—is embeded in the supreme form of Śiva, and thus the latter is capable of receiving or releasing all such forms out of it. When the lord Śiva revealed his *viśvarūpa* before the divine eyes (*divyam cakṣuṁ*) of Rāmacandra, the latter saw in the form numerous glimpses of the universe, all mountains, seven seas, all planets including the sun and the moon, the gods, the forests, the snakes, fourteen spheres (*bhuvanāni caturdaśā*), all the preceding and forthcoming struggles between the gods and the demons, the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, the destruction of the three cities by Śiva, and virtually everything that had already happened or was destined to.[23] The description of the supreme form of Śiva, as given in the *Śivagītā*, is quite lengthy. One can go into the details only to discover that they are virtually in the lines given in the *Bhagavadgītā*[24] in respect of the description of the *viśvarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa. Even the situations pertaining to the entire scenario of the exposition of the *viśvarūpa* in both the cases seem also to be the same, although the *dramatis personae* are different—Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in one case, and Śiva and Rāmacandra in the other.

The *Liṅgapurāṇa*[25] also treats of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva variously in different contexts. The supreme form of the type described above from the *Śivagītā* also is given adequate coverage in it. In this work, the supreme form of Śiva is characterized as showing feet, face, eyes and arms in all directions: *viśvataḥ pādavadanaṁ viśvato'kṣikaraṁ śivam*.[26]

This reminds us of the expression—*anekabāhūdaravaktranetraṁ paśyāmi tvaṁ sarvato'nantarūpam*—used in the *Bhagavadgītā*[27] in respect of the description of the supreme form of Kṛṣṇa. Interestingly, most of the artists, while delineating the supreme form of Kṛṣṇa, have shown the god with multiple arms and faces. The other attributes of the supreme form have been used by them selectively. The variations of the visual expressions of the theme can be studied now since many examples of it are known from Indian art.[28]

Although the literary references, and even descriptions, of the above-mentioned formulation of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva are not rare, examples of its visual rendering are

almost unknown. Sivaramamurti,[29] however, refers to such forms in his following observations: "A similar *viśvarūpa* form is also known and there are some miniatures illustrating this theme known in some Pahāri schools of painting like Kāngra. Here Padmanābha Viṣṇu is depicted on the stomach of Viśvarūpa (sic) Śiva, the sun and moon on the chest and several other devas above the *jatas*. The innumerable hands, faces and legs suggest *sahasrapādākṣi śirorubāhave*." Unfortunately, Sivaramamurti does neither give any visual support for his interesting observation, nor does he refer us to the actual citation of such representations from any specific collection. Only one illustration in miniature painting of the above-mentioned mode of representation of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva is known to us so far, and that too not hailing from Kāngra. It seems that Sivaramamurti's reference is to this lone example known to us, and his placement of it to Kāngra school of Pahāri painting is based on some dubious citation by another scholar.[30]

The relevant painting is one of the five miniatures of the *Śivamahimna-stotra* series belonging to the collection of the *mahant* of the monastic establishment at Dharamsal in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. These paintings were taken notice of by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in 1923-24, and were photographed by Mr. R.B. Sahni for the Archaeological Survey of India.[31] According to the information supplied by the *mahant* of the monastic establishment, these paintings originally belonged to a collection at Jammu. The five paintings contained the representations of: (i) worship of Śiva by Bhagīratha for the descent of the Ganges, (ii) Śiva's killing of the demon Tripura, (iii) Śiva gifting his discus (*cakra*) to Viṣṇu, (iv) Śiva's chastisement of Brahmā for the latter's immoral move towards his own daughter and (v) the Supreme Form (*viśvarūpa*) of Śiva. Our concern, at this moment, is with the last-mentioned painting which we describe below.

The unique example of the theme (*Plate* 49) shows a deity with many heads, arms and feet. On counting, one can notice as many as nine heads horizontally disposed, and the tenth atop is interpreted in terms of an imposing congeries of a host of animals and birds, obviously as an expression of the Paśupati aspect of Śiva.[32] The frontal heads are all characterized by the veritable Śaivite features like the third eye (*trinayana*), the matted hair (*jaṭābhāra*), and the crescent of the moon (*candrakalā*). The god is shown with as many as thirty hands[33] holding various weapons and attributes. He is shown with snake ornaments (*sarpālaṅkāra*) and with a long garland like the *vanamālā*. Interestingly, the deity has the discs of the sun and the moon on his chest, and also the Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu on his abdomen.[34] His feet are arrayed like two stumpy rocks. There is the representation of a host of sages or Ṛṣis on the left side of the god. Some of these sages are shown as saluting the supreme form by folding their hands (*namaskāramudrā*), and one of them is even shown as bowing down on the ground in reverence.

We have already taken note of the salient features of the supreme form of Śiva as found from the *Śivagītā*. In the *Liṅgapurāṇa* too, there are several descriptions of this form of the god. On one occasion, the gods describe Śiva as the combined form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. In him are embeded Skanda, Indra, fourteen worlds (*bhuvanāni caturdaśa*), the Aśvins, the planets, stars, the sky, the directions, life, time, rule, death, deathlessness, the past, present, and future, and virtually everything that is there at the apex, middle and bottom of the universe.[35] It is noticed that the description of the supreme form of Śiva as contained in the *Śivagītā*, and in the above-mentioned part of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, is similar in essence and spirit of the description of the *viśvarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa as found in the tenth and eleventh chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Interestingly, almost similar epithets are used in the *Devīgītā* and the *Bhagavatīgītā*,[36] and for that matter even in the Devimāhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍayapurāṇa*, in respect of the description of the supreme form of the Devī or the Goddess. A conventional formula for the description of the supreme form of the godhead of various cults and sects seems to have been evolved through the centuries, and once formulated, the convention was shared by all sects and cults.[37] The artists, while giving visual expression of the supreme form, no doubt found the conventional descriptive model readily available. But perhaps most of them regarded this convention not as a model in that sense, but as a source to draw visual terminologies from. That is why difference is noticed between one representation and the other even of the same theme of the supreme form of a particular deity.[38] The difference is registered not merely in the iconographic details or abbreviations, but sometimes in the total visual conception of the structure of the form. The unique example of the representation in art of the *viśvarūpa* form of Śiva, as taken note of above, has a distinctive visual character. But the artist doubtless was dependent on the conventional description of the form as contained in the *Śivagītā*, the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and similar such texts.

Although the *Śivagītā* and some section of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, referred to above, follow the conventional mode of the description of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva, some of the *Purāṇas* describe the form in an altogether different way. This novel description seems to be distinctively Śaivite, and thus its importance cannot be missed by any student of Indian iconography. This otherwise unusual description of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva, as we will see later, is quite relevant to the basic tenets of the celebrated Śaivite philosophy known as the Śivasiddhānta.

The relevant description of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva is contained in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, the *Vāyūpurāṇa*, the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and perhaps in others.[39] In Chapter XXII of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, there is the interesting exposition of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva. About the origin of this unique form the *Purāṇa* has the following:[40]

Ajāmetaṁ lohitaśuklakṛṣṇaṁ viśvaṁ samprasri iamanam svarūpam |
Aio'haṁ vai viddhi māṁ viśvarūpaṁ gāyatrīṁ gāṁ viśvarūpāṁ hi viddhi ||

Evamuktvā mahādevaḥ aṭṭahāsamathākarot valitasphoṭitaravaṁ kahakahanadamtatha /
Tato'sva pārśvato divyāḥ sarvarūpāḥ kumārakāḥ jaṭī muṇḍī śikhaṇḍi ca
ardhamuṇḍaśca jaiñire //

The gist of the above passage is this: Śiva told Brahmā that he (the former) is the epitome of the universe (*viśvarūpa*) and that Gāyatrī is the female counterpart (*viśvarūpa*). After saying this, Śiva broke into a profound laughter (*aṭṭahāsamathākarot*), and from his sides (*tato'sya pārśvato*) emerged (*jajñire*) the beautiful divine offsprings (*divyāḥ sarvarūpāḥ kumārakāḥ*) of the names of Jaṭī, Muṇḍī, Śikhaṇḍī, and Ardhamuṇḍa. Interestingly, elsewhere in the same *Purāṇa*,[41] it has been stated that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Yajña and Kāla have three forms each, while Śiva retains his four forms throughout:

Brahmā viṣṇuśca yajñaśca kālaścaiva kalāstrayaḥ /
Sarveṣveva hi kāleṣu caturmūrti maheśvaraḥ //

To us it is of much significance, as we know from the above-quoted passages, that Śiva always (*sarveṣveva hi kāleṣu*) maintains four forms (*caturmūrti*) which emerged (*yajñire*) out of his body in the form of four divine offsprings (*divyāḥ sarvarupāḥ kumārakāḥ*) at the time he exposed his *viśvarūpa* in front of Brahmā. Later, in Chapter XXIII of the same *Purāṇa*, it is claimed that Śiva begot four offsprings or manifestations in various other *kalpas* as well, when he incarnated himself in different names and forms. It gives a comprehensive list of such names of the incarnations of Śiva and those of the respective offsprings or manifestations. It gives the following list of such names:[42]

Incarnation of Śiva	*Names of the offsprings*
1. Śveta	Śveta, Śikha, Śvetāśva, Śvetalohita
2. Sutāra	Dundubhī, Śatarūpa, Ṛcīka, Kratumān
3. Suhotra	Sumukha, Durmukha, Durddama, Duratikrama
4. Kaṅka	Sanaka, Sanandana, Ṛbhū, Sanatkumāra
5. Lokākṣi	Sudhāma, Viraja, Śaṅkhapa, Drava
6. Jaigīṣavya	Sārasvata, Sumedha, Vasubaha, Suvāhana
7. Vaśiṣṭha-Vyāsa	Kapila, Asuri, Pañcaśikha, Vāgvalī
8. Ṛṣabha	Parāśara, Gārgya, Bhārgava, Aṅgirā
9. Bhṛigu	Balavandhu, Niramitra, Kvtuśṛṅga, Tapovana
10. Trivṛt-Vyāsa	Lambodara, Lamba, Lambākṣa, Lambakeśaka
11. Atri	Sarvajña, Samabuddhi, Sādhya, Śarva
12. Balı	Sudhāma, Kāśyapa, Vaśiṣṭha, Viraja

13.	Gautama	Atri, Ugratapa, Śravaṇa, Śraviṣṭhaka
14.	Vedaśira	Kuṇī, Kuṇibāhu, Kuśarīra, Kunetraka
15.	Gokarṇa	Kāṣyapa, Uśanā, Cyavana, Bṛhaspati
16.	Śikhaṇḍī	Vācaḥsrava, Ṛcīka, Svavāsa, Dṛḍhravrata
17.	Jaṭāmālī	Hiraṇya, Kauśilya, Kākṣiva, Kuthumī
18.	Aṭṭahāsa	Sumantra, Barbarī, Suvandhu, Kuśikandhara
19.	Dāruka	Plakṣa, Dākṣāyaṇa, Kutumālī, Vaka
20.	Lāṅgalibhīma	Sudharmika, Tulyārci, Madhupiṅgākṣa, Śataketu
21.	Śveta	Uṣija, Bṛhadukthya, Devala, Kavi
22.	Śūlī	Alihotra, Agniveśya, Yuvanāsva, Saradvasu
23.	Muṇḍiśvara	Chāgala, Kumbhakarṇāsya, Kumbha, Prabāhuka
24.	Sahiṣṇu	Ulūka, Vaidyuta, Sarvaka, Āśvalāyana
25.	Somaśarmā	Ākāśpāda, Kaṇāda, Ula, Vatsa
26.	Nakulī	Kuśika, Gargya, Mitraka, Ruṣṭa
27.	Guhāvāsī	Utathya, Vāmadeva, Mahākāla, Mahālaya

The episode of the exposition of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva in front of Brahmā, and the account of the four incarnations of the former in each of the *kalpas* while exposing such a form, could be found not only in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, but in the *Vāyu* and *Liṅgapurāṇa* as well.[43] The overall account and the details of the names of the incarnations and their offsprings are almost similar in all these three *Purāṇas*. It has to be noted that in the above list of the names of the offsprings (*putrāḥ, śiṣyāḥ, kumārakāḥ*) and of the incarnations (*rudrāvatārāḥ*), there occur the names of some well-known sages or Ṛṣis. They are referred to as well-versed in the *Vedas*, pious, self-controlled and personages who are destined to achieve the *Rudraloka* or the abode of Rudra-Śiva:

Yogayuktā mahātman brāhmaṇā vedapāragāḥ /
Prāpya maheśvaraṁ yogaṁ vimalāhyūrddhvaretasaḥ /
Rudralokaṁ gamiṣyanti punarāvṛttidurlabham.[44] //

The keynote of the iconography of the supreme form of Śiva, as known from the above-stated accounts of the *Purāṇas*, implies the emergence of four forms (*caturmūrti*) out of the form of Śiva. In other words, the accounts speak of the emergence of four subsidiary forms out of the basic form. This fundamental requirement of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva could perhaps be traced in the iconographic motif known generally as the *Caturmukha-Liṅga* of Śiva[45] in which usually the central *liṅgam*, representing the Īśāna aspect of Śiva, is shown with four faces symbolizing the god's four other aspects: Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora and Sadyojāta. Another version of this imagery could be noticed in the Caturmūrti-Liṅga form[46] in which

(*Plate* 50) the central *liṅgam* shows, instead of the four faces, the full figures (*mūrti*) of Vāmadeva and others. Although these two iconic forms, viz., the *Caturmukha-Liṅga* and the *Caturmūrti-Liṅga*, apparently answer to the fundamental formulation of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva as defined above, the intrinsic difference between them cannot perhaps escape our notice. The *Caturmukha-Liṅga* or the *Caturmūrti-Liṅga* of Śiva symbolizes the five activities (*pañcakṛtya*) like creation (*sṛiṣṭi*), preservation (*sthiti*), destruction (*saṁhāra*), release (*tirobhāva*), and salvation (*anugraha*)[47] through the five forms (*pañcapakṣe tu mūrtayāḥ*): Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva.[48] Here all the five forms are of equal importance, each one is complementary to the other. But the account of the *viśvarūpa* of Siva, as found in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and other *Purāṇas*, speaks of the four subsidiary emergent (*jaṅinire*), offsprings (*putrāḥ / kumārakāḥ / śiṣyāḥ*), referred to as *Rudrāvatāras*, from the sides (*pārśvato*) of Śiva. This concept of the *viśvarūpa*, thus, is quite different, in terms of the visual implication, from that of the *Caturmukha-Liṅga* or the *Caturmūrti-Liṅga* forms. Compositionally speaking, the latter two forms of images represent the concept of a conglomeration, whereas the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva carries the idea of a diffusion.

The core of the compositional format of the *viśvarūpa*, as gleaned from the accounts of the *Purāṇas*, can be defined thus: in the centre, there is the form of Śiva. Four subsidiary forms, presumably two from each of the sides, emerge laterally. An outright visual transcription of this formulation is not known to us from examples of Indian art. But in this connection every student of Indian art and iconography perhaps will recall in his mind at least one sculptural type approximating visually the concept of the emergence of four subsidiary forms from the central form of Śiva, as is the crux of the idea of the *Viśvarūpa* Śiva described in the *Purāṇas*. The reference is to the celebrated sculpture of Śiva from Parel near Bombay.

The concerned sculpture (*Plate* 51) has been noted with keen interest by many scholars not only because of its significance in the development of the style in Indian sculptural art, but also for the unique iconography that it represents. In fact, a clear reading of the iconography of this sculpture has not yet been possible, although various suggestions have been put forth from time to time to solve the so-called "iconographic enigma" posed by it. The sculpture can precisely be described thus: In the centre, there are three male forms vertically superimposed one above the other in such a way that the three figures seem to stand one behind the other in a single linear axis. From the shoulder level of the frontal figure there emerge two subsidiary figures, one from each of the sides. Similarly, two more figures are seen to emerge from the two sides of the next figure. This will mean, there are seven male figures shown in a compositional relationship: three of them in one vertical axis, and four lateral ones disposed horizontally in two tiers. Five additional dwarfish and deformed figures of the *gaṇas*[49] are shown in the lower registers at the two sides. These *gaṇa* figures are shown as playing on various musical instruments.

J. N. Banerjee thought that the figures represented in the sculpture depict the *Mantreśvaras* or the "lords of the Śaiva-Mantra-formulae" described in the Śaiva Āgamas.[50] Tarapada Bhattacharyya suggested that the sculpture represents some aspects of the iconography of Brahmā.[51] But Śivaramamurti offered the identification of the image as the *Saptasvaramaya-Śiva*, Śiva as the master of music.[52] According to him, the image represents the personified depiction of the seven notes of music of which Śiva is supposed to be the lord. Lately, S. Gorakshkar has suggested that the Parel sculpture represents the Aṣṭamūrti or Aṣṭatanu form of Śiva, summarily adjucating that "the interpretations so far offered have suffered from the fallacy of deduction."[53]

Bhattacharyya's suggestion is untenable in view of the veritable Śaivite character of the iconography of the image. Most of the scholars think that the image represents some form of the iconography of Śiva.[54] Banerjee's identification does not seem to be conclusive, because he himself even could not relate the iconography of the image with the Śaivite *mantras* that he thought the image to be the representation of.[55] Sivaramamurti's suggetion seems to be the most logical, but its validity can be established only if he could refer us to any earlier or contemporary textual use of the epithet "*saptasvaramaya*" with reference to Śiva.[56] The expression "*saptasvaramaya*" can of course go very well with the number of principal figures represented in the sculpture concerned and also with the presence of a number of *gaṇas* with musical instruments in the lower section of the sculpture, but one has to explain the composition of the sculpture in terms of the seven notes (*saptasvara*) of music disposed in the order of 3:4 so as to relate it with the placement of three central and four lateral figures seen in the sculpture. The interpretation of Gorakshkar is based on highly dubious suggestion that the state of the sculpture "which resembles the shape of a *liṅga*" is the eighth and unfinished form of Siva. The exercise of fanciful conjecture in order to justify a pre-conceived theory is what Gorakshkar labels as "fallacy of deduction", as quoted above. But, unfortunately, he himself could not rise above the alleged drawback. If, on any reckoning, the number of forms in the Parel sculpture could be taken to be eight, Banerjee's interpretation of the sculpture concerned as the representation of the Śaivite *Mantreśvara*, i.e., the deified form of the eight-syllabled *mantra* of Śiva—*a/u/ṁ na/maḥ Śi/vā/ya*, should have been equally valid.[57] The re-interpretation of the same as the *Aṣṭamūrti* of Śiva by Gorakshkar is thus redundant. The assumption that the eighth form of the lord is in the so-called *liṅga* shape of the stele of the sculpture is far from convincing.

The accounts of the *Brahmāṇḍa* and other *Purāṇas* stating that, at the time Śiva exposed his *viśvarūpa* to Brahmā, there was the emergence (*jaiñire*) of four figures of the offsprings (*putrāḥ / kumārakāḥ / śiṣyāḥ*) from the sides (*pārśvato*) of the body of Śiva seem to be strikingly relevant to the unusual composition of the Parel sculpture, particularly in respect of the disposition of the four lateral figures.

Their conspicuous placement at the two sides (*pārśvato*), and in the strikingly significant posture of an emergence (*jaiñire*) from the central column-like triple body of Śiva, cannot but remind us of the *viśvarūpa* form of Śiva as given in the accounts of the *Brahmāṇḍa-*, *Vāyu-*, and *Liṅga-purāṇa*. In view of this support of the literary correspondence, we are inclined to identify the Parel sculpture as the rare example of the representation of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva in the line of the accounts of the *Purāṇas* mentioned above.

It may perhaps be argued that since the *Purāṇas* speak of the four offsprings of Śiva, and not of his triple presence at the time he begets them, the seven figures of the sculpture in the concerned composition are not adequately explained in the light of the above-mentioned literary accounts. In this connection we will like to refer to the significant passage in the prayer (*satya*) of Viṣṇu addressed to the supreme form of Śiva for the purification of all sins (*sarvapāpa viśuddhyārthaṁ viṣṇunā paribhāṣitam*), as given in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*:[58]

Namaḥ śivāya rudrāya pradhānāya namo namaḥ //
Triguṇāya namastubhyaṁ caturvyūhātmane namaḥ /

Here, significantly, the supreme form of Śiva has been referred to both as *triguṇa* (one who is the essence of the three *guṇas* or elemental aspects: *sattvaḥ rajaḥ*, and *tamaḥ*) and as *caturvyūhātman* (one who has four *vyūhas* or manifestations). That Śiva has been referred to simultaneously as *triguṇa* and as *caturvyūhātman*, and that too in the context of the recognition of the supremacy of the god, is meaningfully relevant to the Parel sculpture. In another context, the *Liṅgapurāṇa* has it that, although conventionally associated with eight forms (*aṣṭamūrti*), Śiva, at times, shows seven forms (*saptamūrti*) in the nature of divine bodies (*īśasyāṅgāni*):

Aṣṭamūrteranyatvaṁ vadanti parameśvaraḥ,
Saptamūrtimayanyāhurīśasyāṅgāni dehinam.[59]

These two observations of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, read in the context of the Parel sculpture, enable us to suggest that the latter is the representation of the *saptamūrti* aspect of Śiva revealed through his supreme form or *viśvarūpa* as the divine embodiment of the three *guṇas* and the four *vyūhas* of manifestations (*putrāḥ / kumārakāḥ / śiṣyāḥ* of the accounts of the *Purāṇas* mentioned above). It will be found in the discussion of the following section that the seven forms of the lord Śiva, and their distribution in terms of three principal and four subsidiary forms, are quite relevant to the philosophy of the Śivasiddhānta of the Pāśupata sect of the Saivas.

According to the tenets of the Śivasiddhānta, there are three principles, viz., the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*), and the fetters (*pāśa*). The system has four *pādas*, viz., (i) *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, (ii) *kriyā* or

action (process of initiation), (iii) *yoga* or meditation, concentration and allied processes and (iv) *caryā* or conduct or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is proscribed.[60] The relevance of this philosophical system to the specifications of the compositional pattern of the Parel sculpture is quite evident. The three central figures of the sculpture can very well be taken to represent *pati*, *paśu*, and *paśa* of the above-mentioned system of the Śivasiddhānta, and the four remaining figures two on each side, in that case, should be taken to stand for the four *pādas*, viz., *vidyā*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *caryā*. In this connection it should be pointed out that the seated Siva figure with three other emergent figures, two from the junction of his neck and shoulders, as seen in the relief on a stone railing-pillar now in the precincts of the Mukta Devi temple at Musanagar in Kanpur District, U.P.,[61] is an expression of this *Catuṣpāda* concept of Śiva. The same concept has been iconographically expressed by the artists in various other ways as well. In a sculpture from Khajuraho (*Plate* 52) the sculptor has shown Śiva with four feet or as *Catuṣpāda*, wherein he obviously took advantage of the pun of the word *pāda* which, in a general way, means a foot, but, at the same time, it can refer also to a *pāda* or system of the Śivasiddhānta.[62] In several images of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti of Śiva, the central figure of Śiva in the role of a teacher in shown as accompanied by four of his subsidiary forms—Agastya, Pulastya, Viśvāmitra and Aṅgirā: this being another mode of expression of the concept of the *Catuṣpāda* of the lord Śiva.[63] Needless to say that the Parel sculpture is the best example of the expression of the concept concerned, but it is more than that : it is the *Saptamūrti* view of the cosmic form of Śiva, as envisaged in the above-quoted verse of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* stating that although Śiva has eight forms, he often reveals himself with only seven of them.

The *Purāṇas* sometimes divide Saivism into three categories: Tāntric, Vedic, and Mixed.[64] In the mixed-School (*miśra*), the main deity Śiva was worshipped along with other four gods,[65] presumably the offsprings that he begets in the various *kalpas*. Interestingly, in the medieval period, there existed four important schools of Śaivism,[66] viz.,

(i) Śaiva or Śiva-Siddhānta School,
(ii) Kālānana (Kālāmukha) also known as Kāruka,
(iii) Pāśupata,
(iv) Kāpālika.

In the list of names of the offsprings (*putrāḥ / kumārakāḥ / śiṣyāḥ*) of Śiva, as given in the *Brahamāṇḍapurāṇa*, there are the names of the principal advocates and teachers of these four schools of Saivism.

In the light of the above discussion, we like to conclude that the Parel sculpture represents the rare example of the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva in the line of the description

given in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and other *Purāṇas*. In giving the visual expression of the theme, the artist intelligently selected the vocabulary in terms of various other conceptual analogies pertaining to Śiva. Some of the analogies that might have influenced or inspired his visual expression are the following:

(i) Śiva as the divine embodiment of the three *guṇas* and four *vyūhas*,

(ii) The *Saptamūrtimaya* aspect of Śiva, as an alternative of the Aṣṭamūrti,

(iii) Śiva as the lord of the Śivasiddhānta system consisting of three principles or tattvas: *Pati*, *Paśu* and *Pāsa*, and four activities or *pādas*: *vidya*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *caryā*. That means the *Catuṣpāda* form of the lord of three Principles,

(iv) Siva as the embodiment of the seven notes of music—*saptasvaramaya*-Śiva,

(v) Siva as the supreme lord of the various sects and sub-sects of the Pāśupata cult: *tāntrika*, *vaidika*, and *miśra* as the basic divisions and Śivasiddhānta, Kālānana, Pāśupata, and Kāpālika as the schools of thought.

In either of the above-mentioned concepts, the compositional formulation envisages the incorporation of seven forms and not of eight forms. Their relevance to the Parel sculpture with seven forms in the way they are depicted is quite evident. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that the *Catuṣpāda* concept of Śiva as delineated in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and other *Purāṇas* and also the *Saptamūrtimaya* aspect of the lord as referred to in the *Liṅgapurāṇa* are related to the *Viśvarūpa* or the cosmic form of Śiva. Of course the nature of this cosmic form is not the same as that of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu as given in the *Gītā*. But this is how the *viśvarūpa* of Śiva is described in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Liṅgapurāṇa*. One cannot ignore this while looking at the Parel sculpture.

Notes and References

1. Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* (henceforth *BG*), Vangavasi ed., XI, 46; *Śivagītā* (henceforth *SG*), Vangavasi ed., VII. 40-46; *Devīgītā* (henceforth *DG*), Vangavasi ed., 1.49.
2. Sivaramamurti, C. *Some Aspects of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 3.
3. *Viśuddha Nityakarma-Paddhati* (in Bengali script), ed. by Tirthanath Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, n.d., p. 25.
4. Bhattacharyya, D.C. *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (henceforth *SBI*), New Delhi, 1978, pp. 12 ff. Also see 'Cosmic Vision and Buddhist images' by P. Pal in *Art International*, vol. XXV, 1-2, 1982, pp. 8 ff.
5. *Sādhanamālā*, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 240.
6. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (metrical version), Ms. Societe Asiatique, Paris, fols. 29a, 1.6-29 b, 1.3 (quoted by K. Bhattacharyya in *Artibus Asiae*, XXVII, 1/2, 1964, p. 77, note 17).
7. Bhattacharyya, D.C. *Iconology of Composite Images* (henceforth *ICI*), New Delhi, 1980, pp. 48 ff.

8. Pal, P. *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*, (henceforth *VIN*), Calcutta, 1970, pp. 50 ff; Shah, U.P. *Sculptures from Samlaji and Roda*, Baroda, 1960, pp. 66 ff.
9. The special exhibition organized by the National Museum, New Delhi, from the 15th of April, 1974 on the theme "Shiva in Indian Art" (reported by B.N. Sharma in the *Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Spring, 1975, pp. 85 ff.) did not have any reference to the supreme form (*viśvarūpa*) of Śiva. Sivaramamurti in his *Śatarudrīya: Vibhūti of Śiva's Iconography*, New Delhi 1976, pp. 3 ff., however, refers to the concept of this form of Śiva, but does not, unfortunately, gives it a comprehensive treatment. Latest publication is *Viśvarūpa* by T.S. Maxwell, New Delhi, 1988.
10. Sivaramamurti, *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
11. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXXXIII, Trivandrum, 1925, Part IV, Patala 36, verse 67. The *Śiva-Mahimnastava* of Puṣpadanta (trs. by Arthur Avalon, Madras, 1953) also refers to a similar concept, although in a different way.
12. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (henceforth *BP*), Vangavasi ed., Chs. XXII and XXIII.
13. *Vāyupurāṇa* (henceforth *VP*), Vangavasi ed., Ch. XXIII.
14. *Liṅgapurāṇa* (henceforth *LP*), ed. by Jibananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1885, Ch. XXIII.
15. E.g., the eleventh ch. of the *BG.* dealing with the *viśvarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa, has the colophon statement as follows: *Iti śrīmahābhārate śatasahasryāṁ saṁhitāyāṁ vaiyāsikyāṁ bhiṣmaparvaṇi śrīmadbhāgavadgītāsupaniṣadsu brahmavidyāyaṁ yogaśāstre śrīkṛṣṇārjuna saṁvāde viśvarūpadarśanā nāmaikādaśo dhyāyaḥ*. But the colophon statement of the seventh ch. of the *SG* dealing with the *viśvrūpa* of Śiva is as under: *Iti śrīpadmapurāṇe śivagītāsūpaniṣadsu brahmavidyāyāṁ yogaśāstre śivarāghavasaṁvāde viśvarūpadarśanaṁ nāma saptamo'dhyāyaḥ.*
16. Banerjee, J.N. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 462-63; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 9,45,61, and figs. 19-20.
17. *BG.* XI. 16. Cf. *Lp.*, Part II, ch. XVIII, verses 3-4: *Bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ bhaviṣyaṁca vartamānaṁ maheśvaraḥ Viśvaṁ kṛtsnaṁ jagat sarvam.*
18. Cf. *satyaṁ tasmai namo namah // Tvamādi ca tathābhūto bhurbhuvaḥ svastathaiva ca / Ante tvaṁ viśvrūpo'si śīrṣantu jagataḥ sadā*, in the *LP., Ibid.*
19. E.G., *LP.*, Part II, Ch. XIX, verse 17: *Brahmāṇaṁ dakṣiṇe bhāge viṣṇuṁ vāme janārdanam / Ṛkyajuḥṣāmamārgeṇa mūrttitrayamayaṁ śivam.*
20. Bhattacharyya, *I.C.I.*, p, 62.
21. *BG.*, XI, 13.
22. *Ibid.*, X, 39.
23. *SG.*, VII, verse 13-19:
    Vidyutkoṭiprabhaṁ dīptamatibhīmaṁ bhayāvaham /
    Taddṛiṣtvaiva bhayādrāmo jānubhyāmavanīm gataḥ //
    Praṇamya daṇḍavat bhūmau uṣṭāva ca punaḥ punaḥ /
    Tathotthāya mahāv-ro yavadeve prapaśyati //
    Vaktraṁ purabhidastāvadantarbrahmandakotyāḥ /
    Caṭakaiva Lakṣyante jvālāmālāsamākulaḥ //
    Merumandaravindhyādvā girayaḥ sapta sāgarāḥ /
    Dṛśyante candrasūryādyāḥ pañcabhūtāni te surāḥ //
    Araṇyāni mahānāgā bhuvanāni caturdaśa /
    Pratibrahmāṇ amevaṁ tadṛṣṭvā daśarathātmajaḥ //
    Surāsurāṇaṁ saṁgrāmāṁstatra purvāparanapi /
    Viṇordaśāvatārāmśca tatkarttavyānyapi dvijāḥ //
    Parābhavaāṁśca devānāṁ puradāhaṁ maheśttuḥ /
    Utpadyamānānyutpannān sarvānapi vinaśyataḥ //

24. In the *BG.*, we are told that Kṛṣṇa gave Arjuna the divine eyes (*divyaṁ dadāmi te cakṣuḥ*) for seeing the supreme form of the lord (*paramaṁ rūpamaiśvaram*). Arjuna was frightened at the sight *dṛiṣṭvā bhayena ca pravyathitaṁ mano me*) and requested Kṛṣṇa to get back to his original four-handed form (*tenaiva rūpeṇa caturbhujena sahasrabāha bhava viśvamūrtte*). In the *SG.*, too, a similar sequence of events is given, Rāma was endowed with divine eyes (*divyaṁ cakṣuḥ pradāsyāmi tubhyaṁ daśarathātmaja*) by Śiva so as to enable the former to see his cosmic form. Rāma was so frightened (*dṛiṣṭvā rāmo bhayāviṣṭaḥ*) that he requested Śiva to contain his huge form *upasaṁhāra viśvātman, viśvarūpamidaṁ tava*) and show him his usual four-handed form (*caturbhujaṁ khaṇḍaparaśuṁ mṛgahastam jagatpatim*).
25. *LG.*, Part II, Chs. XI. ff. discuss the glory (*vibhūti*) of Śiva and also the supreme form (*viśvrūpa*) of the lord.
26. *LP.*, Part I, Ch. XVII, verse 61.
27. *BG.*, XI, 16.
28. For some of the notable examples of the representation of the *viśvarūpa*-Viṣṇu, see the works of Pal and of Shah cited in the note 8 above. Also see Bhattacharyya, *op.cit.*, pp. 48 ff. and Maxwell, *op.cit.*
29. Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, p.5.
30. Saroj Rani in her *Iconography of Shiva in Pahari Painting* (Doctoral dissertation, Panjab University, 1974) p. 51, refers to the painting to be of "Kangra Kalam". But we know now that the painting, although belonged to the possession of the *mahant* of the monastic establishment of Dharamsal in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab originally hailed from Jammu. For the references, see *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report*, 1923-24, p. 56 and *The Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 66. See also Usha Bhatia's *Paintings in the Hindu Monastic Establishments of Punjab Plains* (Doctoral dissertation), Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1977, p. 248.
31. *Archaeological Survey of India. Annnal Report*, 1923-24, p. 56.
32. Cf. the following interesting definition of the Paśupati aspect of Śiva as given in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, Part II, verse 12:
Pāśavaḥ parikīrtyante saṁsāravasavarttinaḥ /
Teṣāṁ patitvātbhagavān rudraḥ paśupatiḥ smṛtaḥ /
33. The number of hands has not been rationalized by the artist with the number of heads of the figure. Obviously the artist's intention was to imply the multiplicity of hands, and not their numerical strength.
34. These iconographic features could be seen in the representations of the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu as well. Particular mention could be made of the celebrated sculpture representing this form of Viṣṇu found from the Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa temple, Nepal. See Pal, *VIN.*, fig. 19. The discs of the sun and moon, however, are shown here on the stale of the sculpture, and the Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu at the bottom of the sculpture.
35. *LP.*, Part II, Ch. XVIII, verses 1-4.

Ya e[illegible]a bhagavān rudra brahmāviṣṇumaheśvarāḥ /
Skandaścāpi tathā cendro bhuvanāni caturdaśa /
Aśvinī grahatārāśca nakṣatrāni ca kham diṣaḥ /
Bhūtāni ca yathā sūryyai somaścaṣṭau grahāstathā/
Prāṇāḥ kālo yamo mṛtyuramṛitaḥ parameśvaraḥ //
Bhutaṁ bhayyam bhaviśvanca vartamāṇam maheśvaraḥ /
Viśvaṁ kṛtsnaṁ jagat sarvaṁ satyaṁ tasmai namo namaḥ /
Tvamadi ca tathabhuto bhurbhuvah svastathaiva ca
Aute tvaṁ viśvarūposi śīrṣantu jagataḥ sadā //

36. The *DG.*, has its chapter III entirely devoted to the exposition of the supreme form of the mother of the World: *jagadambāyā virāṭmūrtivarṇanam*. In the Ch. I of the *Bhagavatīgīta*, too, there is the description of a similar form.
37. According to the *Bhagavatīg'tā* (Ch. I), the supreme form of the goddess was revealed by her before Himālaya who was first endowed with the divine pair of eyes (*dadāmi cakṣuste divyaṁ*). Himālaya was not, however, frightened at the sight, but was immensely charmed and surprised (*vismayotphullamanasaḥ*). He too, however, wanted to see the alternate form of the divinity (*rūpamanyat pradarśaya*). All these remind us of similar sequence of events narrated in the *BG.* and in the *SG* in respect of the exposition of the supreme form respectively of Kṛṣṇa and Śiva.
38. As examples, we can refer to two images of the *viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, both from Nepal. See Pal, *VIN.*, figs. 20 and 25.
39. See *BP.* XXII and XXIII, *VP.* XXIII, *LP.* XXIII and XXIV (in Part I).
40. *BP.* XXII. 53-55.
41. *BP.* XXIII. 21.
42. *Ibid.*, Verses 17 ff.
43. *LP.* XXIV. and VP. XXIII contain similar lists of the offsprings. A few minor variations are noticed in respect of the names and their succession. For the *VP.* variations, cf. the list given in Patil, D.R. *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, Pune, 1946, p. 61.
44. *BP.* XXIII. 160.
45. In fact, the so-called *Caturmukha-Liṅga* images represent the five faces (*pañcānana*) of Śiva—four with the figuretive faces and the remaining one with the abstract form of the top of the *liṅgam*.
46. A detailed discussion on the sculpture could be found in *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the Chandigarh Museum* by D.C. Bhattacharyya, Chandigarh, 1981, and also in the article entitled "Caturmūrti-liṅga of Śiva" by the same author, published in the *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*.
47. Coomaraswamy, A.K. *The Dance of Shiva*, New York, 1957, p. 70; Zimmer, H. *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Princeton, 1974, p. 154.
48. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, Paṭala 46, verses 62-63.
49. Sivaramamurti refers to four gaṇas playing the four musical instruments: "that compose the Indian orchestra". See Bussaglio, M. and Sivaramamurti, C. *5000 Years of the Art of India*, Bombay, n.d., the caption of fig. 121. But for a revised version of the latter author, see his *Śatarudrīya: Vibhūti of Śiva's Iconography*, p. 5 where he writes that the Parel sculpture "shows Śiva *gaṇas*, playing *vīṇā*, *veṇu*, the lute and flute, as well as the drum and cymbals composing the Indian musical orchestra, not only as extolled by the chant of the notes of the *Sāmaveda*, *saptasāmopagītaṁ tvaṁ*, but composed of the seven notes themselves, as *śabda-brahma*, is an important personification of music in Śiva."
50. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p. 479.
51. Bhattacharyya, T. "The Parel Image," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1964, pp. 113-115.
52. Sivaramamurti, C. *Naṭarāja in Indian Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, pp.176-77. Also see the other works by the same author as cited in the note 49 above.
53. Gorakshkar, S. "The Parel Mahādeva Reassessed and two Newly Discovered Images from Parel', *Lalit Kala*, No. 20, pp. 15 ff. Surprisingly, Gorakshkar has dismissed all the previous suggestions of scholars as suffering from "the fallacy of deduction" without pointing out the demerits of the previous identifications. Such a summary dismissal, without critical analysis, betrays the unsound methodology followed by him.

54. As for instance, Zimmer in his *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, New York, 1955, fig. B 16 refers to it as "Śiva Trinity and Host". A similar reference is made of it in Sherman F. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, New York, n.d., fig. 210. S.K. Saraswati in his *Survey of Indian Sculpture*. Calcutta, 1958, fig. 115, refers to it as "Saivite figure". Moreover, although Bhattacharyya has himself observed that "The *jaṭāmukuṭa* also indicates the Śaiva character of the whole image", he has not gone into the possibility of the image being a form of Śiva with whom the *jaṭāmukuṭa* is rather intimately associated. In addition, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage (VI, I.I.I. ff.) on which Bhattacharyya has based his interpretation of the image, speaks of the composition of the seven forms in the following manner, one central form having two other forms each above and below the navel-thus four forms being composed above and below the central point. The remaining three forms should be composed in such a way that two of them formed the two wings, and one formed the pedestal. But the composition of the seven forms of the Parel image is in a completely different way; three forms vertically disposed in the centre, and the remaining four forms are laterally disposed, two on each side. Also see Gorakshkar, *op.cit.*, for a conclusive suggestion that the sculpture represents Śiva and not Brahmā.
55. The Śaivite *mantra* is composed of five syllables or *pañcākṣara*. But when this *mantra* is prefixed with *aum* (*oṁ*), it turns into an eight-syllabled one. If Benerjea's reference is to the latter, the number of forms in the Parel sculpture should have been eight in order to have the correspondence proper. In that case, the Parel sculpture would have been a representation of the *Aṣṭamūrti* concept of Śiva.
56. Sivaramamurti has not only used the expression "*saptasvaramaya*" to justify the musical character of Śiva, he has also referred to the lord as "*Saptasāmopag.taṁ tvaṁ*" in his *Śatarudrīya*: *Vibhūti of Śiva*'s *Iconography*. p. 5. But nowhere he has given the citation for the usage of these expressions in the texts.
57. See note No. 55.
58. *LP.*, Part I, Ch. XVIII, verses 21-22.
59. *LP.*, Part II, Ch. XIII, verse 28:
Aṣṭamūrttereananvatyaṁ vadanti paramarṣayaḥ |
Saptamūrttimayanyāburīśasyaṅgāni debīnām ||
60. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, pp. 452-53. See also Sharma, R.K., *The Temple of Caunṣaṭha-yoginī at Bheraghat*, Delhi, 1978. p. 27.
61. Maxwell, T.S. 'Sun/Moon and the Āditya/Rudra oppositions in Viśvarūpa Iconography', *SARAS Bulletin*, No. 2, 1983, p. 41.
62. I am indebted to Dr. Devangana Desai for having supplied the photograph and also for this important interpretation by her through the paper she presented at the Seminar held in London in 1982 in connection with the Festival of India Celebrations.
63. In Chapter 23 of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, Śiva explains his universal form to Brahmā and says that as *viśvarūpa* he has four sohs, who are like the four sons of Dharma and who stand for the four *vargas* or aims, viz., *Kāma* (desire) *artha* (wealth), *dharma* (spirituality) and *moksa* (freedom). This point and various forms of the Dakşināmūrti of Śiva represented in sculpture has been very elaborately discussed by P. Pal in his paper 'The Image of Grace and Wisdom: Dakşiṇāmūrti of Śiva', *Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, 1982, pp. 244 ff.
64. *Tāntrikaṁ vaidikaṁ miśraṁ tridhā pāśupataṁ śubham* (*Kūrmapurāṇa* as quoted in the *Śrīkara-bhāṣya*). For the reference, see Pathak, V.S. *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, Varanasi, 1960, p.2, fn. 3.
65. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

31

Kanauj Sculptures: An Overview

MIHIR MOHAN MUKHOPADHYAY

I

Kanauj,[1] lying in the Farrukhabad District of modern Uttarpradesh, is one of the few places that have played a significant role in the political and cultural life of India. The importance of Kanauj was perhaps due to its strategic location. Originally the city stood on a cliff on the right bank of the Ganges, it was then the highway of commerce and communication, and was a convenient centre for river traffic in the upper doab.

Kanauj is celebrated for its rich artistic and cultural heritage but it found a new impetus in the time of Harshavardhana (*C.* A.D. 606-647) who raised the imperial status of the metropolis. Subsequently, under the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Gāhaḍavālas, Kanauj not only recalled the glories of Harsha's epoch but also enriched its position in the political and cultural map of early medieval India.[2]

Hiuen-Tsang has provided a graphic description of the city of Kānyakubja or Kanauj (*Ka-no-Ku-she*). According to the Chinese pilgrim, Kanauj was a cosmopolitan city where both Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism flourished with hundred monasteries and two hundred *deva* temples. The prosperity of the city was expressed in its lofty structures, beautiful gardens, tanks and the museums of rarities collected from strange lands. It was equally manifest in the refined appearance of its citizens and their devotion to learning and art.[3] Hiuen-Tsang also mentioned

about the full size golden sculpture of the Master for worship at the Assembly of Kanauj. The architectural designs and the method of town-planning of the cities and their proper upkeepings, especially of Kanauj as described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harsha, indicates the high degree of economic progress, artistic development and aesthetic sense achieved by them.[4]

After the prolonged tripartite struggle, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Bhojadeva I (*C.* A.D. 836-882) could establish his authority over a wide area in the north and western part of India and settled at Kanauj as the seat of their royal power. The kingdom of Kanauj despite its occasional ups and downs maintained its status of an imperial metropolis till the Muslim reduced it to ruins in A.D. 1018.[5] More or less the stable state of political situation coupled with efficient administrative system helped to promote an advance level of economic condition in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley region.

The indigenous and foreign sources indicate a developed condition of agriculture, industry and trade in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley region in the early medieval period.[6] During the period the flow of trade and commerce might have experienced a setback or decline, to a particular region or a centre for a time being. But this situation was not applicable to the whole of Northern India, as has been held by an authority.[7] In some recent studies it has been adequately proved that from *C.* A.D. 600-1200, trade and commerce have made a marked development throughout Northern India.[8] As a result, the economic prosperity of the trading community had left a significant impact on the social and cultural life of the regions and centres. The merchant and trading community raised their social status by patronising religious and art activity. This trend on the other hand helped to promote a conducive atmosphere for the development of art activity in the regions. We have epigraphic evidence to indicate that in the Gurjara-Pratihāra period, the guilds and/or similar corporate association of traders and manufacturers played an important part in the economic and cultural life of the people. The guilds collectively made endowments for pious objects. In the Gwalior inscription[9] it is stated that the guilds in their corporate activity made an endowment to a temple. The Pehoa inscription[10] records the meeting of horse dealers from different localities who voluntarily agreed to a cess from a seller and buyer, for the temples located at Kānyakubja, Gotīrtha, Bhojapura (near Kanauj) and Pṛithūdaka.

The epigraphic and literary sources of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period also throw some light about the artisan class. In epigraphs we find mention of *sthāpati* (master builder: architect) and *kumbhakāra* (pot-makers).[11] The Siyadoni inscription[12] mentions a number of professions connected with artisan class. They include *śilākuṭa* (stone-cutters), *kumbhakāra* (potters), *kaṁsakāra* (braizers) etc. Rājaśekhara, the court poet of Bhojadeva I has mentioned certain business and artisan classes who

were invited in the Royal Assembly.[13] Among them were painters, brick-layers, jewel-setters (*māṇikya bandhaka*), jewellers (*vaikaṭika*) etc. Though the literary accounts mainly provided by Rājaśekhara are not exhaustive but nevertheless they indicate a developed and well-established economic and cultural life of the region, especially of Kanauj.

In the writings of Rājaśekhara[14] again we find certain information regarding the costumes and jewelleries prevalent in the region. The dress worn by the ladies were according to natural surroundings, customs and manners (*pravṛitti, rītī* and *vṛitti*). They generally consist of a mantle (*dukūla*) bodice (*cōlaka*) and a skirt (*nīvī*). Silk was common in use among the elites. The poet has not mentioned in detail about mens' attire. The fineness of the texture of cloth is also attested by Sulaiman,[15] the Arab historian. The different types of jewelleries usually worn by the ladies are ear-ornament (*kuṇḍala*), the necklace with pearls, bracelets (*kaṅkana*), wristlets (*valaya*), waist-girdles with rubies and jewel anklets (*maṇi-nūpuras*).[16]

We shall find almost similar items and varieties of dress and ornaments described by Rājaśekhara in the Kanauj sculptures. As a matter of fact contemporary fashions and styles observed by Rājasekhara, perhaps, find their visual representations in the sculptures of Kanauj.

II

From the epigraphic records it is clear that during the reign of Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj,[17] a number of temples was constructed. Some of them were built by the initiative of the rulers themselves.[18] Though stray and isolated, quite a good number of figure sculptures belonging to Brahmanical Hinduism have been found from Kanauj and its neighbouring areas so far. The forms include Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu-Viśvarūpa, Sūrya, Śiva, Kalyāṇasundara, one-face and four-faced Śiva *liṅgam*, Durgā-Mahiṣamardinī, Gaṇapati, Skanda-Kārttikeya, Kāmadeva etc. A few Jaina Tīrthaṅkara images are also being found.[19] From the Jaina images, the existence of the temples of the sect may be presumed in the region. Compared to Brahmanical and to a certain extent the Jina sculptures, the Buddhist sculptures available from the area are negligible. Very few sculptures of the Buddhist pantheon are so far recorded. This perhaps indicates that the impact of Buddhism was felt in a lesser degree in the area, compared to the other principal religions. From iconographic and especially of stylistic reasons the sculptures of Kanauj deserved consideration. We propose to discuss here some of the forms.

Boddhisattva Lokanatha and Siddhaikavira

In an inscribed sculpture from Farrukhabad, two standing male deities are shown in slightly tri-bend (*tribhaṅga*) pose on a raised lotus pedestal (*Plate* 53),[20]

They display *Varada-mudrā* in their right hand and a lotus in their left. Both the deities are bedecked with ornaments and also have sacred threads (*upavīta*) on their bare body. Lotus nimbuses are shown behind their heads. On the top of the rectangular stela, a meditating (*Dhyānī*) Buddha in an attitude of *dharmacakrapravartans mudrā* is shown seated on a full blown lotus throne. Flying celestials or *vidyādharas* are hovering on each end of the upper part of the stela. One of the principal figures to the left has as a special feature, a long matted stylized hair (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) with a miniature *Dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha on the crown. With the association of *Dhyānī* Buddha Amitābha, along with the iconic distinctions, the figure may be identified as Lokanātha form of Avalokiteśvara.[21] The miniature figure immediately to his right is a youthful female, holding an indistinct object and a stem of flower in her hands. She is possibly, Tārā, the companion divinity of Lokanātha. The figure to the right of the principal figure is a dwarf-like pot-bellied male, holding a staff by his hands. He is Hayagrīva. The other principal figure to the right bears also certain iconic distinctions. The princely appearance of the figure is more prominent in the arrangement of the hair and the necklaces with the tiger-claws. The *Sādhanas* describe Mañjuśrī as having ornaments befitting a prince or a *Kumāra*.[22] The figure is identified as Siddhaikavīra form of Mañjuśrī. The miniature female figure to the left of the Siddhaikavīra is an attendant of the deity. The relief represents Lokanātha and Siddhaikavīra together in one place.

In their representation the Lokanātha and Siddhaikavīra are marked for grace and vitality with an emphasis on triple-bend (*tribhaṅga*) which seems to have been accentuated by the upper tilts of their hips. The plastic pliability and the linear rhythm noticed in the figures immediately connects them with the Gupta tradition. The composition is plain and simple and the carving is bold in general with a feeling for decorativeness as may be noticed in the treatment of the lotus-bases, the haloes behind, selective ornaments and the stalk of lotus held by Siddhaikavīra. All these elements are common with the Gupta trends. But certain medieval features are on their way, especially noticeable in the treatment of the eye-brows in separate plastic volumes. The palaeography of the inscription on the pedestal is dated in the ninth century which also corroborated by the stylistic features of the relief.

Kalyanasundara

In a relief from Kanauj Śiva and Pārvatī are shown in an act of marriage (*Plate* 54). The principal forms occupy a large section of the composition, and are seen standing within a cave. Wearing a *dhoti* down to the knee Śiva's bare upper part is adorned with ornaments. He is standing firmly on his left leg, and as a result, the right leg is relaxed. His right hand is stretched out to receive the right hand of the bride, while the left rests on his thigh. His hair is arranged in an elaborate *jaṭāmukuṭa* with jewelleries. Other ornaments worn by Śiva include ear-rings, a necklace, bracelets and a waistband. The calm assurance of the facial expression of

the lord is highly remarkable. To the right of Śiva, Pārvatī the shy bride, stands with her right hand extended across her body for the acceptance of the lord. Clothed in a diaphanous garment she is shown wearing quite a few ornaments, but not overburdened with jewelleries. Her wrist is adorned with rows of thin bangles, and while other ornaments include a pair of bracelets, a necklace, ear-rings and anklets. The hair is pulled back and tied in a large and elegant bun with the setting of a pearl diadem in front. Between Śiva and Pārvatī, Brahmā who acted as a priest on the occasion, is shown seated on his haunches. The wavy flames of the fire are seen as lurking from the *kuṇḍa* which is placed just in front of Śiva. A few other figures in different postures are also shown on the pedestal to meet iconic requirements. Immediately above these figures to the left stands Sūrya on a full blown lotus.

The upper part of the panel is separated from the lower by rocks which no doubt indicate the locale of the event, the Himālayas. Above the rocky formation are represented the figures of Dikpālas or the guardian deities with their respective mounts. In spite of the presence of various figures, the emphasis is on the central figures representing Śiva and Pārvatī. In their treatment the legacy of the Gupta classicism is quite pronounced, though there is an indication of sharper chiselling which seems to be a characteristic of the early medieval period. Thematically as well as from the point of composition, the Kalyāṇasundara panel of Kanauj may well be placed by the side of its counterpart found in the caves of Ellora.[23] The Western Indian examples of Śiva, however, appear to be throbbing in vitality which is unique to them. Here the vigour seems to have been replaced by grace which is very much expressive in the soft and sensitive smile of the god. The broad chest of Śiva is manly, while the globular shape of the breasts of Pārvatī testify to her feminine quality. Another interesting feature is the fully modelled cheek of goddess which is in clear contrast to her pointed chin and nose. It seems that in delineating female beauty the artists of Kanauj at least followed a distinct ideal particularly in the treatment of the face which may be held as quite different.

Compositionally simple, the Kanauj relief is divided into two main sections by means of stylized and undulating rock formation. In fact this treatment forms a projecting ledge and by swaying it from one end of the panel to the other, the artist has attempted to create a naturalistic impression with suggestive cloud forms. In the execution of the Dikpāla figures, the sculptor seems to have worked with a greater sense of freedom and as such variegated their postures as if to display their bodies in all possible angles. In contrast with the formation of the principal figures below, the Dikpālas and their mounts show a greater sense of movement, as may be evident in the treatment of the buffalo with its front legs raised, the galloping horse and elephant with its swinging trunk. The delineation of the individual figures as well as the total composition reminds one of the group of *devas* and Dikpālas found

in almost identical position in the Kalyāṇasundara panel in cave No. 29A at Ellora. Stylistically, the Kanauj relief may be dated in the ninth century A.D.[24]

Caturmurti Sivalinga

In the Mukhaliṅgam sculpture from Kanauj,[25] the artist has carved out the heads of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī (*Plate* 55) in bold relief around the smooth and bulbuous surface of the *liṅgam* or the phallus of Śiva. The modelling of the faces of Śiva and Pārvatī exhibits a marked maturity. They have long eyes, bow-shaped eye-brows, a sharp nose, pointed chin and thick sensitive lips. Śiva's large *jaṭāmukuṭa* is studded with jewels. His long pendulous ears with ear-rings seem to have gained separate volume. Pārvatī is also shown tastefully bejewelled with a fillet, long-ear-ornaments and a flat necklace. The rounded bun of hair upon the head of Pārvatī is noticeable. Stylistically, the Mukhaliṅgam sculpture link closely in time and spirit to the Śiva-Pārvatī in the Kalyāṇasundara panel of the same place (*Plate* 54) and be dated in the ninth century A.D.

Durga

In the eight armed Durgā image from Kanauj, of grey sand stone now in the Lucknow Museum,[26] the goddess is shown standing on a full blown lotus pedestal in tribend pose (*Plate* 56). She wears a long skirt like diaphanous garment below the navel, the folds of which may be traced immediately before her ankles. The upper part of her body remains bare. The implements in her hands include *cakra akṣamālā. paraśu, triśūla, kamaṇḍalu* and shield. One of her right hands displays *varada mudrā* while the corresponding left one is placed on her thigh. The goddess is tastefully bejewelled. The grand elaborate *jaṭāmukuṭa* is studded with jewels. She is also decked with a necklace, armlets, wristlets, waist-girdle and anklets. A circular lotus-petalled halo is provided at her back. Besides her vehicle (*vāhana*), the lion, to her right on the pedestal three other attendant figures are shown flanked the goddess with folded arms.

The smiling countenance of the goddess is tenderly modelled. The faminine quality of the deity are pronounced by her globular breast, narrow waist, the soft and sensitive belley, carved and slightly bulging hips. The Gupta elements may be traced in the physical grace and plastic quality of the sculpture. Medieval features are not lacking. Too much tilt on the hips of the central figure, the designs and patterns of her ornaments and above all the conventional treatment of the lion-mount indicate a change. Stylistically, the Durgā image is nearer to Pārvatī form (*Plate* 54) and may be dated in the ninth century A.D.

Matrika-panel

In a relief from Kanauj,[27] four Mātṛikā forms are shown in a row on a slightly raised platform (*Plate* 57). They are provided with full-blown lotus seat on the

platform and a circular lotus-petalled-haloes with beaded rims behind their heads. From the iconic distinctions the *mātrikā* figures from the left are Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī and Chāmuṇḍā respectively. Except Chamuṇḍā, who has a terrifying appearance, the remaining three forms have benign and graceful countenance and elegant contours. The first three figures are shown standing in a very charming triple-bend (*tribhaṅga*) flexions while Chāmuṇḍā with her ugly looking and emaciated person is in an act of dancing on a prostrate male figure on the ground. As usually, Vārāhī has a head of a boar (Varāha) and the body of a female. The physiognomy of Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and Aindrī are again characterised by slim and rounded arms and limbs and slightly elongated contour. The feminine quality has been accentuated in their soft and sensitive narrow waist, globular breast, full lips and pointed chins. The face is full with carved eye-brows and long-eyes. The trace of a sweet blissful smile on their lips have emphasised their motherly feelings in a befitting manner.

The deities are tastefully decked with personal ornaments, but they are not overburdened. The cylindrical headgears (*mukuṭa*) of Vaiṣṇavī and Aindrī are marked by their intricate fineworks, long ear-ornaments, necklaces, long beaded flowing chains sometime with pendants on, the armlets, wristlets and anklets have been displayed on their person. In the treatment and designs of the jewelleries medieval idiom are noticeable as found in other sculptural specimens of the centre. The mother-goddesses are flanked by miniature attendants or *chaurī* bearers. These figures have also received special care and attention of the sculptor, as evident from their easy graceful appearance with flexions to harmonise the entire composition in a more compact and balanced form. Further, a sense of movement and action are apparent when the tender young baby is on his toes with a move to touch the fingers of the mother Aindrī, or when the attendant of Chāmuṇḍā is about to attack his enemy with a dagger. The mounts of the goddesses, the elephant, boar are lively carved and add to the dynamic character of the composition. In the Mātṛikā forms the grace and volume of the Gupta tradition are evident. The medieval local features are in their way as are evident in certain emphasis on diagonal and angular movements of limbs and torso of the central figures, in variety and execution of their personal ornaments and the decorative elements of the stela. Considering the stylistic features and iconographic maturity the present Mātṛikā panel from Kanauj may be dated in the tenth century A.D.

Dancing Ganapati

The six-armed image of Gaṇapati[28] from Kanauj carved on an architectural section, is represented in an exquisitively elegant dancing pose (*Plate* 58). The bejewelled god wears a headgear (*mukuṭa*), double-necklaces, armlets, wristlets and anklets. His sacred thread is found with a knot of a coiled snake on the pot-belley. The god displays *varada-mudrā* by his lower right hand, a bowl of sweatmeat by his

lower right and a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) in his upper right. In his corresponding left hands, the lower one rests on the god's hip, the middle one displays a *mudrā* related to his dancing pose and the upper one holds a *paraśu*. The soft plastic rendering of the deity conforms well with the graceful rhythmic dancing posture. His pose is joyful, the trunk swings in tune with the uplifted foot. There is a shy twinkle in the eye as if showing that even with his heavy form the god can dance gracefully. In the carving the Gupta classical elements are pronounced and the grace pulsates with vibrating feeling and movement. In the architectural background and in the treatment of the personal ornaments of the deity, certain local idioms may be well-traced. Stylistically, the Gaṇapati can be placed in the tenth century A.D.

Siva Bhairava

The plump figure of Bhairava from Kanauj,[29] stands in a triple-bend flexions against a plain rectangular back-slab (*Plate* 59). The sculpture is made of buff sand stone. The lower part of the figure from the knee downwards is mutilated. The deity holds a cup in his right hand and a staff with human head in his left. His rotund puffed face is made menacing with rolling-circular eyes. He sports a moustache and beard—they are formed with stylized flame motifs, and a row of broad teeth are sticking out of his open mouth. His hair is curly chignon. He is decked with the snake ear-ornaments, garland of beads and a tight-waistband fastened with a sharp knot, in his ample form. The staunt flabby figure, the grinning face, the wine-cup and the wand with the human skull, the tight short of tiger-skin have enhanced the macabre nature of the deity. An ancient deity, Bhairava is the angry manifestation of Śiva. Here the Kanauj sculptor is not only successful in bringing out the iconic import of the deity but also its visual impact too. As an artistic creation, the Bhairava bears certain affinity in style with the dancing Gaṇapati discussed above (*Plate* 58) and be dated in the tenth century.

Visnu-Visvarupa

We now discuss an extremely crowded composition made of buff sandstone from Kanauj.[30] A majestic quality this is a well-preserved example of Viṣṇu-Viśvarūpa (*Plate* 60). Instead of the usual rigid frontal pose of Viṣṇu, the image shows an *ābhaṅga* pose on a pedestal against a semi-circular stela. The central head of the god is that of a human being, while those of the sides are of a fish, a tortoise, a boar and a lion. The image is characterised by a dignified repose. The physique is proportionate with rounded arms, muscular shoulders and a prominent chest. The full lips are enlivened with soft sensitiveness. The upper part of the figure is bare, the lower garment reaches upto the ankles and is typically diaphanous. The lower garment with stylised pleats covers between the legs. The rich ornaments of the figure include a cylindrical headdress, large ear-ornaments, flat necklace with

beaded borders, armlets designed after snake's coil, wristlets and rings. The chain-shaped waistband is fastened below the navel. Viṣṇu is eight-armed, two of his right hands are mutilated. From the position of the remaining six arms it is possible to appreciate the high compositional sense that directed the artist to arrange them so judiciously with a feeling for rounded plasticity and a sense of slight movement. The special significance of the creation lies not in the central figure but in the overall composition of the entire stela. The sculpture appear to be conceived in different planes. In the forefront is the miniature of *Nāginī-kanyā*, with her snake tail coiled in between the legs of Viṣṇu. Then comes the principal figure, and his attendants on two sides, one of which happens to be bewildered figure of Arjuna shown to his left. The attendant figures are found to be delineated with a lively interest and they show through their stances and facial expressions normal human qualities. In the background of the central figure is the semi-circular stela, which is rather crowded with various incarnations of Viṣṇu, Rudras, Ādityas, Vasūs, etc.[31]

There are two directions in the arrangement of all these figures. One is vertical and the other is horizontal. But in their vertical thrust they ultimately converge with the figures of Brahmā caping the entire stela. The sculpture here unfolds in a magnificent way, the conception of the cosmic dimensions of Viśvarūpa revealed by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. There is no doubt that from the visual point of view the Kanauj Viśvarūpa reached a high aesthetic grade, seldom noticed in other sculptures of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley region. A new stylistic idiom has been rendered through the sculpture. The Kanauj artist is successful in presenting a convincing plastic representation of the celebrated theme of the *Bhāgavad-Gītā*. On stylistic grounds the sculpture may be dated in the tenth century A.D.

Skanda-abhiseka

The fragmentary sculpture representing Skanda-*abhiṣeka* from Kanauj is now preserved in the National Museum[32] (*Plate* 61). In the treatment of the torso, the sculpture shows rounded shoulders, broad chest and slightly attenuated waist. Skanda's smiling face glows in a soft sensitiveness. The ornaments of the principal figure are prominent and tastefully executed. In the fillet, necklace and in the sacred thread (*upavīta*), the use of beads are noticeable. The hair arrangement of the deity is also interesting. From the consideration of their plastic execution, the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu engaged in *abhiṣecana* by pouring holy water from pitchers on Skanda-Kārttikeya's head are also extremely interesting. These figures are executed with a high sense of freedom and therefore, there is no usual iconic stiffness in them. Instead in their tripple-bend pose and extended hands a lively rhythm generally found in 'working men' may be found. On stylistic consideration the sculpture belongs to tenth century A.D.[33]

Durga-Mahisamardini

The six-armed goddess Durgā from Kanauj[34] lunges sideways to her right holding the buffalo demon (Mahiṣa) by his shoulder in one of her left hands (*Plate* 62). Originally, she speared the animal (*mahiṣa*) with a trident through her middle right hand. Both the trident and the middle right hand of the deity are mutilated and lost. The mark of the spear can still be traced on the buffalo's neck. The goddess holds a sword in her upper right hand and, perhaps, prepares herself to decapitate the demon by grasping it by her lower left hand. Durgā's mount, the lion is about to devour the buffalo from the back. Despite her striding pose, the goddess's face and chest are shown strictly *en face* and upright. In her remaining hands she displays two indistinct objects and a shield.

In contrast to earlier and more familiar narrative representation of this theme at Mahāvalipuram[35] and Ellora, which portray the battle scene populated with many other gods and demons, the incident at Kanauj is less ceremoniously performed and virtually encapsulated. The dramatic impact is created through the juxtaposition of diagonal elements. The countenance of the goddess could not be properly estimated due to the damaged nose, chins and eyes. But the round full face with the suggestion of the long eyes and eye-brows, it may be presumed that when intact, the expression of the goddess was full of grace and benign. The principal figure is modelled in the round and the stela behind is cut away to accentuate plasticity. The taut outline of the figure and the emphatic definition of ornaments, in contrast to the smoothly round surfaces of the body are noticeable. In the somewhat sharp treatment of outline, in the execution of ornaments, in wavy patterns of the lower garment, and above all in the arrangement of stela, may help one to place the Kanauj sculpture in the tenth century date.

III

The sculptures of Kanauj discussed above have revealed a distinct stylistic idiom and iconographic features. In their plastic quality, balanced physiognomical forms, with their graceful and dignified expression, in their subtle flexions, the figure sculptures vibrate with feeling and rhythm. Especially in delineating female beauty the artists of Kanauj followed a distinct ideal which is simply charming. The figures are decked with tasteful jewelleries, perhaps, in keeping with the contemporary fashions and styles. But their ornaments are seldom overburdened. Along with the principal forms, the accompanying or attendant figures invariably provides a compositional unity and harmony in a most successful order possible. The decoration of the stela or the background, either through floral, cloud or mountain forms, though simple but charmingly delineated by the artists of Kanauj.

It has been noted that in the carvings of Kanauj, the Gupta Classical trends are pronounced in the ninth and tenth century sculptures. The rich heritage of the so called Gupta norms have been harmonised and synthesized with certain local norms, namely, in physiognomical features and facial expression, certain decorative elements and a new aesthetic sense. All these have contributed to place the Kanauj (Farrukhabad) sculptures on a different stylistic plane. It is almost clear that ninth-tenth century Kanauj sculptures at least, maintain certain distinctions when they are compared with the products of the other parts of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley region.[36]

It may be held further that seventh century onwards Kanauj earned a distinct place in the cultural life of the region. In the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, due to the patronage of the court, the deep interest taken by the trading community and also other contributory factors an atmosphere was made highly conducive to the creative activity. Contemporary epigraphic, literary and archaeological data testify it. During the period the sculptural art of Kanauj reached a high water mark of excellence as the extant specimens justify. Kanauj became a centre and an atelier of art with a new idiom to express. Mathurā, the leading workshops of the Gupta art of nearby location lost its glory and eminence in the eighth century, if not earlier. That place has been taken by Kanauj in the early medieval period distinguished for its visual values and aesthetic significance.

Notes and References

1. The name Kanauj is derived from '*Kānyakubja*'. The other name of the city of Kanauj was Mahodayapura. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* (Ch. I, 20) it is stated that Mahodayapūra was within *Madhyadeśa-viṣaya*. Mahodaya was also known as Gādhinagara, Gadhipūra, Kuṣasthali. Kūsik etc. In the literary and epigraphic sources Kanauj occasionally used to denote a wider geographical connotation. It was frequently indicated as a Province. According to Hiuen-Tsang, the territorial extension of Kanauj was around 4000 li. The approximate area of the city of Kanauj or Kānyakubja (*Ka-no-fu-shi*), according to the Chinese pilgrim was 20×5 *li*. In the Gurjara-Pratihāra records Kānyakubja denotes a Province or *bhukti*, While its capital was called as Mahodaya. The *Skandapurāṇa* has stated that about 36 lakhs of villages could be accommodated within the Kānyakubja region. Though an exaggerated statement, the Purāṇic account gives an idea of the vastness of the province. The Buddhist literature has located Kānyakubja within *Majjimadeśa* (or Madhyadeśa). If proper and systematic excavation is undertaken on the ruins of ancient Kanauj, it is reasonably expected that more significant cultural remains of the Maukharis, Vardhanas, Āyudhas, Gurjara-Pratihāras and Gāhaḍavalas may be unearthed. That might provide a new dimension to the history and culture of the region.
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4. Mookerji, R.K , *Ibid.*, p. 168.
5. Puri, B.N., *The History of the Gurjata-Pratihāras*, Bombay, 1957, p. 102.
6. Gopal, Lalanji, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 90, 105.
7. Sharma, R.S., *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965.
8. Chattopadhyay. B.D., Trade and Urban centres in early medieval north India, *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, 1974, and also Chakraborty, Ranabir, *Uttar Bhārater Maṇ ḍapikā: Ādi-madhya jūge sthāniya bāṇijya kendra* (in Bengali), G. Chattopadhyay ed., *Itihas Anusandhan*, Calcutta, 1987, p. 120.
9. *Epigraphia Indica* (will be subsequently used as *EI*), Vol. I, p. 159.
10. *EI*, I, p. 187.
11. *EI*, XIX, p. 50.
12. *EI*, III, p. 278; *Sthāpati* is defined by Medhātithi as *vāstuvidyā-j.vīn*, one who is an architect, mason etc.
13. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, p. 55.
14. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 8; *Viddhāsālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara, I, pp. 18, 34.
15. Elliot & Dowson, *History of India, as told by its Historians*, Vol. I, p. 5.
16. *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājasekhara, II, 13, 15, 17, 18,
17. A few instances may be cited in this connection: Temple of Viṣṇu built by Bhuvāka in the time of Bhojadeva I. *E.I.*, I, p. 184 ff, p. 187; temple of Nava-Durgā during the reign of Bhojadeva I, dated A.D. 875, *E.I.* I, p. 159. Temple of Viṣṇu (Yogasvāmin) during Mahendrapāladeva's reign dated A.D. 917 *I.A.*, Vol. 16, p. 173; Temple of Śiva-Mahādeva, in the reign of Mahendradeva dated A.D. 989, *E.I.* III, p. 263.
18. Temple of Viṣṇu (Narakādviṣah) built by Bhojadeva I himself. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 110; Temple of Parameśvara built by queen Jāyāvali, E.I., IX, p. 119.
19. Bajpai, K.D., *Kanauj*, Lucknow, 1955, p. 22.
20. Lucknow Provincial Museum No. G. 219.
21. Saraswati, S.K., *Tantrayāna Art*, An Album, Calcutta, 1977, p. XXVII.
22. *Ibid*,, p. XIX.
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24. Mukhopadhyay, M.M., *Sculptures of Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley*, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 37-39, fig. 29.
25. Bajpai, K.D., *op. cit.*, Pl. 5.
26. Lucknow Provincial Museum No. 55. 287.
27. Now preserved in the Kanauj, Archaeological Museum. The sculpture is made of buff sandstone.
28. Bajpai, K.D., *Op. Cit.*, Pl. 4(a).
29. Kanauj, Archaeological Museum No. 75/17. The size of the sculpture: 225×170 m.
30. Bajpai, K.D., *op. cit.*, Pl. 8.
31. Pal. P., *Vaisnava Iconology in Nepal*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 56-57.
32. National Museum No. 67. 160.
32. Mukhopadhyay, M.M., *op. cit.*, p. 47.
34. Kanauj, Archaeological Museum No. 77. 165. The sculpture is of grey sandstone.
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32

Vaisnavism in Burdwan

RAMAKANTA CHAKRABARTY

I

The district of Burdwan in West Bengal looks like a hammer on the map. Its borders are adjacent to those of Hooghly and Nadia in the east, and Bankura and Birbhum on the west. The Bhagirathi flows along its eastern border. Across its heart flows the Damodar, once dreaded for its terrible floods. The river Ajaya separates it from Birbhum. The Barakar river cuts it off from Bihar. The district is watered by numerous tributaries, small rivers, and canals. The soil of Burdwan is highly productive. The district is the granary of West Bengal. In 1820 Walter Hamilton noted the affluence of the peasantry of Burdwan; he wrote:[1]

> . . . nor is there any other portion of territory in Hindoostan that can compare with it for productive agricultural value in proportion to its size. In this respect Burdwan may claim the first rank. . .

Modern industries began to develop in Burdwan after 1850. The Railways passing through it gradually led to the development of small urban settlements around important railway stations. The coal-mines in Western Burdwan slowly transformed the entire area into an industrial region.

The population figures, quoted by H. H. Risley in *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (2 volumes, reprint. Calcutta, 1981) make it evident that, in Burdwan district,

as elsewhere in undivided Bengal, the demographic majority was constituted by numerous Śūdra castes, most of which were professional. But the majority was dominated by the Brāhmaṇas and the upper Śūdras. The Santals and other tribals, prone to be influenced by millenarian movements, were numerically insignificant in most of the sub-divisions of the district.[2] The village-economy was controlled by *Goālā*-milkmen, *Kaibārta*—peasants, *Kāmār*—blacksmiths, *Kumār*—potters, *Telī*—oilmen, and middle-ranking *Āguri* and *Sadgop*—cultivators. Being centrally located on the routes linking Bengal with Upper India, Burdwan town was a notable commercial centre. Its opulence in the middle of the eighteenth century has been described by Bhāratcandra in his *Vidyāsundar Kāvya*.[3] The Muhammadan peasantry was demographically significant in some areas of the district. The greatest landlord of the district was the *Mahārājā* of Burdwan, whose ancestors came to Bengal probably from the Punjab.

II

Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan, as in the other districts of West Bengal, had three strands. The primary strand was of course Vaiṣṇavism as an essential ingredient of *Pancopāsanā*-tradition, or the tradition of the worship of five principal deities, namely, Viṣṇu, Siva, Sakti, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa. The second and the broader strand was Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, which was propagated in the rural societies by different followers, *gurus*, and *mahāntas* of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava order. Heterodox Vaiṣṇavism, which derived its basic theology from certain Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava works, such as Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta*, had some influence in the district. The third strand of Vaiṣṇavism may be described as pedestrian Vaiṣṇavism, the basic spirit of which is syncretism. These three strands of Vaiṣṇavism co-exist in Burdwan with widespread Sivaism, Sakta worship, the Dharma cult, and the worship of Manasā, the goddess of snakes. Vaiṣṇavism is deeply ingrained in Burdwan's rural life, and it has leavened Burdwan's culture at all levels.

An attempt is made in this paper to trace the development of Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan district and evaluate its consequences.

III

A copper-plate inscription with the image of discus-holding Viṣṇu was found in Mallasarul village in Burdwan. It is dated c. 500 A.D. Some Vaiṣṇava personal names are found in the sixth line of the inscription.[4] The ten principal incarnations of Viṣṇu were worshipped in other parts of Bengal. The Mallasarul inscription makes it evident that in early mediaeval times, *avatāra*-worship was also popular in Burdwan. However, lack of epigraphic and literary evidence makes it rather difficult for us to determine the extent and forms of Vaiṣṇava worship in Burdwan in the early middle ages. Throughout Bengal the legends of Rama and Kṛṣṇa grew popular.

Kṛṣṇa, the lover of milkmaids, was a culture-hero. He became a principal figure of Avahatta literature. It is now assumed that this literature cast its influence on Jayadeva, the author of *Gitagovindam*.[5] Sanskrit verses on the Vaiṣṇava motif were composed by more than seventy poets.[6] Vaiṣṇavism was also a part of the *Pancopāsanā-tradition*. The theories, legends, and rituals of Vaiṣṇava worship were laid down in the Vaiṣṇava *Upapurāṇas*.[7] Vaiṣṇavism was projected as a refined form of Hinduism, designed to counterbalance Buddhist *hetuvāda* or rationalism, and the doldrums supposed to have been associated with *Kaliyuga*. In certain mythologies an attempt was made to combine Vaiṣṇavism with Śiva-worship and the Śākta faith.[8] The specific *ācāra* or religious rituals and life-style ceremonies of the Vaiṣṇavas remained impressive enough to be included in such Brāhmaṇical works as *Kriyā-kāṇḍavāridhi*.[9] As a mythological faith enshrined in the scriptures and patronized by the Hindu dynasts, Vaiṣṇavism was acceptable to the orthodox Brāhmaṇas. King Vallāla Sena (1158-1169), who was noted for his orthodoxy, refers to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in *Dānasāgara*, where he takes a dim view of Śivaism and Śākta worship.[10]

IV

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* represented the refined ideology of devotion, which was distinguishable from pure ritualism, but which subsumed all forms of *avatāra*-worship. The hero of this work, however, was Kṛṣṇa, a redoubtable folk-hero who easily killed demons and oppressors of the people and who was yet a tender-hearted and handsome lover with whom the milkmaids of pastoral Vṛndāvana fell madly in love. Throughout the Indian sub-continent Kṛṣṇa gradually became one of the main figures of rural Hinduism.

Sukumar Sen once propagated the view that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* was unknown to the Bengalis before the fifteenth century A.D.[11] He opines that it is not mentioned in some of the commentaries prepared by Bengali scholars on the *Amarākoṣa* before the fifteenth century A.D. But he has not noted that this mythology has been mentioned in Vallāla Sena's *Dānasāgara*, and Jyotirīśvara Thakkura's *Varṇaratnākara*, which was written in Mithilā towards the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.[12] Bengal's cultural link with Mithilā was very strong. The verses of Kulaśekhara, collected in *Saduktikarṇāmṛtam*, have an unmistakable undertone of *bhakti*.[13] Various episodes, mentioned in the principal Vaiṣṇava *purāṇas*, including the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, are referred to in verses of *Āryasaptaśatī* of Govardhanācārya, who was a contemporary of Jayadeva.[14] It is perhaps reasonable to think that *bhakti* was not appreciated by the Brāhmaṇical ritualists who did not attach any importance to it. According to Vṛndāvana Dasa, who first wrote the biography of Caitanya in Bengali, even those who read the *Gīta* and the *Bhāgavata* did not "utter" the devotional significations of these texts.[15]

It is in this context that *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* of Mālādhar Basu, a distinguished *kāyastha*-inhabitant of Kulīngrām in Burdwan, appears to be of immense importance.[16] Mālādhar Basu probably belonged to the bureaucracy of the sultanate of Bengal. This work was written between 1473 and 1480. According to Ābdul Karim, he was awarded the title of *Guṇarāj Khān* by Sultan Bārbāk Shāh.[17] Mālādhar Basu was decidedly one of those contemporary Bengali intellectuals who realized the socio-religious significance of the doctrine of *bhakti* as propagated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. With a view to spreading the message of this mythology, which was composed in highly sophisticated Sanskrit, Mālādhar presented a free version of 196 anecdotes of Kṛṣṇa, which are narrated in the original work, in easily readable Bengali verse. In *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* the episodes are presented as songs which are based on *Rāgas* and *Raginīs*. Considerable emphasis is laid on the heroic episodes, but the famous *Rāsalīlā* of Kṛṣṇa has also a prominent place in this work. It is apparent that Mālādhar, who was probably a high-ranking bodyguard of the Sultan,[18] did not appreciate the concept of Kṛṣṇa as merely a lover. He presented an account of Kṛṣṇa's exploits as a divine hero, for whom *bhakti* would be unexceptionable in a society dominated by puritanical Brāhmaṇas.

The ancient village of Kulīngrām, where Mālādhar had his ancestral home, attracts our notice.[19] Like any other big and ancient village of West Bengal, it is inhabited by a dominant class of Brāhmaṇas, and upper Śūdra farmers, who wield authority over the lower Śūdra helots, and who practise, for social and economic reasons, religious acculturation. In Caitanya's time, however, the most popular religion of the village was Vaiṣṇavism: it is said that even those untouchables of Kulīngrām, who tended the pigs, 'sang the name of Kṛṣṇa'.[20] Mālādhar Basu was doubtless a Vaiṣṇava, and his descendants also adhered to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Rāmānanda Basu, Mālādhar's grandson, was a direct disciple of Caitanya.[21] In all probability, owing to their link with the Sultanate, the Basu-family of Kulingrām could easily transform Vaiṣṇavism into the dominant religion of the village. But it also worshipped 'Gopeśvara Siva', for whom a temple was built.[22] This means that even after Caitanya's advent, Vaiṣṇavism in Kulīngrām, and the neighbouring areas of Burdwan and Hooghly was an ingredient of the *Pancopāsanā*-tradition.

It is, however, reasonable to believe that the social elite of Kulīngrām, led by the Basu family, fully supported the Vaiṣṇava-*bhakti* movement of Caitanya. The young religious leader was conversant with Mālādhar's *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya*.[23] Later Mālādhar's son Satyarāj Khān and grandson Rāmānanda became acquainted with Caitanya and his cardinals. Satyarāj was possibly a disciple of *Yavana* Haridāsa, a Principal figure of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Navadvīpa. According to a tradition Haridāsa lived in Kulingrām for some time. A hermitage was built for him. It is now known as 'Haridāsa Gauḍīya Math'. Here a big image of Caitanya is worshipped.

Caitanya is said to have authorized Satyarāj Khān to supply a rope (pattadari) for the chariot of Jagannātha in Puri.[24] Worship of Jagannātha is also popular in Kulīngrām, where the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā, and Balarāma are installed in a brick-built temple. There is also a Rāma-Sītā temple in the village.

Kulīngrām in Burdwan presents the picture of happy religious syncretism, in which Vaiṣṇavism constitutes the dominant element. This is the generalized pattern of Hinduism in the rural and urban areas of Burdwan district.

V

The mediaeval biographers of Caitanya would have us believe that *bhakti*, as propagated by Caitanya and his followers, was a new and dynamic element in the prevalent religious culture of Bengal. This contention has considerable worth. As Benoykumar Sarkar seeks to show, religion in Bengal was, in the main, folk-religion which was neither Hinduism, nor Buddhism, in the technical sense.[25] The religious beliefs were primitive and rooted in animism and timeless fertility cults. Even the legend of Kṛṣṇa, the young lover of milkmaids, which grew extremely popular in Bengal's rural societies, has a phallic character.[26] Magic and phallicism were inextricably mixed with Buddhist Tāntricism, worship of Siva and his Bull, and Sākta orgiasticism of wine and flesh. The Brāhmanical settlements, which developed in select areas of Bengal under royal patronage, merely imposed an inscriptional ethic on the primordial life-styles.[27] Despite their dominant position in society, they utterly failed to strengthen the roots of any higher form of civilization in marginalized Bengal and Assam. In fact they had to practise selective acculturation, the evidence for which may be found in the *smṛti*-compendia prepared in Bengal between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries.[28] Pressed by the creeping jungle of ever multiplying folk-cults on the one hand, and by the terrific Muhammadan impact on the other, the Brāhmanical elements alienated themselves from the populace, and erected a protective barrier composed of institutes, Sanskrit grammar, and *Navyanyāya* or new logic, none of which reflected the needs and aspirations of the people.

Mālādhar Basu's *Śrikṛṣṇavijaya* shows that at least a group of intellectuals were not at all happy with the darkening cultural horizon. In the fifteenth century, Navadvīpa, where Caitanya was born, was the cultural capital of Bengal. Here the Vaiṣṇavas, quite a few of whom were disciples of an ascetic named Mādhavendra Purī, began to preach *bhakti* as an ideology of personal redemption and social progress. Young and handsome Caitanya transformed the propagation of devotion into a movement. Apart from its theological implications, *bhakti*, as preached by Caitanya and his chief cardinals Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda, had a social message.[29] *Bhakti* implied removal of casteism from spiritual culture, religious emancipation of the Śūdras and women, cultivation of the vernacular language, and,

above all, religious ecstasy, which was calculated to promote fraternity and liberalism. But the orthodox Brāhmaṇas and their students remained unimpressed by the ecstasy of Caitanya and his followers and, according to Vṛndāvana Dāsa, compelled Caitanya to renounce the world.[30] Caitanya left his old mother and young wife, came to Kātwā in Burdwan, and got himself formally initiated into asceticism by a monk of the *Bhāratī* order named Keśava Bhāratī.

VI

Caitanya's renunciation of the world, and initiation into asceticism by Keśava Bhāratī at Kātwā signified the termination of an important phase of his movement. Ever afterwards, however, Kātwā and the areas adjacent to it, remained marked as a powerful centre of Vaiṣṇavism. Caitanya's *bhakti*-creed, however, remained entrenched in isolated areas in eastern Burdwan, Kālnā, Bāghnāpāḍā and Kātwā.

Eastern Burdwan, adjacent to areas in Hooghly district where Sivaism was highly popular, adopted a syncretic approach. Sivaism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Sākta forms of worship co-existed in numerous villages of eastern region of the district. The main centre of Vaiṣṇavism in this region was Kulīngrām. But we have already mentioned the fact that the prominent Vaiṣṇavas of Kulīngrām like Satyarāj Khān had to support Siva-worship. Vṛndāvana Dāsa strongly suggested that the Vaiṣṇavas should honour other deities.[31] Initially the followers of Caitanya were not strong enough to declare a theory of the primacy of Vaiṣṇavism over the other Hindu theologies.[32] Yet the sojourn of *Yavana* Haridāsa in Kulīngrām was possibly calculated to lend to Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* an egalitarian character which might attract the helots. We should note that Pāṇḍuā in Hooghly, which is near Kulīngrām, was a powerful centre of Muhammadanism. Here a *Ghāzi*-warrior is said to have defeated the local Hindu ruler and proselytized a great number of Hindus.[33] The presence of *Yavana* Haridāsa in Kulīngrām might have been designed to administer a check to such proselytizations. It may be argued that at least for a while the common people were highly impressed by the egalitarianism of *bhakti* and Vaiṣṇava *kīrtana*, or congregational singing of hymns. Kulīngrām had its distinctive *kīrtana*-group.[34] But the efforts of the early followers of Caitanya in Kulīngrām were not continued by the later Vaiṣṇavas. Consequently this village gradually lost its significance as a primary centre of the *bhakti*-cult. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this century, some monks of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava order transformed *Yavana* Haridāsa's ancient hermitage into a sort of monastery, which still exists, and which does not follow any proselytizing mission on a large scale.

Syāmadāsa Ācārya, a son of Advaita Ācārya, built up a Vaiṣṇava centre in Navagrāma, which is near Kulīngrām.[35] His descendants still live in this village. He spread the faith in such villages as Bhaite, Pālsit, Bijur, and Mātsar, which are

populated by peasants, artisans and fishermen. Syāmadāsa Ācārya must have been helped by *Yavana* Haridāsa in his mission, for it is well-known that Haridāsa was very close to Advaita Ācārya. Syāmadāsa's relation with the Basu-Vaiṣṇavas of Kulīngrām is not ascertainable.

VII

The spread of Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan should be discussed with reference to the schools of thought which developed in the Caitanya movement. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya specifically asked Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda Avadhūta to disseminate *bhakti* in Bengal.[36] He himself lived in Puri as a highly venerable ascetic, lost in endless ecstasy. But Advaita was an old man. He did whatever he could do with the help of his sons like Acyutānanda and Syāmadāsa Ācārya, and disciples like Īśāna Nāgara and Viṣṇudāsa Ācārya.[37] There was also considerable uncertainty about Advaita Ācārya's religious thought.[38] Caitanya himself is said to have showered blows on the old man for his predilection for *Jnāna-mārga* or the 'way of knowledge'.[39] In Burdwan his son Syāmadāsa had to remain content with a few bases in villages bordering on the district of Hooghly.

Nityānanda, however, was a vigorous leader. He preached *dāsyabhāva* or 'the mood of the servant'.[40] This means that he asked his followers to regard Kṛṣṇa/Caitanya as their supreme master, and themselves as their humble servants. Since there could be very little inequality between 'servants', Nityānanda's *dāsyabhāva* lent immeasurable strength to spiritual democracy. With the aim of spreading the 'servile mood' and the so-called *sakhyabhāva* or the 'friendly mood', Nityānanda organized a devoted, and highly eccentric band of twelve followers, who were known as *gopālas* or 'cowherds'.[41] The *gopālas* were very active in Hooghly and Burdwan districts.

The district of Burdwan was fortunate enough to have three of the distinguished *gopālas*. They were Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita of Kālnā, Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa of Ākāihāt, and Dhananjaya Paṇḍita of Sītalāgrām. Apart from these *gopālas* Nityānanda also sent one of his trusted and most active follower, Gadādhara Dāsa, to Kātwā, where he built up an influential circle.

Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, who was acquainted with Caitanya, was the uncle of Nityānanda's wife Jānhavā Devī.[42] Gaurīdāsa installed the images of Caitanya and Nityānanda in a temple, and initiated numerous local merchants and artisans. Mukundarām Cakravartī, author of *Caṇḍimangala*, refers to the Vaiṣṇava persuasion of the Vaiśyas or merchants.[43] Since the poet belonged to Burdwan (though he left his village Dāminyā because of the excessive tyranny of the revenue-collectors), it may be said that he referred to the Vaiṣṇavism of the Vaiśyas of Burdwan. Now it is well-known that Nityānanda himself 'redeemed' the *Vaṇiks* of Saptagrāma.[44] We may therefore, say that the *gopālas* and the other followers of Nityānanda, who were

active in Burdwan, made a special effort at converting the local community of merchants. Gaurīdāsa of Kālnā might have achieved some distinction in this respect, because Kālnā was a flourishing trade-centre. Gaurīdāsa also maintained cordial relations with Gadādhara Paṇḍita, one of the cardinals of Caitanya, and initiated Hṛdayacaitanya, Gadādhara's nephew. Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita was a householder. He went to Vṛndāvana where he died.

Later Hṛdayacaitanya of Kālnā became the *guru* of Syāmānanda of Midnapur. This disciple went to Vṛndāvana, and forgetting Hṛdayacaitanya, received a new initiation from Jīva Gosvāmin. When Hṛdayacaitanya came to know of this unconventional initiation, he organized a meeting of the *mahāntas* who, curiously enough, disapproved or Syāmānanda's conduct, and not that of Jīva Gosvāmin, who was a very powerful man.[45]

The importance of the *gopāla* abbacy of Kālnā may be understood if we note that Rev. James Long found there 'ten thousand shops' in the middle of the nineteenth century, Rice-traders came to this place from northern and eastern Bengal. Kālnā had also a good market for silk and cotton cloths. But two big chariots of Kālnā were misused by murderous robbers as hiding places.[46]

The Ākāihāt abbacy of *Gopāla* Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa, however, never grew prominent because the abbot himself was a weak man, and unable to cope with the variant Vaiṣṇavas of near-by Kātwā.[47] Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa was a Bārendra Brāhmaṇa. He was once important enough to accompany Caitanya on his travels in southern India. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa unwittingly fell among some notorious Tāntrika 'leftists' at a place named Bhattamāri, where some women tried to ensnare him. Caitanya himself rescued him from their clutches and, returning to Puri, revealed his companion's foolishness, and advised his expulsion.[48] Nityānanda saved him, gave him the title of the 'cowherd', and sent him to Ākāihāt.[49]

Amūlyadhan Rāyabhatta, a Vaiṣṇava historian, visited Ākāihāt in 1921.[50] He found that the *Śrīpāta* or hermitage of Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa had been covered with deep bush. The idol worshipped by the *Gopāla* had been removed to another place. A poor Vaiṣṇava named Harerāma Bābāji lived in a small hut, and looked after the place. In fact Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa left the place, and went to Sonātalā village in the district of Pābnā (now in Bangladesh). At Sonātalā he became a householder, married a girl, and became the father of a son. Later he went to Vṛndāvana, where another son was born to him. His descendants lived in Sonātalā and the adjoining villages.

The third *Gopāla* of Burdwan was Dhananjaya Paṇḍita, who established his abbacy is Sītalāgrām (now under the jurisdiction of the police-station of Mangalkot). In early mediaeval times this village was known as Siddhalagrāma, with which Bhavadeva Bhatta was associated.[51] It is now a small village, inhabited mostly by

the Ugrakṣatriya or Āguri farmers. The *Śrīpāta* is now managed by a few poor Vaiṣṇavas.[52]

Dhananjaya, a Rāḍī-Brāhmaṇa with the title of Bandyopādhyāya came to Sītalāgrām from Chittagong where his father was a very rich man. It is said that the *Gopāla* donated his immense wealth for the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism, became an ardent follower of Nityānanda, and lived in Sītalāgrām as a *Gopāla*. He was married to a lady named Haripriyā. In this area he converted a number of *Pāṣaṇḍis* or philistines, and built up a good Vaiṣṇava base. Jayānanda mentions his name in *Caitanyamangala*.[53] Dhananjaya had also some followers in Sāncḍā-Pāncḍā village near Memāri. His brother Sanjaya lived in Jalandī village in Bīrbhūm.

Apart from that *Gopālas*, Nityānanda's close follower Dāsa Gadādhara grew highly influential in Kātwā, where he had a good number of followers. In this town he set up the image of Caitanya (Gaurānga) in a hermitage, which is now known as the house of Mahāprabhu. Though he was a Sūdra, he had at least one Brāhmaṇa disciple named Yadunandana Cakravartī.[54]

It is reasonable to suppose that Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita, Dāsa Gadādhara, Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa, and Dhananjaya Paṇḍita spread the concept of the 'servile mood' (*dāsya-bhava*) in a concerted manner. We also hear of two disciples of Abhirāma Rāmadāsa of *Śrīpata* Khānākul-Kṛṣṇanagar (Hooghly), the most powerful of the *Gopālas*,[55] who had their own hermitages in two villages of Burdwan. One of them was Veda-garbha, who lived in Kaiyaḍ village near Burdwan town.[56] The other was Bidur Brahmacārī, who lived in Pātungrām.[57]

Gopālahood (if we may use such a term), was of course very lucrative. Quite a number of men claimed for themselves this respectable title. So *Upagopālahood* was instituted probably towards the end of the sixteenth century.[58] The *Upagopālas* are mentioned in Kavi Karṇapūra's *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā*.[59] Like the number of the *Gopālas*, the number of the *Upagopālas* were fixed at twelve. Two of them, Sivāi and Viṣṇāi, who were once servants of Caitanya, lived in Belum and Jhāmatpur villages respectively.[60]

VIII

The main centre of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Burdwan was Srīkhaṇḍa near Kātwā, where lived Mukunda Sarkār and Narahari Sarkār of the Vaidya caste.[61] They were brothers. The two brothers, and Mukunda's son Raghunandana established a powerful abbacy in Srīkhaṇḍa. Keśava Bhāratī, Caitanya's initiating *guru*, also belonged to Kātwā; his birth-place was Denuḍ village, which was also an important Vaiṣṇava centre. He had, no doubt, quite a few disciples, about whom almost

nothing has been discovered so far. The *gaṇas* or self-styled disciples of the ascetic are debunked in a satirical Sanskrit verse which occurs in an eighteenth-century-work on aesthetics found in Orissa.[62] According to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition, Keśava Bhārati's real name was Kālināth Ācārya. He was a Vārendra Brāhmaṇa, and a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī.[63] The descendants of his brother are still living in Denuḍ and Cucuḍā (in Hooghly). A ceremony is still held in Denuḍ in observance of Keśava Bhāratī's *āvirbhāva* or birth.

At any rate Keśava Bhārati paled into insignificance after the emergence of the Sarkār brothers of Srīkhaṇḍa as powerful Vaiṣṇava leaders. Mukunda Sarkār was perhaps the personal *Vaidya* or physician of Sultan Ālāuddin Hussain Shāh (1493-1519). His brother Narahari was a student in Navadvīpa. It may be assumed that they were acquainted with the Vaiṣṇavas of Kulīngrām. The brothers were older than Caitanya. Rāyaśekhara, a poet of the Srīkhaṇḍa-school, wrote that Narahari Sarkār sang *kīrtanas* in different *rāgas* and *rāginis* even before Caitanya's birth.[64] Later the brothers became Caitanya's companions. Narahari also cultivated the acquaintance of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, one of the cardinals of Caitanya. According to a scholar, before Nityānanda's arrival in Navadvīpa, Narahari's position in the Vaiṣṇava milieu was quite high. It was seriously affected by the devotional ebullience of Nityānanda.[65] After Caitanya renounced the world. Narahari lived in Srīkhaṇḍa as an ascetic. He and his nephew Raghunandana organized a *kīrtana*-group in Srīkhaṇḍa.

Narahari's speciality lay in the intensity of his devotion for Caitanya. He was the leader of a group of people who considered Navadvīpa far more important than Vṛndāvana, and Caitanya far more significant than Kṛṣṇa. While Nityānanda preached Caitanya-worship from 'servile mood', Narahari regarded handsome Caitanya as a *nāgara* or clandestine lover or the women of Navadvīpa. His 'mood' or *bhāva* was unquestionably *madhura* or erotic. His theory was known as *Gauranāgaravāda*. The significance of the theory consisted in the belief that while the women of Navadvīpa considered Caitanya as their *nāgara* or, to use a colloquial expression, as their *bhātār* (husband), he never looked at them. In accordance with this peculiar concept Narahari composed a good number of lyrics.[66] He represented Caitanya as a veritable *guru* of the contemporary Casanovas in some of his interesting Sanskrit verses.[67] The difference between and actual Casanova and Caitanya consisted in the fact that, while the former was always ready to be involved in anti-social sex, Caitanya was merely a hero of the day-dreaming of various lady-devotees. Narahari himself practised asceticism; he also enjoined on the Vaiṣṇavas to follow the ethical rules.

The Vaiṣṇavas of Srīkhaṇḍa later claimed that Caitanya himself had given Narahari the authority to spread this type of faith in Srikhaṇḍa region.[68] It is now impossible to determine the authenticity of this claim. Keśava Bhārati of Denuḍ,

too, might have been invested with this authority. However, Narahari converted a number of important men and women some of whom were Brāhmaṇs.[69] Of them, Locana Dāsa of Kogrām, lyricist and author of *Caitanyamangala*, Ciranjīv Sen of Srīkhaṇḍa, who was the father of Govindadāsa Kavirāja, the greatest of the Vaiṣṇava lyricists of the time, and Cakrapāni Caudhurī, a rich tax-collector, had considerable importance. The next *guru* of *Śrīpāta* Srīkhaṇḍa was Raghunandana, Narahari's nephew. Kaviśekhara, a major lyricist, was one of his disciples.[70] Cakrapāni Caudhuri and his sons converted nearly two thousand peasants.[71] The later *gurus* of Srīkhaṇḍa spread their influence in such villages as Takipur, Ākbarpur, Eḍugrām, Kogrām, Rūpāpur, Kulāi, Gangānagar, Ghorāghāt, Akāihāt, and in Kātwā town. In the eighteenth century, Srīkhaṇḍa's influence reached the border of Murshidabad; Kānta Bābu, friend of Warren Hastings, and the *zamindār* of Cossimbazar, became the follower of a *gosvāmin* of *Śrīkhaṇḍa*.[72]

IX

The Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas would never find any clash of ideas in the Vaiṣṇava movement in Burdwan and elsewhere in Bengal. But both direct and circumstantial evidence would support our contention that such ideological clashes really happened. Let us first take up the direct evidence. In the first place Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who lived in Denuḍ, and where he possibly composed his *Śrīcaitanyabhāgavata*, very clearly stated in this work that, as Caitanya looked at the face of any unrelated woman, no important Vaiṣṇava even 'spoke' of *Gauranāgaravāda*[73] (which is referred to as an evil 'stink' in the introduction of an edition of Locana Dāsa's *Caitanyamangala*, recently published by the Gauḍīya Mission of Calcutta).[74] Vṛndāvana Dāsa does not even mention the name of Narahari Sarkār in his biography. He also does not mention the name of Nityānanda's son Vīrabhadra, though he was a direct disciple of Nityānanda. Secondly, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who lived in Jhāmatpur, regarded Nityānanda as an incarnation of Balarāma.[75] But his brother Syāmadāsa quarrelled with Nityānanda's disciple Mīnaketana Rāmadāsa during a *kīrtana* performance. Mīnaketana grew angry, broke his flute, and left Kṛṣṇadāsa's house in a huff. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja writes that after this unseemly quarrel his brother "lost everything". On that very night the Kavirāja was asked by Nityānanda in a 'dream' to proceed towards Vṛndāvana.[76]

Narahari Sarkār boldly stated that the chief merit of Caitanya consisted in the fact that 'he had transformed men into women'.[77] This piquant theory could be highly irksome to the followers of Nityānanda who had their own brand of manly ecstasy. Since Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita had a very high ranking in the emerging hagiological order, the *Gauranāgaravādins* could not seriously challenge his position. But the other two *Gopālas* of Burdwan, and Dāsa Gadādhara of Kātwā were rendered

insignificant by them. In all probability Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa of Ākāihāt might have found that the propagation of the 'servile mood' in an area where dominant men believed in *Gauranāgaravāda* was unrewarding. He left the place and went away to Pābna. The other *Gopāla*, Dhananjaya Paṇḍita of Śitalāgrām, simply paled into insignificance. Only Syāmadāsa Ācārya, Advaita's son, (who lived in Navagrām), and Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita could preserve their respective positions owing to their high ranking.

Kālā Kṛṣṇadāsa was not the only Vaiṣṇava who left his *Śrīpāta*. We hear of another Vaiṣṇava of the *dāsyabhāva* school, who quarrelled with his brother, left his ancestral home, and sought new following in another area. He was Rāmkānu Gosvāmin of Khotte village (near Kātwā).[78] He came to Gopāldāspur (under the jurisdiction of the Kālnā Police Station). where he gradually built up a large following. It is said that he was given 700 *bighas* of rent-free land as a sort of religious latifundia (*Devottara*) by a devout *diwān* of Murshidabad. Here, possibly with the help of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bāghnāpaṛā, Rāmkānu Gosvāmin installed the image of Rādhākānta in a temple, and instituted a ceremony known as *Rākhālrājer Dol*, which is still observed. The image of Rādhākānta has no female counterpart.

The high sexual ingredient in the *Gauranāgara* theory strengthened both *Sahajiyā* Vaiṣṇavism and left Tantra. Rāyaśekhara, famous Vaiṣṇava poet, and a follower of Raghunandana, practised 'sexo-yogic' worship with a female votary named Durgādāsī.[79]

X

Another distinctive Vaiṣṇava centre developed in Bāghnāpāḍā which is under the jurisdiction of the police station at Pūrvasthalī.[80] The centre evolved towards the end of the sixteenth century, and developed a theology which was linked with the ideas of the *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, but which yet had a partly deviant character. The Vaiṣṇavas of Bāghnāpāḍā claimed that they had a special relation with the Vaiṣṇavas of the 'branch' of Nityānanda. In fact Rāmacandra, the founding father of the Bāghnāpāḍā centre, was a foster-child of Jānhavā Devi, Nityānanda's wife. The legends and theology of the Bāghnāpāḍā Vaiṣṇavas are found in Rājavallabha Goswāmin's *Muralivilāsa*, and Premadāsa Miśra's *Vaṁśīśikṣā*.[81] The two works contain almost the same hagiographical data. But they greatly differ from each other in their respective theological standpoints. While *Muralīvilāsa* records the theological concepts of Jānhavā Devī, which are hardly different from the dogmas of the *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana, *Vaṁśīśikṣā*, written towards the end of the seventeenth century, and circulated in 1716, presents the thoroughly radical concepts of Vaṁśīvadan Cattopādhyāya, who was the grandfather of aforementioned Rāmacandra. However, the two works record the developments in *Śrīpāta* Bāghnāpāḍā between

the sixteenth and the early part of the eighteenth century. Initially the whole place was covered with deep bush, and was the home of tigers. Rāmacandra, who had visited Vṛndāvana, came to this place, converted a 'tiger', and founded a *Srīpāta*, the fame of which soon became great. Vīrabhadra suddenly swooped upon the *Śrīpāta* with hundreds of his disciples, majority of whom once professed Tāntrika Buddhism. It is said that Rāmacandra, gifted with miraculous powers, fed these terrible gluttons to the point of repletion, and secured the blessings of Vīrabhadra. It is reasonable to believe that Jāṇhavā Devī might have visited this place.

The Bāghnāpāḍā *Śrīpāta* later adopted the concept of the worship of *Kṛṣṇa-Rasarāja*, incarnated in Caitanya.[82] *Rasarāja*-worship was basically contemplative like Tāntrika *Dakṣiṇācāra* or 'Right-handed worship'. The main idols in Bāghnāpāḍā are those of Kṛṣṇa and Balarām. The image of Durgā is also worshipped in the Bengali month of Āświn.

XI

The foregoing facts make it evident that, owing to lack of theological unity, the Caitanya-movement in Burdwan, as elsewhere in Bengal, was in the grip of a crisis. The disunity of the Vaiṣṇavas in Burdwan was not only caused by theological differences, but also accentuated by a sort of rat-race of the various *gurus* and *mahāntas* for prebends and tributes. The important followers of Caitanya were anxious to bring the desparate elements within the unifying mantle of a dogma, which had been prepared by the *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana. In this effort Narahari Sarkār, the aged leader of Srīkhaṇḍa, and Jāṇhavā Devī, Nityānanda's widow, took the leading part.[83] Jāṇhavā Devī first went to Vṛndāvana as a learner. She came back to Bengal, and consulted the Vaiṣṇavas of Srīkhaṇḍa and other centres in West Bengal. She requested Narahari Sarkār to send Srīnivāsa Ācārya of Yājīgrām, an active and well-known Vaiṣṇava, to Vṛndāvana. She herself sent Āul Caitanyadāsa, her disciple, to that holy place.

Narahari Sarkār was the chief patron of Srīnivāsa Ācārya.[84] He and his nephew Raghunandana made arrangements for his long journey to Vṛndāvana. Srīnivāsa went to Vṛndāvana, where he became acquainted with Narottama Datta of Khetury (Rājshahi), and Syāmānanda of Dhārendā-Bāhādurpur (Midnapur). These three man brought two cart-loads of manuscripts to Bengal, experiencing enormous troubles. Their manuscripts were plundered by the retainers of Vīra Hāmvīra, the Malla king of Viṣṇupur in Bānkurā. Srīnivāsa converted the king, and recovered the precious scriptures.

After Narahari's death, Srīnivāsa, Rāmacandra Kavirāja (son of Cīranjiva Sen), and Syāmānanda once again went to Vṛndāvana with a view to consulting the *gosvāmins* before finalizing the strategy of preaching their dogma in Bengal.[85] They returned

to Bengal with a programme of action approved by the *gosvāmins*, none of whom came to Bengal with them. Srīnivāsa had already converted the king of Viṣṇupur. He thus commanded the obedience of a rich and powerful ruler. He next consulted Yadunandana Cakravartī, a disciple of Gadādhara Dāsa of Kātwā, and Raghunandana of Srīkhaṇḍa. A big festival was held in Kātwā on the occasion of the anniversary of the demise of Gadādhara Dāsa, who was an important disciple of Nityānanda.[86] The *mahāntas* who participated in it mostly belonged to the 'branches' of Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda. These *mahāntas* also participated in the subsequent festival in Srīkhaṇḍa, which was organized on the occasion of the anniversary of Narahari Sarkār's demise. Another festival was held by Srīnivāsa himself in Yājīgrām, in which two sons of Advaita Ācārya, and Vīrabhadra were present. One may safely conclude that during these three festivals, Srīnivāsa and his friends succeeded in creating a definite consensus in favour of the Vṛndāvana dogma. The point to ponder is that Srīnivāsa Ācārya and his patrons and supporters had to convince the followers of Advaita Ācārya and Nityānanda of the necessity of an unifying ideology for minimizing dissension. The Vṛndāvana-dogma was finally accepted as the unalterable Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava creed in a big festival which was held in Kheturi in some year between 1610 and 1620.[87]

XII

As the main proponent of the Vṛndāvana dogma, Srīnivāsa Ācārya of Yājīgrām (near Kātwā) not only achieved everlasting fame, but also became a very powerful *guru*. Among his numerous devotees and disciples, who hailed from almost all of the districts of western and northern Bengal,[88] the notabilities were *six-cakravartins*, *eight Kavirājas*, *six*, *thākurs*, and at least two kings, one of whom was Vīra Hāmvīra, rechristened Caitanyadāsa. Srīnivāsa was a friend of Narottama Datta of Kheturi, who was also a powerful Vaiṣṇava leader. Gopāla Cakravartī, Srīnivāsa's father-in-law and disciple, was a rich householder of Yājīgrām. The Vaiṣṇava leader had two wives. His daughter Hemalatā Thākurānī, a notable female *guru*, spread the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava faith in large areas of Murshidabad.[89] His son Gatigovinda was a disciple of Vīrabhadra, a fact that clearly proves Srīnivāsa Ācārya's enduring liaison with the Nityānanda 'branch'. Srīnivāsa soon grew affluent by selling and distributing manuscripts. He was also a professional reciter and interpreter of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.[90] He composed some Vaiṣṇava lyrics, one of which is exceptionally charming.[91]

At present Yājīgrām, located on the link-road between Kātwā and Burdwan town, is an insignificant village. It has a small temple dedicated to the memory of Srīnivāsa Ācārya, in which the idols of Caitanya and Nityānanda have been installed. The ruins of the house of the great Vaiṣṇava savant still exist. Those who

look after the temple are very poor. Yet, the festival of *Goṣṭhāṣṭamī*, associated with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd, is held here in the Bengali month of Kārttika. It is attended by nearly five hundred Vaiṣṇavas. The gloom and desolation in *Śrīpāta* Yājīgrām, which was once the meeting-place of many renowned Vaiṣṇava poets and ideologies, and the scene of happy festivals, symbolize the disappearance of a brilliant phase of the culture of Burdwan.[92]

XIII

All of the four Bengali biographers of Caitanya lived in Burdwan at one time or another. They were Vṛndāvana Dāsa who lived in Denuḍ, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who lived in Jhāmatpur (before his departure for Vṛndāvana), Locana Dāsa who lived in Kogram, and Jayānanda who lived in Manipurā (or Āmāipurā), located near Burdwan town. Each of these biographers of Caitanya presented a sort of biographical paradigm in conformity with his own knowledge of the events of Caitanya's life and career, derived from secondary or indirect sources, and in accordance with the general theological standpoint, which he supported. Their compositions, therefore, show many variances or disagreements which cannot be reconciled.

The earliest biography, written in Bengali, was another by Vṛndāvana Dāsa, who was a disciple of Nityānanda. All later biographers hailed it as a classic, which was unsurpassable. Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Śrīcaitanyabhāgavata* is really a great work. Yet it must be said that, as he was a direct disciple of Nityānanda, he could not help emphasizing his *guru's* career and concepts in it. On the other hand, Locana belonged to the school of Srīkhaṇḍa. He, therefore, attempted to depict Caitanya's life in the light of *Gauranāgaravāda*. Whereas Vṛndāvana Dāsa constantly stresses the *dāsyabhāva* of Caitanya, Locana, in the ninth chapter of his work, describes Caitanya's 'mood of the milkmaid' or *gopībhāva*,[93] Comparisons are doubtless odious. But any unbiased reader of these two biographies would agree that Vṛndāvana Dāsa was a far more talented biographer than Locana Dāsa. However, it should also be observed that Locana customarily pays obeisance to Nityānanda and the *Gopālas*,[94] and also that as a lyricist or *padāvalī*-composer, he achieved great distinction.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta*, written in Vṛndāvana, was another unsurpassable classic. In this brilliant work, the life of Caitanya is presented in the light of the theology of the *gosvāmins* of Vṛndāvana. The juxtaposition of theology and biography in this work is so cleverly accomplished that it soon attained the status of a scripture, to be read and relished by all sort of Vaiṣṇavas.

Jayānanda's *Caitanyamangala*, however, failed to secure the recognition of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, because some of the events narrated in it did not conform

to the hagiography of Caitanya, which was approved by the post-Caitanya Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. It was denounced as an apocryphal work. Very recently it has been described as a fabrication of the 'Buddhists', and 'untouchable' to the genuine Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. It has been described as *Caitany-amangala*, which means 'danger to Caitanya."[95]

Jayānanda's work was designed as a lyrical biography. As Bimānbihārī Majumdār puts it, 'he (Jayānanda) wrote the book mainly for the entertainment and instruction of the masses'.[96] Jayānanda also shows evidence of his 'interest in contemporary social and political affairs'.[97] He informs us that Caitanya's forefathers once lived in Jājpur in Orissa. They fled to far Sylhet when the local ruler 'Bhramara' grew oppressive.[98] According to him Caitanya's demise was caused by a fatal wound on his left foot caused by his ecstatic dancing during the *Rathayātrā* festival.[99] This is anathema to the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas who believe that Caitanya simply 'disappeared'. We must say that Jayānanda's *Caitanyamangala* does not deserve the venom expectorated on it by the orthodox elements.

XIV

Both the Nityānanda-tradition and the Srīkhaṇḍa school produced some remarkable lyricists, who immensely enriched mediaeval Bengali literature. Narahari Sarkār himself was a talented composer of *Gauranāgara* songs. One hundred and eighty songs composed on this theme have been collected in *Gaurapadatarangiṇī*, many of which were composed by Narahari (Sarkār?).[100] A very talented poet of the Srīkhaṇḍa school was Rāyaśekhara, 215 of whose lyrics have been collected by Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya.[101] In one song he pays obeisance to Nityānanda, Abhirāma Rāmadāsa (the most eminent *Gopāla*), and Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita. The great majority of his lyrics deal with the daily lives of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In most of these songs the poet refers to himself as their 'intimate' servant.

Locana Dāsa, mentioned before, was another notable poet of the Srīkhaṇḍa school. He is remembered for his *Dhāmālī* songs, which were composed in the brogue of the rural womenfolk of contemporary Burdwan. His *Gauranāgara*-lyrics are beautiful and tender; they express the intention of ladies, 'invisible to the sun', to share with their menfolk the spiritual and cultural freedom brought about by the Caitanya movement.

Jnānadāsa of Kāndrā, a disciple of Jāṇhavā Devī, was one of the talented Vaiṣṇava lyricists. He was a Rāḍī Kulīna Brāhmaṇa with the title of 'Bandyopādhyāya'. He was possibly associated with a Vaiṣṇava named Mangala Thākura, who was a disciple of Gadādhara Paṇḍita. This eminent Vaiṣṇava also lived in

Kāndrā. This village is now a famous Vaiṣṇava centre. It was here that Candraśekhara Cattopādhyāya and his brother Saśīśekhara Cattopādhyāya were born in the seventeenth century. The brothers were the last of the great Vaiṣṇava lyricists.

Jnānadāsa's lyricism is characterized by wonderful felicity of expression and brilliant imagery.[102] Later the brothers Candraśekhara and Śaśīśekhara, who were trained musicians, enlivened Jnānadāsa's poetical and lyrical tradition by composing some highly delectable songs. These lyrics have a cunning pattern of rhymes, tunes, and linguistic innovations.[103]

We should also refer to Govindadāsa Kavirāja, son of aforementioned Ciranjīv Sen of Srīkhaṇḍa, and disciple of Srīnivāsa Ācārya, who was perhaps the most talented of the Vaiṣṇava lyricists. His Brajabuli language is exquisite. His rhymes are incomparably beautiful. And his poetic craft is enviable. But he lived mostly in Teliābudhurī village in Murshidabad.[104]

The other notable Vaiṣṇava poets of Burdwan were Ghanaśyāma (grandson of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya), Kavicandra (who translated Jayadeva's *Gītagovindam* in Bengali verse), Govinda Ghoṣa (of Agradvīp, brother of Vāsudeva Ghoṣa), Kaviranjan (disciple of Raghunandana), Madan Rāyacaudhuri (who translated Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govindalīlāmṛtam* into Bengali verse), Nayanānanda Kavirāja of Srīkhaṇḍa, Nityānanda Dāsa (author of *Premavilāsa*), Nṛsimhānanda Thākur of Srīkhaṇḍa, Pītāmvara Dāsa (author of *Rasamanjari* and *Narahariskhanirṇaya*), Raghunātha Gosvāmin of Māḍogrām (who was a versatile author, and composer of *Śrī Gaurānga Campū* in Sanskrit, and *Rāmarasāyana* in Bengali), Rāmagopāla Dāsa (author of *Rasamanjarī*), Yasorāj Khān of Kulīngrām, Yadunandana (author of *Karṇānanda*), and Gokulānanda Sen, Vaiṣṇava Dāsa, alias who prepared the famous *Padakalpataru* anthology of Vaiṣṇava lyrics in 1718-1723.[105] Nityānanda Dāsa's *Premavilāsa* and *Padakalpataru*-anthology of Vaiṣṇava Dāsa very clearly show that the Vaiṣṇavas of Burdwan initiated and sustained the efforts at maintaining ideological unity of the Caitanya movement.

XV

The dissemination of the Vṛndāvana-dogma produced both positive and negative results. The all-embracing mantle of the dogma certainly created an impression of unity. The followers of Nityānanda and Jāṇhavā Devī gradually adapted themselves to the new and highly Sanskritized theology. Dissensions over theological standpoints grew rare in Burdwan and elsewhere in Bengal. In Haridās Dās's encyclopaedic *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhāna* (Vol. II) there is a running account of no less than 76 *Śrīpātas* or Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava hermitages in the district of Burdwan, a number of which grew in stature between the sixteenth and the nineteenth

centuries.[106] Three principal schools of thought formed a sort of theological 'mixture' under the mantle of the dogma of Vṛndāvana. These were the *Gauranāgaravāda* of Srīkhaṇḍa, the *dāsyabhāva* of Nityānanda, and the theological concept of Gadādhara Paṇḍita, who believed that, while Caitanya represented Kṛṣṇa, he himself represented Rādhā. The *Rasarāja*-theology of Bāghnāpāḍā looked a trifle apostate. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan, as elsewhere in Bengal, was seldom affected by quarrels over the allegiance of devotees, and jurisdictions of *Śrīpātas*. This comparative placidity in Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan was the consequence of the emergence of a broad-based Vaiṣṇava *samāja* or social ethic, which lent to the culture of the district a remarkable liberalism and an accommodative spirit.

However, owing to the propagation of the partly ascetical and partly 'sexual' theology of Kṛṣṇa-worship prepared in Vṛndāvana, the democratic and syncretic *dāsyabhāva* of Nityānanda gradually waned in Bengal. In Burdwan, the Srīkhaṇḍa school, and the so-called Gadāi (Gadādhara Paṇḍita)—Gaurānga sect formed a formidable combination, the strong influence of which merely strengthened the erotic concept. It is seen in the evaluation of the *Manoharsāhī Kīrtana*, which puts emphasis mainly on the different aspects of the *līlā* or erotic 'sports' of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and the other milkmaids. The principal centres of this school of hymnology were Srīkhaṇḍa and Kāndrā.[107]

On the other hand, since a number of Sūdra aristocrats and Brāhmaṇas embraced the faith, it was necessary for the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas to propagate rituals and codes of conduct delineated in such works as *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopāla Bhatta Gosvāmin, in which Vaiṣṇava worship was given a Brāhmaṇical orientation. According to this work only a Brāhmaṇa-Vaiṣṇava *guru* had the right to initiate disciples of their caste.[108] But Narahari Sarkār of Srīkhaṇḍa, his nephew Raghunandana, Narottama Datta of Khetury, and Syāmānanda of Gopīvallabhpur, who were technically Sūdras, had numerous Brāhmaṇa disciples. It was said that these Vaiṣṇavas, by virtue of being *eminent* were equal to the Brāhmaṇas. This was undoubtedly a significant social development. Yet, when Jayagopāla Dāsa of Kāndrā, a learned and sincere śūdra Vaiṣṇava, initiated a few Brāhmaṇas, he was ostracized by the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava community.[108] The Brāhmaṇical orientation in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism also strengthened asceticism. Formerly, under the leadership of Caitanya, Advaita, and Nityānanda, Vaiṣṇavism was spread among the masses. In numerous *Gaurapada*-songs, Caitanya is described as an extra-ordinary *avatāra* who freely distributes the *dhana* or wealth of devotional love out of *ahaitukikaruṇā* or absolutely 'disinterested' altruism. But after the spread of the Vṛndāvana dogma, the *gurus* and the *mahāntas*, who supported it, grew extremely cautious as regards initiation. The ascetical *gurus*, in particular, were asked to have only a few disciples.[110] Perhaps the development of options in the preaching of the faith greatly retarded its growth. Of the 76

Śrīpātas listed by Haridās Dās, only a few could claim any distinction. Most of them simply withered away.

XVI

As scriptural Vaiṣṇavism grew more and more exclusive, unorthodox Vaiṣṇavism was propagated in the villages by the so-called *Bābājis* or *Vairāgins*, the great majority of whom have no place in official hagiological accounts. Some of their traditions are summarized below.

A *Bābāji* named Gopāldās (born in 1729, or thereabouts) cleared the jungle in Dadhiā-Bairāgitalā (under Ketugrām police-station), and established in it a hermitage. He had been initiated by one Sanātan Āuliyā. In 1753, Tilakcānd, the *Mahārāja* of Burdwan, leased out to him 69 *bighas* of land, where a temple was built for the idol of Raghunātha Jiu. A big fair is held in this distant village consecutively for three days. Gopāldās Bābāji is said to have converted a number of local robbers.[111]

Vaṃśīdās Vairāgi established a hermitage near Jhāmatpur.[112]

Local Vaiṣṇavas instituted a Vaiṣṇava fair in Uddhāraṇpur (under Ketugrām police station) in the name of *Gopāla* Uddhāraṇ Datta, who was a disciple of Nityānanda.[113]

Āulcānd instituted a Vaiṣṇava fair in village Pilsoyān (under Mangalkot police station).[114]

A Brāhmaṇa named Kāśīnāth Tarkālamkār propagated the worship of Hanumān in village Upalti under Kālnā police station.[115]

Narahari Avadhūta, who must have cultivated *dāsyabhāva*, installed the image of Gaurānga (Caitanya) in his hermitage in village Nihśanka (under Memāri police station).[116]

Apart from such Vaiṣṇavas, affluent Hindus, belonging to all castes, built temples and introduced Vaiṣṇava worship in the villages in which they lived. Some instances of this development are noted below.

The Nandī-family of Vaidyapur (Kālnā) worshipped a *Saligrāma* stone which they called Rājarajeśvara. Madhusūdan Nandī of this family installed the image of Vṛndāvana Jiu in a temple in 1845.[117]

The Gosvāmī-family of Singārkon (Kālnā) instituted a fair in the name of Rādhākānṭa, their idol.[118]

Hīrālāl Mukhopādhyāya of Harkalā village (Memāri) instituted the chariot-festival in the name of Lakṣmī-Narāyaṇa.[119]

Kṛṣṇaprāṇ Mitra, an official of the Burdwan *Rāj*-estate, built a temple in Sadipur (Jāmālpur) for the image of Madanamohana.[120]

Here it should be observed that particularly the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa idols in a Hindu family, whatever be their name, are regarded both as divinities, and as adorable 'married' adolescents, who deserve the deepest love and attention, and who, on their part, are expected to ensure peace and prosperity of the family. In almost all family-temples, particularly these idols are worshipped mostly from *Vātsalyabhāva* or the mood of loving parents. The personal relation between the devotee and the deity in Vaiṣṇava worship is based upon an incomparable tenderness of feeling, a purity of emotion, which are not generally found in other forms of worship.

Numerous other examples of this unofficial Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan may be given. The *Mahārājas* of Burdwan, who were non Bengali Kṣatriyas, showed a marked preference for Sivaism and the Sākta worship. They built hundreds of Siva-temples in Burdwan town and Kālnā. But they did not oppose the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism.

Irfan Habib once described Vaiṣṇavism as 'a kind of peasant Hinduism'.[121] The appositeness of this description of Vaiṣṇavism is clearly appreciable in the context of rural religion in Burdwan district. At least 13 Sūdra castes of the district worship Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Caitanya, Lakṣmī, and Rādhā.[122] 66 Vaiṣṇava deities and saints are worshipped in households and temples.[1-3] The rural masses of Burdwan district participate in at least 23 festivals, which are fully or partly Vaiṣṇava.[124] Even the worship of such Vaiṣṇava saints as Caitanya, Narahari Sarkār, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Jñānadāsa, Rāmacandra, and Srīnivāsa Ācārya has acquired over the centuries the traits of a folk-religion. Being devoid of an institutional basis, Vaiṣṇavism in the rulal societies of Burdwan naturally reflects, like other folk-religions, the hopes, joys and the optimism of the masses.

The Dharma and the Caṇḍī cults are also popular in Burdwan. But it is remarkable that both Mukundarāma Cakravartī (of Dāminyā village),[125] and Ghanarāma Cakravartī, outstanding Caṇḍī-and Dharma-poets of Burdwan, express their respect for, and appreciation of Vaiṣṇavism.[126] Worship of Balarāma in Boḍo-Balarām village, indirectly influenced by the tradition of Nityānanda, is a folk-cult that shows a peculiar eclecticism.[127]

It should also be noted that in Ukhra (under Ondāl police-station), the Nimvārka sect established its *gādi* in 1703 or thereabouts.[128] The founder of the *gādi* was one Dayārām Dev who came to this place from upper India. Dayārām died in 1740. The *gādi* still maintains a list of the successive *mahāntas*, who popularized the worship of Vṛndāvanacandra and Gopāla, and instituted the *Jhulan*-ceremony. The

Nimvārka-Vaiṣṇavas of this place conceivably cooperated with the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas of Kātwā and Mānkar in disseminating Vaiṣṇavism among the famous brass-smiths and other artisanal castes of this semi-urban area.

This review of unorthodox Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan, naturally brief, would remain incomplete if the heterodox Vaiṣṇava sects, which had some influence in the villages, are not herein referred to. Of the fifty or more heterodox sects which developed all over Bengal between the sixteenth century and the nineteenth century, the *Āul*, *Bāul*, *Kartābhajā*, *Nareśpanthī*, *Sāin* and *Pratāpcāndī* sects were once active in the district.[129] The *Sahajiyās*, whose theology is expressed in numberless cryptic texts, must have also some influence in the district. Premadāsa Miśra, in aforementioned *Vaṃśīśikṣā*, mentions some of the theologians of Burdwan, who propounded the proto-*Sahajiyā* doctrine of *Rasarāja*.[130] However, we cannot discuss the theological standpoints of these sects in this essay. Initially, some of the followers of Nityānanda fraternized with the *Āuls*.[131] Later such fraternization grew unfashionable. The heterodox *gurus*, posing as spiritual teachers, medicinemen, and men of miracles appeared among the downtrodden peasantry as their redeemers and protectors.[132] Some of them became rich. In one account we see that the *guru* receives gifts of silk, coconuts, dried fruits, and palm-leaf fans.[133] At least one heterodox *guru* was a Brāhmaṇa: he was Nareśa, the leader of the *Nareśapanthis*. Pratāpcānd of the *Pratapcāndi* sect was believed to be a prince of the *Rāj*-family of Burdwan. Later, the Christian missionaries converted nearly 500 *Kartabhajās* of Burdwan into Christianity.[134]

XVII

Considered as a cultural movement the fruitfulness of Vaiṣṇavism was simply wonderful. Allusion has already been made to the notable Vaiṣṇava poets of Burdwan. Their inspired creations immeasurably enriched Bengali language, poetry, and lyricism. The Caitanya movement in Burdwan also brought about a significant architectural and sculptural renaissance. We should remember that before the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan, the district had only a few temples. The Vaiṣṇavism inspiration changed the scene. Between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries numerous temples were built in the district by people belonging to different castes. This fact is regarded as an evidence of the social mobility that stemmed from the spread of Vaiṣṇavism in rural Bengal.

Late mediaeval temples built in Burdwan and Hooghly had a characteristic style. It is known as the Hooghly-Burdwan type. A list of the Vaiṣṇava temples of Burdwan is given below.[135]

Village	*Police-station*	*Idol*	*Family*	*Date*
Āmadpur	Memāri	Gopāla.		1572
Baikunthapur	Burdwan	Gopeśvar		1732
Bāhābpur	Memāri	Syāmasundara		1765
Bāhādurpur	Āusgrām	Raghunāth	Bandyopadhyaya	...
Bāmanpāḍā	Burdwan	Satyanārāyaṇ		1745
Bāhādurpur	Āusgrām	Raghunath	Nāyak	18th c.
Bāmanpāḍā	Burdwan	Rādhākānta	...	...
Baḍā	Rāynā	Balarām	...	...
Bāghnāpāḍā	Purvasthalī	Kṛṣṇa-Balarām	...	17th c.
Bijur	Memāri	Dolmanca	...	18th c.
Baḍaśūl	Burdwan	Dolmanca	...	18th c.
Belgrām	Āusgram.	Rāsamanca	...	...
Bhitā	...	Madangopāl	...	...
Chhotadighāri	Hirāpur	Anantavāsudeva	...	1754
Devipur	Memāri	Lakṣmi janārdana	...	1844
Dogācchiā	Purvasthalī	Gopīnātha	...	1654
Gopālpur	Burdwan	Srīdhar	Sarkār	...
Hātgovindapur	Burdwan	Srīdhar	...	17th c.
Jaugrām	Jamalpur	Radhakrsna	...	17th c.
Kulingrām	Jamālpur	Gopāla	...	1732

Village	*Police-station*	*Idol*	*Family*	*Date*
Kaigrām	Manteśvar	Varāhaviṣṇu	...	1800-25 (?)
Kālnā	Kālnā	Anantavasudeva	...	1754
Khāndrā	Ondāl	Rādhāmādhava	...	1721
Khāndrā	Ondāl	Lakṣminārāyaṇa	...	1902
Kucut	Memāri	Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa	...	...
Karanda	Memāri	Srīdhar	Roy Family	19th c.
Kālnā	Kālnā	Lāl jiu	...	1739
Kālnā	Kālnā	Kṛṣṇacandra	...	1751
Kālnā	Kālnā	Gopālbāḍī	...	1766
Kālnā	Kālnā	Rūpeśvar	...	1765
Kāmārpāḍā	Burdwan	Satyanārāyaṇ	...	18th c.
Kālnā	Kālnā	Kṛṣṇacandra	...	1752
Kālnā	Kālnā	Syāmcānd	...	1755
Kulīngrām	Jāmālpur	Gopāla	...	...
Kucut	Memāri	Dolmanca	...	18th c.
Kālnā	Kālnā	Dolmanca	...	18th c.
Kālnā (Ahmdābād)	Kālnā	Dolmanca	...	...
Mūlgrām	Memāri	Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ	...	1692
Mānkar	Galsi	Lakṣmī janārdan	Kar	...

Village	*Police-station*	*Idol*	*Family*	*Date*
Mānkar	Galsi	Rādhāvallabha	...	...
Mānkar	Galsi	Dolmanca	...	...
Nasigrām	Bhātār	Rādhāgovinda	...	...
Nasigrām	Bhātār	Gopīnāth	...	...
Ramgopālpur	Galsi	Lakṣmī janārdan	...	1726-27
Singārkon	Kālnā	Rādhākānta	...	...
Srīdharpur	Memāri	Srīdhara	Sarkar	18th c.
Simāsimi	Galsi	Rāmeśvar	...	...
Sadipur	Jamālpur	Radhāgovinda	...	18th c.
Sankarī	Khaṇḍaghoṣa	Govinda	Majumdar	1673
Sarpi	Faridpur	Gopāla	...	18th c.
Srībātī	Kātwā	Raghunāth	...	...
Sātgācchiā	Memāri	Dolmanca	Gosvami	...
Ukhrā	Ondāl	Sītārām	...	1740
Ukhrā	Ondāl	Syāmarāya	...	1686
Vaidyapur	Kālnā	Vṛndāvanacandra	...	1845
Vaidyapur	Kālnā	Kṛṣṇacandra	...	1598

XVIII

Some conclusions are now formulated. Burdwan had a central position in Caitanya's Vaiṣṇava movement. Mālādhar Basu of Kulīngrām first sought to spread the anecdotes of Kṛṣṇa, as stated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, by presenting them in the form of Bengali lyrics. The egalitarianism of *bhakti*, spread by Caitanya and his cardinals, created a great sensation in the rural societies of Burdwan. These societies were static. But the recognition of the intrinsic worth of an individual through the practice of personalized *bhakti* made Hindu society in Burdwan remarkably mobile. The Vaiṣṇavas had no economic programme. They were not involved in politics. They did not make any serious attempt at modifying the prevalent caste-system. They did not interfere with the prevalent socio-economic relations. But Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* impressed large segments of all classes of people and castes in Burdwan, as elsewhere in Bengal. *Bhakti* was, in this sense, a considerable factor in the promotion of fundamental unity in the rural societies of the district. The experience of devotion was shared by the devotees regardless of caste, economic, and other differences.

There were, however, different concepts of *bhakti*. The friendly and/or servile mood of Nityānanda was quite different from such erotic notions as the *Gauranāgaravāda* of the Vaiṣṇavas of Srīkhaṇḍa. The concepts of the followers of Advaita Ācārya were not easily determinable, since they did not clearly or unmistakably express them. These different standpoints were unified in the Vṛndāvana dogma. Vaiṣṇavism in this orthodox form attracted numerous Sūdra aristocrats because it had become a part of the Brāhmanical tradition. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism grew exclusive. The deviant Vaiṣṇava or semi-Vaiṣṇava orders had the opportunity to build up following in rural areas.

Despite these developments, Vaiṣṇavism in Burdwan immensely enriched the elite and popular cultures of the district. It also strengthened the district's nexus with other parts of Bengal and northern India. It promoted the eclectic approach, the result of which was amity and accommodation in social relations and spiritual activities of the people.

Notes and References

1. Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, Vol. I. (Delhi, reprint, 1971), pp. 153-154.
2. According to the census of 1881, only 5806 Santals lived in Burdwan district. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes And Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, reprint 1981), Vol. II, p. 234.
3. Brajendranāth Bandyopādhyāya and Sajanīkānta Dās, ed. *Bhāratcandra Granthāvalī* (In Bengali). (Calcutta, 3rd. ed. 1962), pp. 165-172. It is significant that while Bhāratcandra mentions the Śiva-temples of Burdwan town, and its institutions for the advancement of Sanskrit learning, he does not refer to Vaiṣṇavism. See p. 170.
4. Sachindrakumar Maiti and Ramaranjan Mukherji, ed. *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 87; Sukumar Sen, *Prācin Bāngālā O Bāngālī* (In Bengali) (Viśvabhārati, 1972), pp. 32-33.

5. Sunitikumar Chatterji, *Origin And Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I (London) 1970, p. 126; Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gītagovinda* (In Bengali) (Calcutta, 1955, 3rd ed.). pp. 16, 24-25, 68-70. See also, Ramakanta Chakrabarty *Vaiṣṇavism In Bengal: 1486-1900* (hereafter VIB) (Calcutta, 1985), pp. 8-9.
6. VIB, pp. 10-12
7. R.C. Hazra, *Studies In The Upapuranas: Saura And Vaisnava Upapuranas*; Vol. I (Calcutta, 1958); VIB, pp. 13-19.
8. This was done, for instance, in *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* and the *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa*.
9. Satīsh Chandra Mukhopādhyāya, ed. *Kriyākāṇḍavāridhih* (In Sanskrit), 3 vols. (Calcutta, 2nd. 1924), Vol. III, pp. 525 ff: 'Vaiṣṇavācāra'.
10. Bhavatosh Bhattacharya, ed. *Dānasāgara of Ballāla Sena* (In Sanskrit) Fasciculus I (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 6-7
11. Sukumar Sen, *Bāngālā Sāhityer Itihās* (In Bengali) Vol. I, Part I (Calcutta, 5th. ed. 1970) p. 99.
12. Sunitikumar Chatterji and Babua Misra, ed. *Varṇaratnākara* (Calcutta 1940), p. 60.
13. Śrīdhara Dāsa, *Sadukṭikarṇāmṛtaṃ* (In Sanskrit), ed. Suresh Chandra Bandyopādhyāya (Calcutta, 1964), verses 316-319.
14. Govardhanācārya, *Āryāsaptaśatī* (In Sanskrit), with the commentary of Ananta Paṇḍita. (Bombay, 3rd. ed. 1934), verses, 72, 104, 119, 153, 174, 286, 289, 310, 344, 379, 398, 411, 431, 437, 456, 488, 508, 509, 570, 577.
15. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, *Śrīcaitanyabhāgavata* (In Bengali, hereafter CBH) (ed. Sucārukānti Ghosh, Calcutta, Amritabazar Patrika Office, 6th. ed. 1949, p. 12.
16. Mālādhar Basu, *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* (In Bengali) ed. Khagendranāth Mitra, Calcutta, 1944).
17. Ābdul Karim, *Bānglār Itihās: Sultanī Āmal* (In Bengali) (Dhaka, 2nd. ed. 1987), p. 429.
18. Bimānbihārī Majumdār and Sukhamaya Mukhopādhyaya, ed. *Jayānanda's Caitanyamangala* (In Bengali: hereafter CM-I) (Calcutta, 1971), p. 143: Jayānanda mentions 'Guṇarāja Chhetri'. He also states that Caitanya was requested by Mālādhar's son Satyarāj Khān and Haridās Thākur to stay in Kulingrām for three days. See, Nagendranāth Basu, 'Kavi Jayanander Āra Ektu Paricaya' (In Bengali), *Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* B.E. 1305 (1898), 5.4. pp. 294-96.
19. Asoke Mitra, ed. *Paścim Banger Pūjā Pārvan O Melā* (In Bengali: hereafter PBPM) Vol. V (Delhi, 1982), pp. 267-272; Haridās Dās *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇav Abhidhān* In Bengali: hereafter GVA), Vol. II (Navadvīpa, 1987), pp. 1845-46; Rabiranjan Chattopādhyay, *Kṛṣṇakathāya Mālādhar O Mādhav* (In Bengali), University of Burdwan, 1982), pp. 165 ff.
20. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta* (In Bengali: hereafter CCM), ed. Sashībhūṣaṇ Bandyopadhyaya, (Kālnā, 1923), p. 131.
21. *Ibid.* p. 131.
22. See Note-19.
23. CCM, p. 389.
24. CCM p. 389.
25. Benoykumar Sarkar, 'Bengalicism vis-a-vis Aryanisation, Islam and Eur-America' in *Krishnanagar College Centenary Commemoration Volume*, ed. Pareshnath Ghosh and Cintaharan Chakravarti (Krishnanagar College, Nadia 1948), pp. 17-24; also by Sarkar, *Bāngalāya Deśī Videśī: Bangasamskṛtir Len Then* (In Bengali) (Calcutta, 1942).
26. Semi-pornographic description of the sex-life of Kṛṣṇa in *Harivaṃśa* (In Bengali of Bhavānanda, ed. Satish Chandra Roy (Dacca University, 1922), pp. 119 ff.
27. Puspa Niyogi, *Brahmanic Settlements In Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1967).
28. See, for instance, Raghunandana's *Krityatattvaṃ* (In Sanskrit), ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇ Smṛtibhuṣaṇ (Calcutta, n.d.), and Govindanānda's *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (In Sanskrit), ed. Kamalkṛṣṇa

Smṛtibhuṣaṇ (Calcutta, 1902), in both of which numerous 'un-Vedic' forms of worship and rituals are listed. Jayānanda wrote that the advent of Caitanya was necessary for the restoration of Brahmanical ethic. CM-I, p. 9.

29. Thoms J. Hopkins, 'The Social Teachings of the *Bhagavatapurana*', in Milton Singer ed. *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes* (Honolulu, 1966), pp. 3-32; VIB, pp. 71-90; Charlotte Vaudeville, '*Sant Mat*: Santism As The Universal Path To Sanctity,' in *The Sants: Studies In A Devotional Tradition Of India*, ed. Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod (Delhi, 1987), pp. 21-40.
30. CBH, pp. 291-294.
31. CBH, p- 155
32. CBH, p. 219
33. PBPM, Vol. II (Delhi, 1968), pp. 517-20; also Asoke Mitra, *District Handbooks, Hooghly* (1951), p. 223; J.C.K. Peterson, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Burdwan* (Calcutta, 1910), p. 50.
34. CCM, p. 356
35. GVA, II, p. 1385
36. CCM, p. 387
37. GVA II, p. 1372. It is said that Viṣṇudāsa Ācārya was the son of Mādhavendra Purī, the celebrated Vaisnava ascetic.
38. It was claimed that Advaita Ācārya had no individualized *bhāva* or mood, and that he had 'variable moods' See, on this point, Siddha Caitanyadāsa, 'Śrī Śrī Advaita Prabhur Bhāva Vicāra (In Bengali), in *Śrī Śrī Gaurāngamādhurī* (Vaiṣṇava journal in Bengali), ed. Rākhālānanda Thākur, No. 7, Bhādra, B.E. 1335 (1928), p. 16, verse 24. Siddha Caitanyadasa was a staunch supporter of *Gauranāgaravāda*. He remained dressed like a married woman, and worshipped Caitanya as his (?) 'husband', Haridās Dās, *Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇav Jīvan* (In Bengali) Navadvīpa, 1951), Vol. II, pp. 84-96.
39. CBH, pp. 243-249.
40. This '*dāsyabhāva*' is frequently referred to in CBH: pp. 30, 56, 66, 141, 154, 169, 175; and in following other pages; see CCM, pp. 76-94, 97; VIB, pp. 133-158. Some modern and probably 'Marxist' interpretations of *dāsyabhāva* in M.G.S. Menon and Veluthat Kesavan, 'Bhakti Movement in South India', in D.N. Jha, ed. *Feudal Social Formation In Early India* (Delhi, 1987), pp. 355, 365, 367-68. However, it should be mentioned here that *dāsyabhāva* in the Deccan and *dāsyabhāva* in Bengal had different significations. In a recent study of the peasants of two villages of Burdwan district, there are some data regarding the backwardness and 'tranquillity' of the different types of cultivators. But it is significant that these traits are not shown to be related to Vaiṣṇavism as the ideological 'superstructure'. See, N.K. Chandra, 'Agricultural workers in Burdwan' in Ranajit Guha, ed. *Subaltern Studies*, Vol. II, (Delhi, 1983), pp. 228-258
41. Detailed and authoritative hagiography of the *Gopālas*, and sport-studies of their *Śrīpātas* in Amūlyadhan Roybhatta, *Dvādaśa Gopāla* (In Bengali) (Pānihāti, 1924); also, VIB, pp. 159-173.
42. *Dvādaśa Gopāla*, pp. 59-80.
43. Mukundarāma Cakravarti, *Caṇḍimangala* (In Bengali), ed. Sukumar Sen (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 78-79, section 133.
44. CBH, p. 382
45. *Abhirāmalīlāmṛta* (In Bengali), (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 120-23; VIB, p. 245.
46. Rev. James Long, 'The Banks of the Bhagirathi', in *Selected Papers of Rev. James Long*, ed. Mahadevprasad Saha (Calcutta, 1968), pp. 75-76.
47. *Dvādaśa Gopāla*, pp. 147-156
48. CCM, p. 315

49. CCM, pp. 136, 327
50. *Dvādaśa Gopāla*, pp. 147 ff.
51. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Rajshahi, 1929), Vol. III, p. 35; also, Amitabha Bhattacharya, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Mediaeval Bengal* (Calcutta, 1977), p. 81, where Siddhalagrāma is identified with Siddhangrāma. For its identification with Śītalāgrām, see GVA, II, p. 1966
52. *Dvādaśa Gopāla*; pp. 49-59.
53. CM-I, p. 225.
54. Narahari Cakravartī, *Bhaktiratnākara* (In Bengali: hereafter BRK), ed. Nandalāl Vidyāsagar (Calcutta, 2nd. ed. 1960), p. 392, 9/352.
55. For Abhirāma Rāmadasa, see *Abhirāmalīlāmṛta*, op. cit; and *Dvādaśa Gopāla*, pp. 25-43.
56. *Dvādasa Gopāla*, p. 40.
57. *Ibid.* p. 43.
58. The subject is discussed in VIB, pp. 159-162.
59. Kavi Karṇapūra, *Gauraganoddeśadīpikā* (In Sanskrit) ed. Rāmanārāyaṇ Vidyāratna (Murshidābād, 5th. ed. 1922), verse-14.
60. CCM, pp. 127, 137; VIB, p. 162.
61. Gauraguṇānda Thākur, *Śrīkhaṇḍer Prācīn Vaiṣṇav* (In Bengali), (Śrīkhaṇḍa, 2nd ed. 1954), and VIB, pp. 190-200.
62. Jagannātha Miśra, *Rasakalpadruma* (In Sanskrit) ed. Bānāmbar Ācārya Śarmā (Bhuvanesvar, 1964), p. 503, verse-50.
63. GVA, II, pp. 1194.
64. Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, ed, *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī* (In Bengali), (hereafter VP) (Calcutta, 1961), p. 303: (Śrīkhaṇḍa Mahimā).
65. Rabīndranāth Māiti, *Caitanyaparikara* (In Bengali), (Calcutta, Bookland, n.d.), p. 134.
66. These are collected in *Gaurapadataranginī* (in Bengali), ed. Jagatvandhu Bhadra and Mriṇālkānti Ghosh (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 105-148.
67. *Śrīkhaṇḍer Prācīn Vaiṣṇav*, p. 32.
68. *Ibid.* p. 33
69. See, 'Śākhānirṇaya' in *Rasakalpavallī O Anyānya Nivandha* (In Bengali), ed. Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya, et al. (Calcutta, 1963), pp. 206-210.
70. 'Śākhānirṇaya', pp. 211-214
71. *Ibid.*, p. 207
72. Somendracandra Nandī, 'Sei Bikhyāta Kāṇta Bābur Duiti Hisāber Bai' in the Bengali journal *Aitihāsik*, year I, No. 4., October 1979, pp. 28-64
73. CBH, p. 90
74. Locana Dāsa Thākura, *Śrī Śrī Caitanyamangala* (In Bengali: hereafter CM-II), ed. Bhaktikevala Auḍulomi (Calcutta, 1979), see 'Introduction'.
75. CCM, pp. 76-94.
76. CCM, pp. 90-91.
77. 'Śrīkṛṣṇabhajanāmṛta', quoted in *Śrīkhaṇḍer Prācīn Vaiṣṇav*, p. 47.
78. PBPM, V, pp. 70-71. The name 'Khotte' clearly suggests its association with 'Paścima Khātika, in the Govindapur Copper Plate. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal* Vol. III, op. cit pp. 92-98
79. Mahimāniranjan Cakravartī, *Birbhūm Vivaraṇ* (In Bengali), ed. Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya (Calcutta, 1916-1927: 3 vols.), Vol. III, p. 41; Sukumār Sen, Śrīkhaṇḍer Sampradāya O Caṇḍīdāsa' in *Vaiṣṇaviya Nivandha* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, 1970), p. 212.
80. For an account of the centre, see VIB, pp. 257-274.

81. Rājavallabha Gosvāmin, *Muralīvilāsa* (in Bengal), ed. Nīlakantha Goswāmin and Binodbihārī Gosvāmin (Bāghnāpāḍā, 1895: the book is extremely rare); Premadāsa, *Vaṃśiśikṣā* (in Bengali), ed. Nimaicand Gosvāmin (Navadvīpa, n.d.).
82. The Rasarāja-concept was formulated by some obscure *gurus*. They were Thākur Haridās of Pānāgarh; a Kāyastha *guru* named Thākur Kṛṣṇānanda; Vaḍa Thākur of Sāldāngā-Mansabpur; Thākur Gokulānanda of Kātābanī; Thākur of Kogrām-Ujānī; Thākur Rāmacandra of Dhāmās, and Thākur Hari. *Vaṃśiśikṣā*, p. 232.
83. Their efforts are narrated in: Nityānanda Dāsa, *Premavilāsa*, ed. Rāmadeva Miśra (Baharampur, 1911); Yadunandana, *Karṇānanda* ed. Rāmnārāyaṇ Vidyaratna (Mursidābād, 1892); BRK, op. cit; Narahari Cakravartī, *Narottamavilāsa* ed. Rāmnarayaṇ Vidyāratna (Murshidābād, 2nd. ed. 1921); Manohara Dāsa, *Anurāgavallī* ed. Mriṇālkānti Ghosh (Calcutta, 1931); Gopi janavallabha Dāsa, *Rasikamangala*, ed. Sāradāprasād Mitra (Tamluk, n.d. This book is extremely rare). These books are written in Bengali.
84. *Premavilāsa*, p. 32; BRK, p. 80. Śrīnivāsa was beholden to Narahari Sarkār for his patronage He is said to have composed eight Sanskrit verses on him, in one of which he described him as a man with curly hair and big hips: 'Vakrākeśam Pṛthukatideśam'. See, 'Narahari Thakkurāṣṭakam' in *Śrīnivāsācāryagranthamālā* (in Sanskrit), ed. Haridās Dās, (Navadvīpa, n d.), p. 14; see also, Jimūtvahan Roy, *Śrīnivāsa Ācārya O Ṣoḍaṣ Satāvdīr Gau iya Vaiṣṇav Samāj* (In Bengali) (Santiniketan, 1984), pp. 215-225; 237-300.
85. Jimūtvāhan Roy, op. cit., pp. 215-225; VIB, pp. 201-221.
86. BRK, pp. 393-94.
87. Rasikānanda, the chief disciple of Śyāmananda of Midnapur, is said to have attended the festival. According to *Rasikamangala*, op. cit. (pp. 17, 185-87); he was born in 1590, and he died at the age of 62. From these dates it is quite possible for us to argue that the Kheturi festival might have been held between 1610 and 1620.
88. Jimūtvahan Roy, op. cit.
89. Her career in *Karṇānanda*, op cit.
90. 'Guṇaleśasūcakam' in *Śrīnivāsācāryagranthamālā*, op. cit. verse-8.
91. 'Vadancānda Kona/Kundāre Kundila Go/Ke Nā Kundila Dui Ānkhi/', etc. (Who is that sculptor who has carved the moon-face? Who has carved the eyes?) VP, p. 1058. Sukumār Sen suggests that this beautiful lyric might have been composed by Govindadāsa Kavirāja for his *guru Bāngālā Sāhityer Itihās*, Vol I, Part I, op cit. p. 451.
92. 'Yajīgram', by Arunkumar Roy, in PCPM, V, pp. 280-81.
93. CM-II, pp. 129-135; 135-140. Here we mention the *Ka acā* or 'notes' of Govinda Karmakār, who lived in a sub-urban area of Burdwan town, and who is said to have accompanied Caitanya on his travels. *Govindadāser Ka acā*, (In Bengali), ed. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Banoyārilāl Gosvāmin (Calcutta, 1926); also, Mriṇālkānti Ghosh *Govindadāser Kadaca Rahasya* (In Bengali) (Calcutta, 1936). A central character of the *Ka acā* is Saśīmukhī, Govinda's wife, who is very quarrelsome, and of whom the *Karmakāra* is very afraid.
94. CM-II, p. 34.
95. *Ibid.*, Introduction.
96. GM-I, pp. xxii ff.
97. *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
100. *Gaurapadatarangini*, op. cit. pp. 105-148; see also, for such lyrics, Narahari Cakravarti, *Gauracaritracintamāṇi* (in Bengali, Part I), ed. Haridās Dās, (Navadvīpa, 1947).
101. VP. pp. 300-368; Kālidās Nath, ed. *Rāyaśekharer Padāvalī* (in Bengali), (Calcutta, 1903).
102. Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopadhyaya, Śrīkumar Bandyopadhyaya, ed. *Jnānadāser Padāvalī* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, 1966).

103. VP. pp. 1009-1029.
104. Bimanbihari Majumdār, *Govindadāser Padāvalī O Tānhār Yug* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, 1961).
105. Vaiṣṇava Dāsa, *Padakalpataru* (in Bengali), 5 vols. ed. Satishchandra Roy (Calcutta, 1915-1931).
106. GRA, II, Part-IV, pp. 1819-1984.
107. For 'Manoharasahī Kīrtana', see, Khagendranāth Mitra *Kīrtana* (in Bengali) (Viśvabhārati, 1945); Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopadhyaya, *Bānglār Kīrtan O Kīrtaniyā* (in Bengali), (Calcutta, 1971); by the same author, *Gauḍavanga Samskṛti* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, 1972); Ramakanta Chakrabarty, 'Vaisnava Kiriana in Bengal' in *The Music of Bengal: Essays in Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Jayasri Banerjee (Baroda, 1988), pp. 12-30.
108. Gopālabhatta Gosvāmin, *Śrī Śrī Haribhaktivilāsa* (In Sanskrit), ed. Rāmānarayaṇ Vidyāratna, (Murshidabad, 2nd ed. 1891), p. 21, verses 36-37.
109. BRK, p. 638; also, Sukumar Sen, op. cit. Vol. I Part II, pp. 63-65.
110. Rūpa Gosvāmin; *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (in Sanskrit), ed. Brajanātha Miśra, 5th. ed. (Murshidabad, 1933), p. 86: 2/251.
111. PBPM, V. pp. 4-5.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 30 f.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
121. Irfan Habib, 'The Peasants in Indian History,' *Proceedings* of the Indian History Congress, 43 rd. session, 1982, p. 15.
122. These castes are: Kāndu, Kumbhakār, Keyat, Koḍā, Goālā, Dom, Tāmbuli, Tānti, Telī, Bāgdi, Vaiśya, Yugī, Rajput. PBPM, V, pp. 26-27; Also, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Burdwan*, op. cit., pp. 55, 67.
123. PBPM, V, pp. 24-26.
124. *Ibid.* pp. 24-26; Gopīkānta Konār, *Bardhamān Jelār Melā: Samājtāttvik Paryālocanā* (in Bengali) (Calcutta, n.d); Appendix-4: the number of Vaiṣṇava fairs, given here, is 90.
125. *Caṇḍīmangal*, op. cit. pp. 1-2, sections, 2-4.
126. Ghanarāma Cakravartī, *Dharmamangala* (In Bengali), (Bangabāsī Press, Calcutta, 3rd. printing, 1911), p. 222.
127. PBPM, V, pp. 96-97.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-248.
129. Check-list in VIB, p. 349. There are reasons for supposing that *Ānandabhairava*, an important Sahajiya Vaiṣṇava work, was composed in Burdwan. It is collected in Paritosh Das, ed., *Caitnyottara Pratham Cāriti Sahajīyā Punthi* (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 80-111.
130. See note-82.
131. GVA, II, p. 1151.
132. VIB, Ch. XIX, pp. 320-345.
133. Panhcānan Maṇḍal, *Cithipatre Samājcitra* (In Bengali), Vol. I (Viśvabharti, 1968), p. 93.
134. VIB, p. 414.
135. List, based on David J. McCutchion, *Late Mediaeval Temples of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1972), PBPM, V.

33

Shri Brijnathji and the Murals in the Chattar Mahal, Kota

(*Plates* 63-71)

JOACHIM BAUTZE

In 1719, Maharao Bhim Singh of Kota (1707-1720)[1] reportedly brought the image of Brijnathji from Mathura to Kota, where it became the major deity of the state.[2] In a recent article we concentrated on the depiction of Lord Brijnathji and his close associate, Brijrayji, in Kota painting of the latter half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.[3] In this connection, we mentioned the problems regarding paintings of Brijnathji prior to about 1750.[4] Here we want to concentrate on paintings of Brijnathji dating from the first half of the 18th century because they are absolutely essential for dating some of the most important wall-paintings in Kota, decorating the walls of the eastern room in the Chattar Mahal. Several dates were suggested for the murals on the southern, eastern and northern wall and for the paintings on the ceiling.[5] We once suggested a date around 1701 on the basis of a much dilapidated inscription on the western wall, mentioning the (samvat-) year "1758"[6]. These numerals which were read by M.L. Joshi, have unfortunately disappeared since.

That Lord Brijnathji is depicted on the western wall of the eastern room of the Chattar Mahal is corroborated by an unpublished inscription on the back of a published Kota painting showing Maharao Arjun Singh of Kota (1720-1723)[7] sitting in front of Brijnathji.[8] The inscription says that the painting (*chamvī* in the inscription) shows Maharao Arjun Singh paying homage (literally "making a sign at") to

Sri Brijnathji.[9] The hunting scenes in the background of this painting make it quite unique. We should, however, remember that Brijnathji was considered as real king, who at times went out hunting with the ruler of Kota,[10] or was worshipped along with weapons.[11]

The image of Brijnathji in the splendid Lalit Kalā publication mentioned above[12] shows a figure which is not only life-size but which looks very much alive. It is most probably a person in the guise of Lord Brijnathji and sitting in the posture of Brijnathji. During Maharao Arjun Singh's reign, the image of Brijnathji was lost and was only found during the reign of his successor, Maharao Durjan Sal.[13] Besides, the actual idol of Brijnathji is very small,[14] in fully accordance with an observation made by Fanny Parks in 1833.[15] A tiny carved sapphire (height: 3 cms) of a two armed idol the position of which is reminiscent of Brijnathji appeared in the art-market only recently.[16] It is not surprising to see a Hindu god played by an actor. Andrew Topsfield recently published a sequence of 10 paintings done for Maharana Jagat Singh of Udaipur in 1736. These large paintings show the performance of some sort of dance-drama (i.e. the *Rāslīla* in this case) in which several gods make their appearance.[17]

We do not know whether a person had to act as Brijnathji, because the idol got lost. This seems not to be the case since a painting from the latter half of the 18th century survived which shows a similar large figure identified as Brijnathji on the back of the painting.[18] Be that as it may, for the course of this paper we would like to call the life-size renderings of Brijnathji life-sized and the smaller representations idol sized, although the actual idol of Brijnathji is still much smaller in comparison than the "smallest" representation in painting.

As already mentioned, the life-sized representations of Brijnathji bear a striking resemblance to a human being. They all share the fact of being represented in full profile, as is demonstrated by our fig. 1. The feet are visible in most cases and reveal that Brijnathji sits like a small child: the shanks do not cross each other as they generally do when an adult is sitting comfortably in a similar posture.[19] He is very often seated alone, viz. without female consort, as in our figures 1-5 and at least three more published examples.[20] Paintings showing a life sized representation of Brijnathji together with a female consort are less frequently met with, especially in the earlier period, cf. our fig. 6.[21]

The idol-sized representations of Brijnathji are generally shown en- face as in our fig. 8 and in a few published examples.[22] Only in one dated example known to us Brijnathji is shown in profile.[23] Whenever Brijnathji is represented in the size of an idol he is accompanied by a female consort. The idol size representations of Brijnathji generally occur in the 19th century, only rarely in the second half of the 18th but never in the first half of the 18th century. Only in one example known to us an apparently idol-sized rendering of Brijnathji is shown in three quarter view, see our

fig. 7. A flute is generally held in the left hand of the idol-sized Brijnathji but only rarely in either the left or right hand of the life-sized representations.[24] In at least one example, our fig. 5, the flute is held by the worshipper behind Brijnathji. Brijnathji often, but not always, holds a globular object in his right hand, should his left hand be in position of holding the flute or vice versa.[25]

We recognize the life sized representation of Brijnathji e.g. (*Plate* 63) easily in the murals on the western wall in the eastern room of the Chattar Mahal (*Plates* 64-66). Fig. 2 shows a detail of a larger composition on the western wall in the eastern room, to the south of the entrance to the western room of the Chattar Mahal. *Plate* 65 is a detail of a composition which is situated about 35 cms below the detail shown here in (*Plate* 64).[26] The detail reproduced here as (*Plate* 66) belongs to the western wall, southern corner of the same room. All these three depictions of Brijnathji are situated above the eye-level of the standing spectator.

The representations of Brijnathji in our (*Plate* 63-65) are very similar. The person who leads a group of four nobles in front of Brijnathji shown in (*Plate* 64) is identical with the person standing behind Shri Brijnathji in (*Plate* 65). And the person standing behind Brijnathji in (*Plate* 65) is almost identical with the person behind the tutelar deity of Kota as shown in our (*Plate* 67). The correct identification of this servant to Brijnathji gives an important clue for the dating of the Chattar Mahal murals mentioned above.

An examination of inscribed portraits of Kota rulers reveals that the respective worshipper in our (*Plates* 64, 65 and 67) can only be identified with Maharao Bhim Singh of Kota who introduced the worship of Brijnathji in his home-town which he renamed as "Nandgaon".[27] It seems that no contemporary portraits of Maharao Bhim Singh bearing a contemporary identifying inscription have survived. However, we were able to show that contemporary portraits of Kota rulers were faithfully copied until the late 19th century.[28] We can thus rely on posthumous representations with respect to their rendering of the hair, moustache and turban respectively. The most prominent feature of Maharao Bhim Singh was his comparatively dark complexion which can still be seen with his son and successor, Maharao Arjun Singh. Another characteristic trait of his portraits is the long, triple curved moustache which cannot be seen with any other Kota-ruler. Furthermore, he is recognizable by his black brush on the turban which emerges from a round, apparently ball-like tassel. All these characteristics are visible in our fig. 9, a detail of an inscribed miniature painting,[29] and in the above mentioned portraits of the worshipper reproduced here in (*Plates* 64, 65 and 67). When we realized the correspondence between the portraits of the man next to Brijnathji in the Chattar Mahal (*Plates* 64-65) with our (*Plate* 71) and when we remembered that the image of Brijnathji was only brought to Kota towards the end of Maharao Bhim Singh's reign, we thought that we should revise our dating of the Chattar Mahal murals to about 1719-1720. This seemed to

be very much convincing, especially since we could identify a comparatively dark complexioned figure without moustache and side-burns, but with a halo around his head with the oldest son and successor of Maharao Bhim Singh, Kunwar Arjun Singh.[30] And since the young man whom we want to identify with Arjun Singh as prince did not show the peculiar nose, his most distinguishing mark known to us from all his 18th century portraits, we felt more convinced that our previous dating based on a now lost inscription is wrong and should be altered in favour of a later dating. The portrait of Maharao Bhim Singh, the existence of what we think to be his son as a prince and the presence of Brijnathji were definitely in favour of a dating around 1720. But in spite of all convincing reasons and evidences we doubted this later dating because of the "archaism" of representing the dresses of most of the other persons shown and the numerous occurrences of the somewhat archaic three quarter view which Kota painters favoured but rarely.

It was only due to the generous hospitality of Maharajkumar Brijraj Singhji of Kota that we were able to re-examine the wall-paintings within the old palace of Kota on numerous occasions. The only major work which we losely associate with the early years of Maharao Bhim Singh's reign, scattered illustrations of an as yet not properly identified text,[31] do not show sufficient stylistic proximity to the majority of murals in the Chattar Mahal. We therefore directed our attention towards the portraits of Maharao Bhim Singh and the representations of Brijnathji in the Chattar Mahal only to realize that they were all later additions! The subsequent insertion of Brijnathji and Maharao Bhim Singh becomes even evident when looking at fig.2. The bars of the balustrade in front of Brijnathji are clumsily painted over because the right hand side of the balustrade does not end in a pillar as it should. Parts of the overpainted balustrade are still visible. The full figure of Maharao Bhim Singh has likewise been added later. The rectangular area which had to be re-worked for the insertion of the Maharao is slightly brighter when compared to the remaining area around. The pavement which once consisted of hexagonal tiles becomes again visible near the feet of the Maharao. It has been covered with green colour after Maharao Bhim Singh had been added to the group of people which probably once approached a king the space of which is now occupied by the tutelar deity of Kota. The later insertion of Brijnathji and Maharao Bhim Singh can also be discovered in (*Plate* 65), where the green background, it looks dark in the reproduction, betrays the work of the artist. The delicate plants of the garden were painted over, some parts of the overpainted water-channel are still visible near the right knee of Brijnathji. In this composition Maharao Bhim Singh is holding two flasks, whereas he is holding the flute of Brijnathji in our (*Plate* 67), employing the same position of his hands. The image of Brijnathji shown here in (*Plate* 66) is situated next to a Shivalinga, not included in the reproduction. The man in front of Brijnathji is apparently not Maharao Bhim Singh. Brijnathji, however, has been added

later, which is evident from the disappearance of the lower part of the stem of the tree behind him.

The images of Brijnathji, the portraits of Maharao Bhim Singh and the portraits of Kunwar Arjun Singh were certainly added before Arjun Singh ascended to the *gaddi*, i.e. not after 1720. The original wall-paintings in the Chattar Mahal were therefore most probably executed during the last regnal years of Rao Ram Singh.[32]

Notes and References

1. For his biography see Śarmā 1939, Vol. I, pp. 249-309 or Gahalota 1960, pp. 55-60 in the chapter on Kota.
2. Cf. Miśraṇa Vol. VI, p. 3071 or Brijraj Singh 1985. p. 14.
3. Bautze 1987[a].
4. Bautze 1987[a], f.n. 52.
5. Cf. Beach 1974, Fig. 114 (northern wall), Fig. 115 (northern wall) and Fig. 116 (western wall): "ca. 1750". Brijraj Singh 1985, Figs. 47-48 (northern wall): "c. A.D. 1800". Welch 1983, Fig. 1 (ceiling): "About 1700." Brijraj Singh 1985, Fig. 46 (ceiling): "c. A.D. 1750".
6. Bautze 1986[a], p. 52 and f.n. 30. For the reproduction of a detail from a mural on the western wall see Figure No. 4 there in.
7. It is not known exactly when Arjun Singh officially succeeded Maharao Bhim Singh. It is stated that Arjun Singh ascended to the *gaddi* after Maharao Bhim Singh died (Śarmā 1939, Vol. 1, p. 308). Maharao Bhim Singh died on 20 June 1720 (cf. Śyāmaladāsa 1886, Vol. II. p. 1496; Śarmā 1939, Vol I, p. 296 ff.; Tod 1920, Vol. III, p. 1526 or Bhatnagar 1974, p. 151). Maharao Arjun Singh died on "kārtika śuklā saptamī saṁvat 1780" following Śarmā 1939, Vol. I, p. 316.
8. See the beautiful large col. Plate in Brijraj Singh 1985, p. 33 (Plate IV). The person standing behind Brijnathji is identical with Maharao.
9. The three lined Nāgarī inscription in the upper left corner on the back of the painting reads: "cham.vī(?) Śrī Varajnāthajī kī māhārā/vajī śrī arajana sīghajī kī saṃkāra/karāyā k:". Another inscription above. in a different hand, reads: "māhārājajī Śrī Araijana Sīghajī".
10. Cf. Brijraj Singh 1985. col. Plate III and text p. 30.
11. Bautze 1987[a], Abb. 13.
12. See f n. 8.
13. Cf. Śarmā 1939, Vol. II, p. 410.
14. See Brijraj Singh 1985, Fig. 23.
15. Parks 1975, Vol. I, p. 258.
16. Spink 1988. no. 49 and col. illustration on cover. The idol of Brijnathji is often shown as being of blue colour, although it is gold.
17. Topsfield 1987.
18. Bautze 1987[a], Abb. 13.
19. This is best illustrated by a col. Plate in Bautze 1987[b], p. 91 when compared to our fig. 1.
20. (1) Brijraj Singh 1985, col. Plate III; 2) Sotheby & Co., 12.12.1972, lot 112 (= Sotheby's 13./14.4.1976, lot 102 = Indian Paintings 1977, no. 36 = Christie's 3,7.1980. lot 45); 3) Sotheby & Co., 11.7.1973, lot 175.
21. See also Bautze 1987[a], Abb. 13, for a later example and no. 2 in f.n. 20.

22. Bautze 1987[a], Abb. 5, 11 and 18. There are several other examples in unpublished 19th century Kota wall-painting.
23. Bautze 1987[a], Abb. 9-10.
24. For an exception see e.g. no. 2 in f.n. 20 above.
25. In our figs. 4-5 the *left* shows the gesture of holding the ball-like object which reminds us of Krishna's butter-ball.
26. For a more general view of this part of the wall see Beach, 1974, Fig. 116. The painted surface shown there measures 0.76m between the floral borders. The entire composition, the lower part of which is noi shown in Beach 1974, Fig. 116, measures about 2.41m in height.
27. This is corroborated by a colophon of a Ragamala in the Saraswati Bhandar of Udaipur, the third line of which reads: "...śrīman nan̤dagrāma koṭā madhye...", cf. Ebeling 1973, p. 219. See also Miśraṇa, Vol. VI, p. 3071.
28. See Bautze 1986[b].
29. For the full painting see Bautze 1917[a], Abb. 8 or Sotheby's 22nd April, 1980, lot 95.
30. He appears three times on the western wall of the eastern room in the Chattar Mahal. He can be seen on horse-back, on a low stool and being carried on some sort of portable chair. In each case he is attended by a number of servants.
31. Folio 2: Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, Acc. No. 39.18.
    Folio 12: PWM, Bombay, Acc. No. 39.19.
    Folio 20: Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras.
    Folio 22: PWM, Bombay. Acc. No. 39.16.
    Folio 25(?): PWM, Bombay, Acc. No. 39.20.
    Folio 27: PWM, Bombay. Acc. No. 39.22.
    Folio 29: PWM, Bombay, Acc. No. 39.21.
    Folio 30: Allahabad Museum; reproduced: Archer 1959, Plate 33, cf. also Beach 1979, no. 20, p. 24.
    Folio 41: Paul Walter, New York; reproduced: Pal 1978, no. 33.
    Folio 42: Allahabad Museum, Acc. No. 224; reproduced: Kala 1961, Plate 11.
    Folio 50: PWM, Bombay, Acc. No. 39.17.
    Folio 58: BKB, Banaras; reproduced: Leach 1982, no. 199.
    The pagination of another folio in the BKB Banaras is overpainted. A further folio of this manuscript was remargined completely. The text and folio number are lost, see Ehnbom/Topsfield 1987, col. Plate on p. 43. The posture of Krishna in this folio is reminiscent of Brijnathji.
32. Rao Ram Singh died on June 20th, 1707, in the battle of Jajau near Agra, cf. Śarmā 1939, Vol. I, p. 248.

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34

Human Faces in Tagore's Painting

(*Plates* 72-80)

JAYANTA CHAKRABARTI

Rabindranath Tagore, the most celebrated Indian poet, took to painting at a very late age, when he crossed sixty-three. Although products of only a few years, the number of paintings of Tagore is quite considerable. Of them the number of human faces far exceeds others. About two-third of all his paintings are paintings of human faces.

Those who are familiar with the process of painting know well that of all things it is the drawing of a portrait or a face which is most difficult and demands proper training and good practice. The question naturally arises: what inspiration was it that made the poet so inclined to this difficult domain of painting? Surprisingly, another question also arises in our mind: why is it that the starting point of Tagore's regular and continuous practice in painting is not his native country? Why, and under what inspiration, did it begin at Bouenos aires in Argentina, a very far-off land?

It is really surprising that besides some casual efforts in the different periods of his youth and manhood he was never found during the long 63 years to draw or paint seriously with colour, brush, pen, pencil or pastel, but suddenly in an entirely unfamiliar surrounding, he, disregarding the tiredness of a convalescing body, got imbued with such a passion for painting. We wonder what could have prompted him to do so. There is no denying that he grew up in a very congenial atmosphere

at Jorasanko where the very air was surcharged with music, art and literature. He was inspired by the skill of his elder brother, Jyotirindranath, in the art of portraiture. The few drawings of profile faces that appeared in his *Mālatī Punthi*, composed at the age of seventeen (1878), leave such an impression. Rabindranath was also a keen observer of the works of Gaganendranath, Abanindranath and their pupils, and he lent inspiration to their movement for the regeneration of Indian art. He wanted to give a wider shape to the Indian art movement by founding the Kala-Bhavana at Santiniketan. He had the opportunity to visit many art galleries in India and abroad and also to come in contact with many talented artists. Upto 1930 he was in the habit of procuring a large number of foreign books on art and art criticism and reading them with care. All these generated the material condition and atmosphere which could easily induce him to undertake painting. Yet while in his own country, and even at his own Santiniketan, he did not dare to begin work as a painter. He had fears from the ignorant Indian critics, too. It is, however, definite that Rabindranath did not want to place the drawings of his first endeavour to any reputed painter, not even Gaganendranath, Abanindranath, Nandalal or their talented disciples.

This is also to be taken into consideration, in this context, that Rabindranath was not fully content with the new art movement initiated by Abanindranath and nurtured by his pupils. Tagore's expectation was much higher than what the New Bengal School had achieved. In one of his letters written to Abanindranath from Japan in 1916, he mentions: 'The painting of the New Bengal School should have, I feel, a little more power, courage and breadth'. On another occasion, he, in utter despair, mentions: 'I am not a painter myself or I might have shown what had to be done'. Perhaps there was none, in his view, who could give an appropriate shape and expression to that kind of art what he was visualizing. It may be, for this, he might have felt an inner compulsion to devote himself to painting, even at a very advanced age.

The great urge for painting, together with a gradual mental preparation towards that, which had been gathering in his mind over the years needed for its release at a quiet and somewhat unfamiliar setting—away from the presence of other artists, where he could feel free to bring out his art—emotions and desires for self-expression in various experimental forms and even fanciful trials and errors which, even if not up to the mark, won't at least be subjected to any unnecessarily harsh criticism. Buenosaires in Argentina was just such a place very much after his heart's desire. In such a far-off country, Rabindranath, housed in a secluded garden-house at San Idriso, wanted to reveal his art-craving soul before himself and test its ability to self-expression. And ultimately, he gave himself up to the painter in him and went on painting picture after picture with utmost absorption. It began in 1924 (at the age of sixty-four), in the manuscript of *Pūravī*, a book of poems, wherein a number

of scribbles and struck-out words were transformed into rhythmic patterns, human faces and curious shapes of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic or other figurations of in-between identity.

These pictorial forms were discovered by his Argentinian hostess—Victoria Ocampo, a highly cultured and erudite young lady, among the doodles that appeared on the pages of *Pūravī* manuscript. These impelled her to acknowledge Tagore as a painter, and eventually she egged him on to this new experiment. This was Tagore's first recognition as a painter and this came from such an accomplished lady whose personality, judgement, taste and acumen were admired by the poet himself. This inspiration naturally had a tremendous effect and created such a strong interest and self-confidence in him that Tagore automatically stepped into the domain of pictorial art even though he had no formal training for it. But once he took the pen, ink, colour and brush in hand, he never rejected them, rather continued to paint till the end of his life, producing more than two thousand drawings and paintings.

Tagore also might have got indirect inspiration and support for his initiation into art from the contemporary art movements of the West, apart from the interactions of his personal acquaintence with the art and the artists of different countries. The first two decades of this century witnessed a series of revolutionary movements in art in Europe, where the artists began to question 'the need' to approximate to the normal appearance to things, since more importance was being paid at that time to an artist's own subjective feeling than to the familiar forms and beauties of the real world. Natural light, natural colour, natural form or perspective, nothing was essential anymore for painters of the period. Application of colour became flat and linesgot a new importance and value. In the works of Matisse, Picasso, Nolde, Kandinsky and others we notice signs of deliberate endeavour to deviate from the objective reality. From all these Rabindranath realized that if a painting maintains an over-all balance and has a novel and strong idea to communicate, it can claim to be successful art in spite of technical flaws in its execution. He might have understood this from his personal experience during his stay in Europe, where he spent little over five years in his seven separate visits between 1912 and 1929, and picked up courage to draw and paint. He did not, of course, try to imitate any of the traditions, instead he solved the pictorial problems in his own way. But his contact with various art traditions certainly enlarged his perspective and confidence in his creative power, in spite of his technical shortcomings; and this was further reinforced by the support and encouragement from a personality like Ocampo. To this was added the unusual success and appreciation of his exhibitions held abroad.

The uninterrupted flow of Tagore's painting began with his *Pūravī* manuscript which contains several faces and mask-like drawings in profile. These were created by smearing ink and adding lines over the struck-out words or simply by weaving lines into lines in them. The faces executed in the manuscript, though abstract in

nature, bring the glimpse of a strange reality which may be called idealistic reality. This idealistic reality of the face has developed itself into a new realization in the second phase of his face drawings.

The new phase of Tagore's painting began in 1926-27. It was from then that Tagore began his drawing independently, on separate sheets of paper, removed from the pages of his manuscripts. The forms and designs in this second phase were further developed from those of the manuscript phase. And it is the admixture of the first and the second phases that goes into the making of the distinct form of Tagore's painting. It was since then that colour was added to form and his painting became polychromatic. In the coloured paintings Tagore used, quite playfully, quick-drying transparent coloured inks, crayons, pastels, fugitive vegetable colours and varieties of varnishes on any quality of paper. He also used opaque guache colours, specially for the effect of rugged texture or sharp light. Among the colours—lemon yellow, orange, pink, cobalt blue, brown and black were his favourite. He employed more than one colour in his full-drawn figures of male and female, but his painting of faces is limited to a very few numbers of colours and the faces painted by him during the last four years of his life were mainly monochromatic.

The faces painted by Rabindranath may be divided into different classes such as ornamental, geometric, realistic, mask-like female face, male face, self portrait etc. These might have been drawn after some actual persons familiar to him. And it may be that the memory of many relatives, family-friends, house-tutors, employees and domestic servants has been caught in these faces. The characters which for want of a necessary correlative with the context could not be brought into the fore in his stories, poems and novels, but whose peculiar characteristics were always present in his memory, got a free release in the paintings of Tagore. These are by no means imitative and do not stand before us with a demand to be identified with any prototype. They are to be identified by the qualities and ideas they represent. In these, Tagore has laid utmost stress on person's character or characteristic features rather than the external resemblances of faces. Hence these faces speak to us in the languages of seriousness, firmness, crookedness, simplicity, frivolity, smilefulness, frolicsomeness, despair, anguish, lonesomeness etc. as the case may be.

The male faces drawn by Tagore express a variety of ideas and suggestiveness, yet they have also some common characteristics. For instance, almost all the faces are longish in shape and are either tapering or flat towards the cheek, the lips and the eyes being most expressive and communicative. The faces are frontal or lateral or drawn in profile. And in most of these faces the pattern of the longish face of the poet is projected, as if his own feeling and personality have mingled with the voice, anxiety and pain of every face; the self and the created form have been blended, reflecting a vague shadow of his own face in them.

Among the many paintings of faces we have quite a few self-portraits painted in diverse styles and techniques. They were made sometimes by fine strokes of nibs, sometimes in geometric forms, sometimes in polychromes, and sometimes painted with a brush only in black colour. They are often realistic, often symbolic, but never plain imitations. Like many illustrious painters Rabindranath, too, was interested in self-portraiture. It was not due only to self-love. Indeed, as he said: 'In art or literature if man used to see only the beauty of the external world, and not himself, then his art or literature would have been of no use to him' ('Rup O Arup'). Perhaps he realized the truth that it is necessary to know well one's own self before one could understand others or other characters. Like any great artist Rabindranath also felt that one could not enter into the hearts of others fully. That is why he has often looked invertedly into his own and has tried to understand the nature of inner self by being face to face with the internal 'I AM'. A number of his self-portraits are products of that self-searching. And it is with the light of that self-searching that he has tried to realize others' nature and true character. His readings of them have been expressed in innumerable and various paintings of faces.

Rabindranath used to fondly play with the making of imaginary and funny forms, even of his own self. He botched some of his own photographs with ink and draw lines across and transformed his photograph into the picture of a Muslim woman wearing borkha, an Arabian with a scarf round his head or the face of a scholarly woman. We know of six such paintings preserved in Visva-Bharati (Rabindra-Bhavana) and (four of them) published in the front cover of *Visva-Bharati News* in 1934. The photograph that has been transformed into the face of an erudite lady by drawing lines and crotchets over it, seems to reveal some semblance with the face of Ocampo. It is natural for one to think whether Rabindranath at any time played with the idea of comparing his own face with that of Ocampo !

It is indeed striking that in more than one woman face painted by Rabindranath we get a shadow of the face Ocampo. It was Ocampo who through her friendship, respect and intensive love succeeded in involving Tagore deeply into creative painting and opening still another broad gate of his creativity. How could he be oblivious of such a forceful and inspiring soul as hers? For the fame and recognition that Tagore received as a painter, he is indeed very much indebted to that foreign lady. Therefore, it is but natural that whenever Tagore would attempt to draw a female face, the face of this lady would flash into his mind's eye. Together with this, still another face would also flash before him, the face of Kadambari Devi, his ever-new 'Natun Bouthan'. A deep sore was formed in Tagore's soul by the suicide of Kadambari Devi caused by her sense of utter loneliness and depression being childless and deprived of her husband's care. The death of 'Bouthan' opened his eyes to the suppressed tears of life, and found its reflection in his various creations. That is why whenever he painted a woman-face a kind of deep loneliness,

an inexpressible despair crept into it unconsciously; and there is in the eyes of the female faces a sadness expressive of a certain far-offness.

In more than one male face painted by Rabindranath are visible expressions of fun, frolic and distortion but none of his diverse female faces are distorted, funny or comical, as if such expressions in female face would be out of tune. However, he has painted a few female faces lit up with ironical smile and most of these are face of non-Indians. What is most surprising is that there is, as in most female face drawn by Tagore, a shadow of either Ocampo or Kadambari Devi, there is also occasional projection on them the likeness of the Poet's own face. That is to say, on a single face there has been superimposition, one after another, of the faces of Ocampo, Kadambari Devi and Rabindranath himself. And most of the female faces painted by Tagore are distinguished by the peculiarity. All of them are sad, serious, anxious, agonized and afraid.

Each of these faces expresses a distinct mood or character, and the chief aim of the artist is to delineate the personality than the person, the inner character than the outer form. But in many drawings of his last phase the personality has been expressed without ignoring the person. There were, it seems, many familiar faces who had been drawn straight from life. In other words, the style of painting employed in these was very much realistic. Tagore's paintings are of two kinds—based on recollection and based on direct observation. In the paintings of his last phase, the latter type seems his favourite.

It has already been suggested that the face-study of Rabindranath's last years are not rich in colour; nearly ninetyfive per cent of these are monochromatic, line drawn or painted in black colour. This is the colour of his mind. Domestic calamity, death of more than one dear one, the world war, the crisis of humanity as a whole—this darkness at home and outside seems to have blotted all the colours of his mind. In his disillusioned eye everything has become unornamented, bare and colourless, and black also signifies colourlessness. And in that colour of the mind—black—were painted the paintings of his last years.

In the paintings of faces or portraits there are special problems of verisimilitude or ideational similarity. Yet we may, from what we have discussed above, get an idea of Tagore's ideas on painting in general, and recognize the Poet's aesthetic idea as well. Barring a few ornamental works on the manuscript pages, none of his paintings are completely abstract, nor are they exact imitations of visual forms; they are all painted by subjective feeling and subjective consciousness. All these paintings of Rabindranath must be viewed as probes into human nature and psyche including, incessant self-probing of a great poetic mind, otherwise no study of Tagore's creative genius can claim totality of understanding.

Two Fragments of the Saddharmapundarika-Sutra from N. Petrovsky Collection

G.M. BONGARD-LEVIN
M.I. VOROBYEVA-DESYATOVSKAYA

It is clear now that at least two versions of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* have existed—one earlier—Central Asian and the second later—Nepalese-Gilgit.[1] The Central Asian version is usually known as Kashgar Manuscript the main part of which is now in Manuscript Fund in Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, USSR (N. Petrovsky collection).[2] Some folios of this manuscript are kept now in different Manuscript Funds in London, in West Berlin, in New Haven and in Peking. Up to now are known the 447 folios of this manuscript.[3]

Besides the Kashgar manuscript in Leningrad Central Asian Fund there are many fragments of the 20 manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. Among them we can find the fragments which belong to the Central Asian and Nepalese-Gilgit versions.

Two folios of the last version were published by the authors of this article.[4] Other folios belong to Central Asian version. Among them there are 85 folios and fragments of 7 manuscripts, which were published by us in the first part of the volume "Indian Texts from Eastern Turkestan."[5] Two folios of the 8th manuscript (ST P/79) are prepared by us for publication in the second part of the volume "Indian Texts from Eastern Turkestan".

In this article we publish 2 fragments of the 9th manuscript of the Central Asian version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (SI P/67/12). These two fragments belong to Khotan manuscript which can be dated from the VII-VIII centuries A.D. Folio N° 1 has a pagination on the left part (N° 28), in the middle there is a lacuna, the size of the folio 54.5 by 13.5 centimetres, the text is on both sides of the

folio, 7 lines on each. The paper is yellow in colour, of Central Asian origin. The left part of the manuscript contains a hole for binding. The text belongs to the I chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* which corresponds to fol. 31b(5)-32b(7) of the Kashgar version. The difference between the texts of our and Kashgar version is small. Both texts belong to the same variant of the Central Asian version. But there is one interesting text of the second line of our folio which is similar not to Central Asian version but to Nepalese-Gligit one. We can think that the scribes was acquainted with Nepalese-Gligit version and possibly had a manuscript of that version.

The second fragment is small, the left and right portions of the folio are torn away, the size is 16 × 13.5 centimetres. The text belongs to the XVIIth chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* and corresponds to fol. 326a(5)-327a(6) of the Kashgar version of the *sūtra* and partly restores the lacunas of the mentioned folios. This text is not preserved in any manuscript of this *sūtra* from Eastern Turkestan and therefore our text is very important for reconstruction of the Central Asian version of the *sūtra*.

It is interesting to note that in our text we do not find the double *rr* and *tt* but *r* and *t*. This may indicate that the mother language of the scribe was not a Śaka-Khotanese or that the scribe was studying for a long period in India. Possibly the scribe was a Tibetan because there is a shortening of *sahasra* to *saha*. The shortening of words, which is often found in our text, is similar for Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts.

Notes to the Introduction

1. The classification of the Nepalese manuscripts of the text (see *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, ed. by H. Kern and B.Nanjio, St.-Pt., 1912, Bibliotheca Buddhica. Vol.X) was done by H. Toda (see H. Toda. *A classification of the Nepalese Manuscripts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika.* — Tokushima Daigaku Kyōyō-bu Kiyō, Jimbum-Shakai Kagaku, vol.19, 1984, pp.21-265; vol.20, 1985, pp.245-284). The Central Asian version from N. Petrovsky collection was edited in facsimile form by L. Chandra (see *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Kashgar manuscript*, ed. by L. Chandra—*Śatapiṭaka*, vol. 219. New Delhi, 1976). The transliteration (in Latin letters) was published by H. Toda (see H. Toda. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra.* Central Asian Manuscripts. Romanised Text. Tokushima, 1981; 2nd edition—Tokushima, 1983). The folios of the 3 manuscripts found in Gilgit were published by Shoko Watanabe (see *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Found in Gilgit.* Ed. and Ann. by Shokho Watanabe, vol. 1-2. Tokyo, 1975) and O. von Hinüber (*A New Fragmentary Gilgit Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍrika-sūtra.* Tokyo, The Reiyukai, 1982). See also some addition to the manuscripts B and C published by H. Toda (see H. Toda. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra Gilgit Manuscripts* Group B and C). — Tokoshima Daigaku Kyōyōbu Kiyō (Jimbum-Shakai Kagaku), vol. 14, 1979, pp. 249-304).

2. See G.M. Bongard-Levin, M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya. *Indian Texts from Central Asia* (Leningrad Manuscript Collection) Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica. Series Minor V. Tokyo, 1986.

3. See G.M. Bongard-Levin, M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya. *Indian Texts from Eastern Turkestan*. Pt.I. Bibliotheca Buddhica, No 33, Moscow, 1984, pp. 79-86 (in Russian); see also H. Toda. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. 2nd edition, Tokushima, 1983, pp. XII-XIII.

4. G.M. Bongard-Levin, M I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya. *New Sanskrit Texts from Central Asia*. — In: Central Asia. New Texts and Art Objects Moscow, 1987, pp. 14-18 (in Russian).

5. These fragments were prepared for publication by M.I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya.

Fragment No.1 Transliteration (*Plate* 81)

(Fol. 28)* A.

1. [*atidarśaṇi*] *yā* [*ra*] *śmi* [*prabha*]*vena vināyakasya 9 devā manuṣyā bahu nāga yakṣā gandharva tatrāsura kinna-*
2. *rā cā. ye cā*[*bhi*]*yuktā sugatāna pūjayā dṛśya*[*ṃ*]*ti pūjenti te*[1] *lokadhātūṣu*[2]*. 1O buddhāśca dṛśyaṃti sva-*
3. *yaṃbhuvaḥ*[3] *suvarṇayūpā iva darsaṇiyāḥ vaiḍūryamadhye va suvarṇabimba pariṣāya ma-*
4. *dhye pravadanti*[4] *dharmam*[5] *tahi śrāvakā* [*nāṃ ga*] *ṇanā na vidyate tāvāpramāṇāḥ sugatāna*
5. *śrāvakā. ekaika kṣetrasmi vināya* [*kānām*] *dṛś*[*y*]*aṃti raśmi-prabhadarśanena 12 virye upe-*
6. *tāśca akhaṇḍaśilā rakṣaṃti śilam maṇiratna . . .* [*su*]*gatā*[*na*]*dṛśyati*[6] *bahūni putrā viharaṃti*
7. [ ] *parvatakandareṣu 13 sarvasvadānāni paritya . . .* [*dh*] *ɔ* [*a*]*ṇabalāśca virāḥ bahubaudhisa-*[7]

Q (*Plate* 82)

1. [*t*] *v* [*ā*]*y*[*atha*] *gaṃgavāḷiḥ*[8] *sarve ca dṛśyaṃti jinasya . . a*[*n*]*imjamānāśca avedhamānāḥ kṣā-*
2. *ntyā sthitā dhyānaratāḥ samāhitāḥ*[9] *dṛśyaṃti . . . nāna orasāḥ dhyānena ye prasthita*

*Compare Kashgar version (H. Toda edition)—ff, 31 b (5)—32 b (7); Gilgit version (Watanabe edition)—p. 15, line 30-p. 16, line 33.

3. *agrabodhim 15 bhūtaṃ padaṃ śāntam-anā . . . j [ā] namānāśca prakāśayaṃti deśenti dharmaṃ*
4. *bahulokadhātuṣu sugatānubhāvā . . . [ya]m-idṛśi kṛyā 16 dṛṣṭvā[10] ca tāḥ pariṣa cata-*
5. *sra tāyināṃ candrārkadipasya idaṃ prabh (ā) vam harṣasthitāḥ[11] sarvi[12] bhavitva tatkṣaṇam anyonya[13] pṛccham-*
6. *ti kathaṃ nu etam 17 acirasya ca sau nara-deva-pūjitaḥ[14] samādhito vyutthitu lokanāyukaḥ va-*
7. *raprabhaṃ p[u]tra[ta]da 'dhvabhāṣid yo bodhisatvo vidu dharmabhāṇakaḥ[15] 18 lokasya cakṣuśca gatim ca tvaṃ vi- [d] u*

Notes

1. a (2) - in Gilgit version also *pūjenti te* (p. 15, line 35); in Kashgar version (further - K) - *pūjottama.*
2. K. 31b(7) - *lokadhātuṣu.*
3. K. 31b(7) - 32a (1) - *svayaṃsvayaṃbhuvaḥ.*
4. K. 32a(1) - *pravadaṃti.*
5. After *dharmaṃ* the figure 11 is missing. Compare K. 32a(1).
6. K. 32a(4) - *dṛśyaṃti.*
7. K. 32a(6) - *bahubodhisa* - .
8. Possibly it is a mistake of the scribe, instead of *gaṃgavālikaḥ.* Compare K. 32a(6).
9. *Visarga* here is a sign of division; compare K. 32a(7) - after *samāhita* there is a dot.
10. K. 32b 3) - *drriṣṭva.*
11. *Visarga* here is a sign of division; compare K. 32b(4) - a dot after *harṣasthitā.*
12. K. 32b(4) - *sarva.*
13. K. 32b(4) - *anyaunya.*
14. *Visarga* here is a sign of division; compare K. 32b(5) - a dot after *pūjita* - .
15. *Visarga* here is a sign of division; compare K. 32b (6) a dot after *dharmabhāṇaka* - .

Fragment No.2*

a (*Plate.* 83)

1. . . . *bhavanti.*[1] *vistīrṇṇa.*[2] *vipulā . . .*
2. . . . *t-prāsādāṃ*[3] *aṣṭatalocchatāṃ*[4] . . .

*Compare Kashgar version (H. Toda edition)—ff. 326a(5)-327a(6); Gilgit version (Watanabe edition)-p. 125, lines 5-17.

3. . . . *naṣaṇḍopaśobhitāṃ*[5] *camkramasthā*[6] . . .
4. . . . *hu śyyāsanaupastabdhān*[7] *kh* [*ā*] . . .
5. . . . *sukhopadhāna-pratimaṇḍitās-te* . . .
6. . . . *saha* (*srā*) *ṇi*[8] *vā. koṭyau vā.*[9] *koṭi śa* [*tā*] . . .
7. . . . *ca vihārā mama saṃmukhaṃ saha*[10] . . .

Q (*Plate* 84)

1. . . . *vedayitavyaṃ*[11] *saha* (*srāṇi*)[12] *śrāvakā* . . .
2. . . . ( ). *vācāyetvā. deśāyetvā.*[13] . . .
3. . . . *na me tebhiḥ parinirvṛtasya stūpaṃ*[14] . . .
4. . . . *va ca*[15] *dharmaparyāyam dhārayamā* . . .
5. . . . *bhirvvāḥ*[16] *prajñayā vā sampādey*[17] . . .
6. . . . (*a*) *parimāṇam-aparyantam tad-y* . . .
7. . . . *ṇaṃ. pūrvveṇa.*[18] *dakṣiṇena.*[19] *pa* . . .

Notes

1. K. 326a(5) - there is no dot after this word.
2. K. 326a(5) *vistirṇa*, there is no dot after this word.
3. K. 326a(6)—*prāsāda*.
4. K. 326a(6)—*aṣṭatāloccatā*, there is no dot after this word.
5. K. 326a(7)—*vanaṣaṇḍapaśobhitāś*.
6. K. 326a(7)—*caṅkrramasthā* - .
7. K. 326b(1)—*śayyāsanopastabdhāḥ*.
8. There is *sahaṇi* instead of *sahasraṇi*; compare K. 326b(3).
9. K. 326b(3)—*kauṭyau vā*; there is no dot after *vā*.
10. K. 326b(5)—there is *śrāvakasaṃgha* after *saṃmukaṃ*. Possibly it was *sahaśrāvakā* (compare K. 326b(1) - *sahaśrāvakā* . . .).
11. K. 326b(5)—*vedayitavyā*. . . , the following text is obliterated.
12. There is *sahaśrāvakā* instead of *sahasrāṇi śrāvakā*. This text of Kashgar version is unknown.
13. The text of this line of Kashgar version is not preserved.
14. The text of this line of Kashgar version is not preserved.
15. K. 327a(2)—*eva* (*m*).
16. K. 327a(2-3)—*dhyānebhir vā*.
17. K. 327a(3)—*sampādayet*.
18. K. 327a(6)—*parimāṇā pūrveṇa*; there is no dot after this word.
19. K. 327a(6)—there is no dot after this word.

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A Rare Vaishnava Sculpture From Kashmir

PRATAPADITYA PAL

While the interesting myth recounting the destruction of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha was not ignored by sculptors in ancient India, the act of destruction itself was rarely represented in temple sculpture. One of the earliest representations (c. 400 A.D.) of the myth occurs at Udaygiri in Madhya Pradesh, where the demons are identified in the upper left of the relief depicting Viṣṇu's cosmic sleep.[1] Better known is the later panel in the Deogarh temple where, too, the primary emphasis is on the cosmic sleep of Viṣṇu.[2] However, in portraying Madhu and Kaiṭabha among the personified attributes of Viṣṇu along the bottom of the relief, the sculptor did have the conflict in mind. Unlike the Udaygiri relief, where the demons stand inertly, here they strike militant postures and are about to draw their swords. Even then, the narrative element is minimal, and certainly there is no intent in these two early reliefs to represent the actual fight

By contrast, in a ninth-century sculpture from Kashmir, the main focus is the actual combat (*Plate* 85). Wearing a typically Kashmiri tiara, decorated with three lotus roundels and adorned with various ornaments, the eight-armed god sits imperiously on a plain seat, lording over the tiny figure of the earth-goddess emerging from the ground between his feet. A plain nimbus supports his head and he is also given a garland of wild flowers (*vanamālā*). The nimbus, the eight arms (representing the eight directions), and the earth-goddess emphasize the cosmic nature of the god,

which is further symbolized by the sun and the moon he upholds with two of his hands.[3] He is the cosmic god who supports as well as pervades the universe. Two other hands clasp the conch shell against his chest as if he is about to blow it. A third pair holds the bow and arrow, while with the remaining two hands he is crushing the two demons.

Recounted in many religious texts, the legend of Madhu and Kaiṭabha belongs to the cycle of creation or cosmogonic myths. The story goes that once Brahmā was meditating on a lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel who was asleep in the cosmic ocean, two demons (*asura*; antigod) emerged from Viṣṇu's ears and sought to slay Brahmā. Brahmā appealed to Viṣṇu who woke up from his sleep and began fighting with the two demons. In their delusion, the demons offered a boon to Viṣṇu who asked for their lives. The demons then said to the god that he could kill them at a spot where the earth was dry.[4] The god thereafter placed them on his thighs and tore them apart. Obviously, in the sculpture, Viṣṇu has firmly grasped the demons by their necks and is about to place them on his thighs before killing them. Each of the helpless demons brandishes a sword with his right hand and holds what appears to be a thunderbolt with the left.

In philosophical terms, Madhu and Kaiṭabha represent the two qualities (*guṇa*), *rajas* and *tamas*. In the Sāṁkhya system of Indian philosophy, primordial nature (*mūlaprakṛti*) is believed to consist of three qualities which are *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. These three qualities are said to pervade the entire manifest world. According to an eminent authority on the Sāṁkhya, the *guṇas* have two levels of meaning:[5]

1. as psychic or moral conditions i.e., *sattva* as pleasure, goodness, etc.; *rajas* as pain, passion, etc.; and *tamas* as indifference, dullness; and
2. as factors involved in the unmanifest and manifest world i.e., *sattva* as illumination, thought, etc.; *rajas* as activation, energy, etc.; and *tamas* as heaviness, etc. These *guṇas* interact with one another, and the various conditions of the manifest world depend upon the dominance of one or another of these factors.

Thus, in the *Matsyapurāṇa*, Madhu and Kaiṭabha tell Brahmā "we are *rajas* and *tamas*. We pervade this universe with these qualities. We are all that one desires in this world, such as wealth, prosperity, fame, sacrifice, even heaven."[6] Brahmā then responds to the asuras by stating that he has taken refuge in the highest of the three qualities (*sattva*) which resides in the supreme god Viṣṇu who is also the creator of both *rajas* and *tamas*.

Aesthetically, the composition of this unique image is dominated by the principle of symmetry. This is no doubt deliberate, for Viṣṇu represents order and stability, while the demons symbolize chaos and flux. Both Viṣṇu's imposing proportions and his firm posture announce his unquestioned supremacy. Undoubtedly, this particular posture, adopted from images of Narasiṁha, was selected to

lend stability to the composition, while the powerfully modelled arms and legs impart to the figure a sense of monumental grandeur. Obviously the sculptor wanted his viewer to have no doubt about the god's cosmic nature and superhuman power. Rather unusual is the fact that the sculpture appears to have been left somewhat unfinished. In many places the surface has not been polished smooth, as is usually the case, and one can see the chisel marks quite clearly. Indeed, this too may have been deliberate, for the unfinished surface further imbues the form with a sense of elemental power and vitality.

The exact function of this unique icon is difficult to determine. It may have been intended for the sanctum of a temple or as a didactic image to be placed in a niche on the external wall. It's unfinished condition may indicate, however, that it may not have ever been used. If used in the sanctum as an icon to be worshipped, it would very likely have been covered with articles of clothing and jewellery. If it was meant to be placed on a wall, the temple may never have been completed.[7]

To my knowledge, no temple has yet been discovered in India where the principal icon represents this particular Vaiṣṇava legend. In fact, it was not even a popular theme, apart from the context of the creation myth as embodied in the Jalaśayana reliefs, for didactic sculptures meant for external walls. There is a possibility, however, that a shrine in Kashmir was devoted to this particular form of Viṣṇu. In his chronicle of the Kashmiri kings, Kalhaṇa writes: "The fat of Madhu and Kaiṭabha had formerly reached only up to the thighs of Chakradhara, but by that of the burnt up human beings on this occasion all his limbs were sprayed."[8]

The statement is made with reference to the burning of a city called Narapura, or Kinnarapura, founded by King Nara near the famous temple of Viṣṇu known as Chakradhara. The exact date of Nara cannot be determined, but he may have lived in the fourth or fifth century. In any event, that the shrine of Chakradhara, identified by Stein as modern Tsakdar Udar,[9] was a famous pilgrimage centre until the time of Kalhaṇa is in no doubt. Unfortunately, neither the temple nor its image has survived, but Kalhaṇa's specific allusion to Madhu and Kaiṭabha while describing the temple, where the people of Narapura sought refuge during the devastating fire, probably indicates that the original image showed Viṣṇu destroying the two demons.[10] In that case, it is possible that the Los Angeles image is a later copy of the famous Chakradhara temple icon.

Notes and References

1. Joanna Goltfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 46, pl. 39.
2. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York: Bollingen Foundation and Pantheon Books, 1960), vol. 2, pl. 111.
3. For another representation of a cosmic Viṣṇu holding the solar and lunar discs on the

tympanum of the Lakṣaṇā Devī temple at Bharmaur in Chamba, see M. Postel, A. Neven, and K. Mankodi, *Antiquities of Himachal* (Bombay: Franco-Indian Pharmaceuticals Pvt. Ltd., 1985), p. 41. fig. 37.

4. In some versions of the myth, the demons requested that they be slain where space is uncovered. Viṣṇu, therefore, used his thighs as the chopping block. See Thomas B. Coburn, *Devīmāhātmya: The Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984), pp. 211-221 for a discussion of this myth.
5. Gerald Larson, *Classical Sāṁkhya*, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), pp. 163-64.
6. V.S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study* (Varanasi 1963), pp. 268-269. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 170.
7. For a general discussion about unfinished sculptures in India, see Joanna Williams, "Unfinished Images" in *India International Centre Quarterly* (vol. 13, no. 1, 1986), pp. 106-116.
8. R.S. Pandit, (tr.), *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇi : The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1968), p. 37.
9. M A. Stein, *Memoirs on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir* (Delhi: Indological Book Corporation, 1977), pp. 170-171.
10. It should be noted that the *Nılamatapurāṇa*, a text glorifying the gods and festivals of Kashmir, does not mention the shrine of Chakradhara, but does frequently use the epithet Madhusūdana or the destroyer of Madhu.

37

Overseas Trade in Horses in Early Medievla India : Shipping and Piracy

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A major development in Indian historiography since the second half of the eighties is a spurt of important publications on maritime history of India in the broad background of the Indian ocean as a unit of study of maritime history. Besides several significant research articles, three books concerning maritime India stand out in this regard. These are chronologically speaking, K.N. Chowdhury's *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean* (Cambridge, 1985), Ashin Das gupta and M.N. Pearson (ed.), *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800* (Calcutta, 1987) and Satish Chandra (ed.), *The Indian Ocean* (Delhi, 1987). The fact that the Indian ocean is increasingly being viewed as a maritime zone by historians cannot be overlooked. The maritime historian in India nowadays does not necessarily appreciate the role of the sea primarily from the point of view of naval battles and tactics or piracy or from the nationalistic stance[1] or from the angle of presenting a history of Indian navy with a view to championing the cause of a strong navy in modern India.[2] The maritime historian working on India seems to have been largely inspired by the celebrated researches of the mega-historian Fernand Braudel who brought into sharp focus the Mediterranean region and emphasized upon its unity and coherence. K.N. Chowdhuri pays tribute to him by opening his Introduction with this sentence: "The idea that the study of a civilization might be named after a sea originated

with Braudel".[3] "The whole sea shared a common destiny, a heavy one indeed with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences".[3a] Maritime historians of the Indian ocean appear to have taken the cue from Braudel. "We do not think that", says M.N. Pearson, "Braudel would have described himself primarily as a maritime historian yet his observations in this area are most relevant for us."[4] As the maritime historian now no longer confines himself to the area of the exclusively 'at sea' historian, he is obviously more at home with the much broader Braudelian concept of the unity of land and sea. There is also a noticeable urgency to look generally at common themes and trends and "see to what extent we can talk of unity in the Indian ocean."[5] Here too the influence of Braudel figures prominently: the maritime historian wishes to present an Indian ocean world like the Mediterranean world. But while the seminal ideas of Braudel were drawn from his researches about a land-locked sea, the Indian ocean presents a much more challenging job for the historian in the sense that it presents considerably greater diversities than the Mediterranean from the points of view of population, climates, socio-economic and political organisations, religious beliefs and practices. Despite these varieties—seemingly infinite—there can be discovered some definite elements of unity in the matters of monsoons, ports, ships, sailors, the long distance trade networks of merchants of Asia and Europe. Similar constants can also be found in the patterns of demand and distribution of certain commercial items from particular areas, both luxury goods and daily necessities. The linkages provided by religion (notable example being Islam) and language (e.g. the role of Arabic, Persian and later Portuguese as *lingua franca*) in the maritime zone called Indian Ocean are also focused by historians. Principal queries of maritime historians of the Indian Ocean are concerned with the expansion of Islam, the structure of sea borne Asian trade, the presence and impact of European shipping from 1500 onwards and the ultimate triumph of European shipping over the Asian and the gradual break up of the structure of traditional maritime trade of Asia. Most of these studies share a common chronological framework; they usually begin with 1500 A.D. onwards. K.N. Chowdhury no doubt starts from the 7th century A.D., i.e., with the rise of Islam, but the emphasis is visibly on what is known the "medieval period". Sometimes historians do contemplate of going back beyond 1500 A.D. Thus Genevieve Bouchon and Denys Lombard begin their essay (in the collection of essays named "India and Indian Ocean 1500-1800") by raising the following question: "Is there not a precedent for commencing a volume such as this with a foreword on the fifteenth century? ... And, moreover, why not go further and put the same question for the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries?"[6] The main obstacle of pursuing such a search is the age-old exasperating problem for the historian: relative scarcity of relevant data for those earlier period. "Serious studies of ancient Arab, Indian or Nusantarian (Indonesian) voyages are still too few and inaccurate to enable a real synthesis."[7]

II

It is this desideratum which has prompted the present writer to delve into certain problems of India's commerce in the Indian Ocean prior to 1400 A.D. This is an uphill task beyond the competence of the author who therefore has to limit himself to only a particular facet of Indian maritime commerce, i.e., the horse trade in the early medieval period. That India had constant dearth of good quality horses, particularly war horses, is well known. It is also a well-established fact of Indian history that good quality war horses had to be regularly imported to the sub-continent. The present anthor would try to show how and what circumstances horse trade became largely a maritime affair. It will be also our object to understand as comprehensively as possible multifarious aspects of overseas trade in horses and its economic and political impacts. Horse trade was not unoften closely connected with piracy which also demands some scrutiny. The economic and political impacts of animal trade and particularly horse trade have not so far received due scholarly attention, though general and scrappy narrative about this trade are occasionally found in important monographs on early medieval Indian economy. It was Simon Digby who highlighted the importance of horses as a prized commercial commodity and an animal of strategic importance. The very title of his book *War Horses and Elephants in the Delhi Sultanate* would unmistakably show that he stressed upon the most important category of horses, i.e. war horses.[8] To this problem we shall return later.

A few words about the two long coastlines of the subcontinent jutting out into the Indian Ocean may not be out of place in this context. Though both the seaboards have played significant roles in their own ways in the commercial history of India, the western littorals—stretching from the mouths of the Indus in the north down to Kerala in the south—have apparently received more sustained interest of merchants and scholars alike than the east coast. This is partly because of a fairly long continuum of maritime activities in the west coast in the form of coastal and overseas trade networks from the days of the Harappan civilization to the colonial phase of Indian history. The other possible reason of the greater prominence of this coast is its broken nature which considerably facilitated rise of a number of safe and convenient harbours.[9] The third factor was a combination of available technology of shipping and the dependence of sailors' on monsoon: it was not possible for a vessel to ply between Malacca and Aden—the two major points of trade—without having to stop at some ports on the western littorals of India, preferably somewhere in the Gujarat coast or the Malabar coast. The western littorals seem to have been drawn into regular long distance overseas commerce for the first time during the age of Indo-Roman trade (c. late 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.).[10] Barygaza in the Gujarat coast and Muziris in the Malabar area stole the limelight, and between

these two were harbours of varying importance dotting the Konkan coast (e.g. Kalliena, Soppara, Semylla, etc.).[11]

The third century A.D. witnessed a gradual decline and final termination of India's maritime commerce with the Roman empire which was also on the way to eclipse. The withdrawal of Roman trade must have adversely affected maritime commerce of the western sea-board, though coastal voyages along the west coast seems to have continued unabated. The lull in long distance trade in this area seems to have been partially over with the beginning of India's trade with the Byzantine empire from the 4th/5th centuries A.D. A significant development was the rise of importance of the Persian Gulf and the relative decline of the role of the Red Sea. The Sassanian empire in Iran which established considerable control over the Gulf assumed the position of an intermediary between the Byzantine empire and India. The result was considerable growth of importance of Culliana (Kalyana) and Sibor (Soppara), two ports in the Konkan coast which could be easily reached from the Persian Gulf. The *Christian Topography* of Cosmos Indicopleustes not only speaks of these ports, but also highlights the role of Ceylon which had direct connexions with the Persian Gulf ports.[12]

The 7th century A.D. must be seen as a very major landmark in the history of the Indian Ocean: the rise and expansion of Islam over greater parts of West Asia with its strong orientation towards trade and urbanism provided tremendous fillip to maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean. The political, socio-economic, cultural and religious impacts of the expansion of this new faith have rightly been labelled as 'Islamization'. The conquest of Malacca in 1511 signalled the maximum extent of this process of Islamization. But even much before that two terminal points of Asian overseas commerce emerged: China in the farthest east and Basra under the Saldjuk empire and later Egypt under the Fatimid Caliphate. Though in the early stages (about 8th-10th centuries A.D.) direct voyages from the Persian Gulf to Khan-fu are recorded, this fell out of practice in subsequent days.[13] Ibn Battuta (1334 A.D.) categorically says that Chinese junks went farthest upto Quilon, and Calicut wherefrom trade was transshipped to Arab dhows bound for western Indian Ocean ports and viceversa.[14] Indian ports particularly on the Western littorals gained conspicuous prosperity from the expansion of Asian sea-faring from the west. Moreover, the geographical position and strategic location of India, as we have stated before, endowed it with the vantage position of a commercial intermediary between West Asia and China and South-east Asian islands. West bound pilgrims for *hajj* had to start or tranship from Indian ports. Indian harbours also facilitated the leap-frogging of Islamic preachers along maritime Asia. Apart from the well-known events of the first Arab penetration into Sind in 711,[15] early medieval Arab accounts give a strong impression about the presence of Arab merchants in the Konkan coast since 9th century A.D. These texts speak highly of Balhara rulers

(Rashtrakutas) who maintained very cordial relations with Muslim, obviously for commercial advantages.[16] Epigraphic evidence from Sanjan near Bombay not only clearly corroborates early medieval Arab accounts, but also categorically names Arab (Tajjika) merchants community[17] residing in or near the *Velakula* of Sanjan. Names of Arab merchants also occur in the records of Silaharas.[18]

Thus by 8th century A.D. the subcontinent conspicuously emerged as a major commercial entity in the Indian Ocean trade. It must be, however, pointed out that the economic and political climate of Asian trade in the post-7th century was different from that of the age of Indo-Roman commerce. During the heydays of Indo-Roman trade, overseas commerce between India and the west gained in volume mainly due to (1) discovery of the Etasian/Hippalus (S.W. Monsoon winds)[19] and (2) diversion of the traffic from the famous overland Silk Road in order to obviate the extortionate Parthian/Arsacid empire which stood as an almost unavoidable intermediary between Rome and Han China.[20] Considerable volume of traffic, however, continued to ply on the overland Silk Road even after the establishment of regular maritime voyages between Alexandria and Western Indian littorals.[21] The situation underwent significant changes from the 5th century A.D. Political consolidation provided by ordered rule of empires ceased to exist in North China and Western Europe. To this must be added the nomadic havoc of Central Asian tribe of Huns who ravaged Western Europe and Northern India (the latter, though for a brief period). Coupled with this problem were the frequent hostilities between the Byzantine and Sassanid empires, both of which had strong motivation to trade in Indian Ocean. All these factors contributed to the relegation of the traditional overland route connecting South, Central and West Asia with the Mediterranean world to a second preference and the definite inclination in Asian trade to be increasingly maritime. As ports of Western Indian sea boards were hardly hit by nomadic depredations, the stage was set ready for these harbours to participate effectively in the terminal, transit and looping trade in the Western Indian Ocean.

III

Now we must turn to the focal point of our discussion: the trade in horse, and try to understand how it fit into the structures of maritime trade of India during the early middle ages. If the external trade of India in the early medieval times is marked by regular overseas contacts with West Asia, it was equally characterized by the steadily increasing demands of war horses as an item of import. The importance of horses in political-cum-military designs appears to have been realized in India since the 6th century B.C.[22] But strong war horses being a rarity in India, it was usually discussed in ancient Indian literary sources as an import from the northern or north-western borderland of the subcontinent (*Udīcyadeśa uttarāpatha*).[23] The Iranian or *Pārasika* horse finds mention as early as the time of

the *Arthaśāstra*. As cavalry became one of the established units of ancient Indian army, horses became an indispensable but extremely costly items of import. Along with this one finds little control of the political authority on the procurement and distribution of horses. Except for the Maurya period royal control on the trade of horses was a rarity in early India.[24] This is well illustrated by the instance of a horse fair (*ghoṭakayātrā*) at Pṛthūdaka or Pehoa held during the reign of Pratihāra Bhoja (832-83).[25] As Pṛthūdaka is traditionally known to be the beginning point of *uttarāpatha* (northern quarter)—the area traditionally known for the supply of good quality horses—horses brought at the fair appears to have been of better quality. While some horses were according to the record, meant exclusively for the purchase by kings (*rājakriyopakraye*), there are other markets where horses were sold to local chieftains, lords and important persons in the countryside (*ṭhakkurajanapada evopakraye*). Thus besides rulers, nobles and rural gentry could be prospective buyers of horses.

The virtual absence of royal control on the trade and supply of horses is to be appreciated in the context of the increasing demand for horses for military purposes. The upward demand for horses was possibly due to proliferation of regional powers in early medieval times which were often engaged in endemic hostilities. There is another significant point of change in the import trade of horses to India during the early medieval times. Horses imported in India in early historical times were mainly procured in Central Asian steppes and brought therefrom to India through overland routes. The account of Kang-Tai (249-50) informs us that "the Yueh-chih merchants are continually importing them (horses) to the Ko-ying country by sea".[26] Yueh-chih is the same as the Kuṣāṇas who carved out a large empire over Soviet Central Asia, Bactria and greater parts of Northern and Central India and Ko-ying is identified with Malay Peninsula or the east coast of Sumatra. Thus horse traders in the Kuṣāṇa realm appear to have procured horses from Central Asian steppes brought to India and shipped them to S.E. Asian islands through some ports in Indian littorals.[27] Some of these horses must have been used in the subcontinent, but some others were transhipped to S.E. Asia. Seen from this angle Central Asian horses were not merely imported overland to India but were an item of transit trade via the Bay of Bengal.

This pattern visibly differed in the early medieval times when due to relative insecurity of overland routes war horses from the 'west' were imported to India largely by maritime commerce and when the imported horses to India essentially became an item of terminal trade. This is a substantial change in the pattern of horse trade in the early medieval times. As these horses were principally imported from Arabia and Persia to India during the early medieval periods, it is only natural that non-indigenous sources contain more valuable and larger amount of data on this subject than that in Indian sources. Four texts contain information related to

import trade of horses to India: these are the *Chu-fan-chi* of Chau-Ju-Kua (1225 or 1242-58);[28] (b) the *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* of 'Abdullah Wassaf (1328);[29] (c) *The Rihala of Ibn Battuta* (1334)[30] and (d) the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia-uddin Barani (1357).[31]

As the import trade of horses to early medieval India was increasingly being oriented towards the sea, ports of Western Indian littorals appeared as the main points of embarkation of horses from West Asia. The sources stated above are not only replete with references to horse trade, but prices of various types of horses were taken into account by their authors.[31a] Marco Polo states that a horse imported to the court of the Pāṇḍya ruler Sonder Bandi (= Sundāra Pāṇḍya) of Madurai would "fetch ... 500 *Saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver and vast numbers are sold there every year."[32] According to Wassaf "the price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold".[33] More exhaustive price structures are available from Ibn Battuta and Zia-ud-din Barani who mention different rates of horses as well as their corresponding categories. These two writers speak of horse trade primarily from the point of view of supply of horses to the army of the Delhi Sultanate. The Ghorid conquest impressed upon the power and value of cavalry as a striking force more than even before. To this should be added the technological development of the stirrup for armed cavalry-men and that in turn improved the efficacy of the horse in a military design.[34]

The following are the price charts of war horses in the first half of the 14th century:[35]

	Barani		*Ibn Battuta*	
I	class Tatari	100-120 tankas	A race from Arabia or Fers: 100=4000 tankas	
II	class	80 - 90 ,,	An exceptional Tatari horse	500 ,,
III	class	65 - 70 ,,	An ordinary Tatari horse	100 ,,

The cost involved for raising a powerful cavalry and the economic impact of procuring various types of horses can be visualized clearly from the above chart. The costliest of horses were from Arabia or Persia (*Fers*) which were also called *Bahri*, i.e., sea-borne (*Bahr* = sea). This term leaves little room for doubt that the best category of Arabian/Persian horses came to India mainly by overseas trade. This is the category of horses which has significant bearing on the import trade of horses.

This brings us to the discussion on the procurement and shipping of *Bahari* horses to Indian ports from the 'west'. Polo and other contemporary writers show beyond any doubt that practically every ship to India carried considerable amount of horses from Persian Gulf ports and Aden. Chau-Ju-Kua wrote that Yung (or Wong)—man (i.e. Oman) was a busy breeding ground of horses. ... "In the mountains horse raising is carried on a large scale. The other countries which trade

here purchase horses (among other articles of trade)".[36] Greater details are supplied by Marco Polo. "You must know," says Polo, "that the merchants of Kis, Hormes, Dofar, Soer and Aden collect great number of destriers and other horses. ... They bring these horses by sea bound ships."[37] Elsewhere Polo more or less repeats this statement about the availability of fine horses in Persia in great numbers and of high price and the more precisely speaks of horse dealers "who carry their horses to Kisi and Curmosa, two cities on the shores of the sea of India and there they meet with merchants who take horses on to India for sale."[38] Kisi and Curmosa obviously stand for Kish and Hormuz, two celebrated centres of maritime trade in the Persian Gulf. Another port, Shihr or Shehr (about 300 m. east of Aden) "was a very good haven, wherefrom many ships from India came thither with various cargoes and they export many good chargers to India".[39] Further northwest of Shihr, at a distance of 500 miles was the port of Dofar which is rated high by Polo as an export centre of horses. "It stands upon the sea and has a very good haven; so that there is a great traffic of shipping between this and India, and merchants take thence great number of Arab horses to that market, making great profit thereby".[40] The northernmost port in order was Calatu which too participated in overseas export of horses to India.[41] The above survey brings into sharp focus the importance of the ports on the Strait of Hormuz, Gulf on Oman and the Western shore of the Arabian sea to the north of Aden in the context of shipping of horses to Western Indian littorals.

The other zone of horse export was the area around Gulf of Aden and Aden itself. Marco Polo appreciates the importance of this coast from the point of view of maritime trade: "The Soldan of Aden receives a large amount in duties from the ships that traffic between India and his country, importing different kinds of goods; and from the exports also he gets a revenue, for there are despatched from the port of Aden to India a very large number of Arab chargers ... to those who export them. ... On these also the Soldan of Aden receives heavy payment in port charges."[42] The revenue bearing potential of maritime trade in general and horse trade in particular seems to have rightly assessed by the ruler of Aden. Ibn Battuta also confirms more or less similarly on the brisk trade between different ports on the western littorals of India and Aden.

While in the case like the one in Pehoa horse fairs the buyers could be from three tiers: kings, vassals and village gentry, the *bahri* horses, being extremely costly, could be purchased by the political authority himself. Both Polo and Wassaf state that one of the major purchasers of sea-borne Arabic and Persian horses were the Pāṇḍya rulers of Madura. According to Wassaf the horse trader, named Malik-ul Islam Jamal-uddin, had agreement with the Pāṇḍya ruler to supply him with 1400 horses from Kais (Kish) every year.[43] If Polo and Wassaf are believed, the Pāṇḍya and other Indian rulers faced constant dearth and consequently demands for imported war horses, because incompetent maintenance of horses by Indians led to

the death of these animals and a fresh demand for horses from the 'west' would be felt at the end of a year. The horse dealers in order to make heavy profits every year never sent any veterinary physician with their consignment of horses.[44]

The import trade of horses began to be drawn more and more towards the Malabar littorals during the early middle ages. While in the pre-Islamic days horses were sent from Persian Gulf to Ceylon via the Konkan coast, the early medieval period witnessed direct shipping from a Persian Gulf or Red Sea port to harbours in Malabar coast. In fact since the days of the Indo-Roman trade ships in the Western Indian Ocean found it much more convenient to sail to Malabar ports than to say, Konkan or Gujarat coasts.[45] The *Akbar a-Sin w-al-Hind* shows that a direct voyages from Muscat to Kulam Mali (Quilon) took about a lunar month (29-30 days).[46] The other possible reason of the concentration of the maritime trade in horses in Malabar coast was the rise of the Red Sea and Aden since the 10th century to prominence. The Fatimid conquest of Egypt (969) and the eclipse of Abbasid Caliphate were not merely a political events; these replaced Baghdad and Damascus with Aden and Fustat with far reaching consequences in the Asian long-distance commerce. It contributed to the renowned importance of the Red Sea and provided the linkage between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The vantage position of Aden lies in its opening towards the Sea and land routes which connect it with the Western Indian Ocean. Moreover Caravan routes to Macca passed through Aden. Firmly in control of the gate of the Red Sea, Aden had close links in the east with harbours in Yemen and Hadramant coast (e.g. Shihr and Zufar). Horses of even better breed than those found at Hormuz began to be brought to Aden wherefrom they were shipped for Indian rulers.[47] It is hardly unlikely that the rise of Aden in the maritime trade in horses would be contested by other exporting zones of the Persian Gulf. Thus Kish or Qais, one of the leading export zones of horses to India is known to have been engaged in hostilities against Aden. A 12th century letter of a businessman contains valuable information about a raid of Kish on Aden, obviously to disrupt its trade. The letter also explicitly states that much of Indian overseas trade shifted from Kish to Aden due to the rapacious character of the ruler of Kish.[48] There was thus an appreciable shift of Indian from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea; moreover, the shift probably facilitated arrival of ships in greater number of Malabar ports.

We are not very sure how these large number of horses were actually shipped to India. We have no definite contemporary account to throw some light whether any change occurred in the construction of ships and technology of shipping suitable for the overseas transportation of so many horses to India with such regularity. There are two later accounts on the mode of shipping. The Chinese (1349) describes ships meant for carrying horses. "Their sides are of planks and they use neither nails nor mortars (to join them), but cocoanut fibre. Each ship has two or three

decks with a broad shed over the upper deck. In the lower hold of the ship they carry a mass of pressed frankincense, above this they carry several hundred heads of horses."[49] In 1470 Abdu' Razzak who came to Calicut said: "At the end of the monsoon, which is a time when pirates become active, we were given leave to depart (from Hormuz). They divided the people and horses into two groups, on the plea that they could not be contained in one boat and put them on the ships and raised the sails, setting off on their course."[50] Moreland suggests a more moderate figure that a large vessel of about 125 tonnes could carry as many as 70 war horses in addition to 100 soldiers and crews and passengers.[51] It is apparent that horses were brought in normal ships plying in the Indian Ocean and these ships do not belong to a distinct category of horse transporting vessels.

Though large quantities of horses were traded overseas, it is unlikely that ship-owning merchants and shippers actually participated in the transaction of horses. The famous horse merchant Malik ul Islam Jamal uddin had several agents under him. Polo's account of export trade of horses at Kis, Hormuz, Dofer, Shihr may indicate presence of suppliers of well bred horses to ports, wherefrom a second group of merchant arranged their shipment. The Indian merchant dealing in *bahri* horses in early medieval period are sometimes known from epigraphic records from different parts of South India. The famous mercantile organization the 500 svamis of Ayyavole claims in a record of 1150 that they procured for kings many costly materials including well bred horse through land routes and water routes.[52] A more specific illustration is that of Kammata Cattisetti who was the royal merchant of Hoysala Vira Ballala II (1173-1220). He procured for the king horses, elephants and pearls.[53] These merchants are not necessarily related to the coast and appear to have operated in the interior having linkages with maritime traders dealing in horses.

Supply of horses to kings became so regular in South India that some merchants specialized in horse trade. Several inscriptions refer to them as Kudirecetti of Malaimandala, i.e., horse traders of Malabar. Though these horse traders are invariably associated with Malabar, the main embarkation point of horses from the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, all epigraphic records are found in the domains of the Colas and Pāṇḍyas. These epigraphic records being deeds of land sale and/or gift by these horse traders indicate that they were settled in Trichinopolly district, Tanjore district, Kumbhakonam, Chidambaram areas.[54] These areas were dominated in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by later Colas and Pāṇḍyas, in whose realms demand for *bahri* horses is well known from literary sources. It may be surmised that *bahri* horses after being shipped to some Malabar ports were brought by Kudircetti to the Coromandel.[55] One can surmise the importance of the Palghat gap in providing the passage between the Malabar and Coromandel coast through the interior of Kerala and Tamilnadu. As many of the findspots of epigraphic records mentioning Kudircettis are located in the littoral tracts of Coromandel, it may not be altogether

impossible that horse dealers could also arrange for the transhipment of horses from Malabar coast to ports in the Coromandel by making a trip round the Cape Comorin. This possibility is strengthened if one takes into account the information in the Motaupalli Inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati (1245) regarding the arrival of horses at Motupalli by ships.[56] Whether horses were brought to the east coast from Malabar by overland journey or by coastal voyage, it is clear that while the terminating point of this voyage was the Malabar littorals, its hinterland spread considerably into the interior in Tamilnadu, if not in Andhra Pradesh also. Thus maritime trade of horses in early medieval South India was not merely confined to the western seaboard but brought considerable stretch of mainland within its orbit.

IV

If one has to find out a true maritime community, it can perhaps best be illustrated by fishermen and pirates. While many other vocational groups can participate in and benefit from maritime activities, the fisherman and the pirate cannot live without the sea. The fisherman is still a dimly known figure of the Indian ocean countries, mainly due to the acute shortage of data. Piracy, however, is better known in Indian history. Piracy is a predatory attitude which is often resorted to in a coastal area during a period of pressure—economic and political. There were some littoral pockets in the West coast particularly which can be marked perennial centres of piracy (e.g. the area of Southern Konkan, which has low agricultural productivity, the ports thereof having smaller hinterlands than northern Konkan or Gujarat port like Sopara, Thana or Barygaza).[57] Economically less prosperous than the northern Konkan coast and an area of relative isolation, southern Konkan was infested with pirates from a very early period. Ptolemy had good reasons to label this area as Andron Peiraton.[58] These were usually avoided by sea-men and overseas merchants. Piracy can also be an expression of belligerency of a small local power of a particular coast in order to gain economic and political advantages (usually for a short period).

The early medieval period witnessed regular piracy in Indian sea-bounds, sometimes assuming menacing proportions. Literary accounts are replete with references to various forms of piracy in Indian sea-coasts, including the right to salvage commodities out of a shipwreck.[59] Only Calicut was a noble exception to the widespread and notorious practice that a ship not bound for a port would be looted if in case it came to that port as a result of a ship-wreck.[60]

There are some cases which may illustrate vital linkages between horse-trade and piracy. The Motupalli Pillar Inscription of Kākatīya Gaṇapati (dated 1245 A.D.) which was actually a charter of security to foreign traders does not hide the fact that prior to Gaṇapati's reign ship-wreck was immediately followed by looting of its merchandise which included horses (from *turaga*)[61] which were brought overseas

(*dvīpāntara*). These horses must have been costly *Bahri* horse from Arabia/Persia. We have already discussed the possibility of transhipment of *Bahri* horses from Malabar ports to Coromandel coast. But a more glaring example is seen in Marco Polo's account of Tana, i.e. Thana near Bombay in the west coast. By Tana, Marco Polo not only understands the port of Thana or Śristhānaka, but also uses the term in the sense of the territory of northern Konkan.[62] By the end of the thirteenth century Thana and northern Konkan were under the rule of the Yādavas of Devagiri.[63] "Corsairs have a covenant with the king" says Polo, "that he shall get all the horses they capture and all other plunder shall remain with them. The king does this because he has no horse of his own."[64] Polo's description leaves little room for doubt about the tremendous impact of the demand for horses on the economic and polity of early medieval India. Interestingly enough, piracy for procuring horses is taken recourse by two fairly major contemporary powers of the Deccan, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Kākatīyas of Warangal. None of them were a power of the coast and none belonged to the category of small pressure groups near about the coast. On the other hand it appears that both the powers needed horses very badly, but were not in a position to ensure a steady supply of imported horses. The need for horses for both the powers is to be appreciated in the context of the protracted rivalry between the Yādavas and the Kākatīyas over the supremacy of the Deccan.[65]

We have already pointed out that there was a growing tendency among sailors from the Red Sea or the Gulf to prefer the ports of Malabar as points of their embarkation to ports in Konkan. This could have spelt uncertainty of supply of horses to Konkan ports. The Yādavas of Devagiri and even the Kākatīyas of Warangal would have definitely suffered from the lack of shipment of horses to the Konkan harbours.

There was another important political development far from the coasts, but which had some bearings on the present problem. In north India the Delhi Sultanate was gradually consolidating its position and on the look out to penetrate into the Deccan and South India. The Sultanate was thoroughly conscious of the value of the war horse as a major machinery in its policy of expansion. Barani was well aware of the statement of Balban (1266-86) that six to seven thousand Delhi horsemen could overthrow a hundred thousand strong army of infantry and archers (*pāyak O dhanuk*) of Hindu *rāis* and *rāṇas*.[66] The Sultans of Delhi not only commanded a regular supply of war horses from West and Central Asia, but also regularly plundered horses from the stables of defeated rulers. Alauddin captured from the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal 20,000 Kohi and *Bahri* horses, in addition to the annual tribute of 1000 horses and 100 elephants (1310).[67] Malik Kafur forcibly got hold of innumerable horses from his campaign against the Hoysalas. Similarly arge numbers of *Yamani*, *Shami* and *Bahri* horses were from Pāṇḍya stables

policy of by the same general of Allauddin. This was coupled with a strong controlling horse dealers. Simon Digby informs us that horse dealers under contract with the Sultanate were not allowed to dispose horses in Hindu kingdoms.[68]

It is not difficult to visualize the tight situations for the Yādavas and Kākatīyas who encouraged piracy to procure horses. The shortage of shipment of *Bahri* horses in Konkan created considerable problems for powers of western and central and eastern Deccan. The restriction on the sale of horses to non-Islamic rulers further aggravated the problem. To this should be added the factor of rivalry between the two and the impending danger of the onslaught of the Sultanate against both the Yādavas and the Kākatīyas. For defensive as well as offensive designs the two major powers of the Deccan had to procure horses by economic as well as extra-economic measures. Uncertainty of the supply of good quality Arab/Persian horses to these territories appears to have led to utter desparation which found its expression in the act of piracy under the patronage of the political authorities.

V

We have so far tried to present a case how and under what circumstances import of war horses to India—a trade with long-standing tradition—came to be directly connected with commercial affairs in the Indian ocean from the early medieval periods onwards. A study of early medieval literary accounts left behind by Arabic, Persian, Chinese and European authors, coupled with some epigraphic records, clearly illustrates the tremendous importance of the import trade of *bahri* horses and its impact on political powers of the subcontinent, whether near the littorals or far from them. One may also appreciate the effects of periodic fluctuations in the points of export of horses in the Persian Gulf or in the mouths of the Red Sea and also the changes in destinations of ships from the west from the Konkan littorals to Malabar littorals. Though the cavalry was simply indispensable to political powers, they apparently did not attempt to impose any amount of control on import of horses. Horse dealers mainly from the other shores of the Arabian Sea and not rulers seem to have held the key to this trade. The farthest the Indian ruler could go was to guarantee safety from plundering after a shipwreck, as Ganapati did in the middle of the 13th century.

These, we consider, are the features typical of the overseas import trade of horses to India upto 1400 A.D. Two interesting developments of subsequent times may now be briefly touched upon which probably signifies a new phase in the trade in horses. The first was a definite shift of the point of call by overseas horse traders: with the establishment of Portuguese supremacy in Goa, that island attracted to a great extent horse dealers, probably at the cost of Malabarcoast. Ferneo Nuniz, whose name is now inseparably associated with the history of the Vijayanagara empire (1350-1530), was himself a horse dealer and did not enjoy success in his

transactions in South India. The pre-eminence of Goa under the Portuguese as the major import centre of horses was strikingly matched by a definite positive policy towards horse trade on the port of rulers of Vijayanagara and most notably, Krishnadeva Raya. Nuniz says. "The king every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country-breds of which he chooses the best for his stables and he gives the rest to his captains. ... The king took them dead or alive at three for a thousand paradaos".[69] Nuniz's description runs closely parallel to the political maxims of the same king. In the *Amuktamālyada* he urges to improve the harbours of a kingdom so that imports of various articles including horses are smooth. "Make the merchant of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attach to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city ... and allowing decent profits. Then the articles will never go to your enemies. Give the best horse and elephant only to trusted servants. Keep the horse and elephant stables with care; you should never entrust their management to you subordinates".[70] He tried to translate these maxims into action when he is said to have offered Albuquerque a large sum in exchange of exclusive control over imported horses to Goa. The offer was rejected by the Portuguese. The change in the attitude and policy of the political authority towards horse trade is unmistakable. This even affected temple decoration: the Vitthalasvami temple begun by Krishnadeva Raya in 1513 has panels of Portuguese soldiers and their horses instead of the usual friezes of elephants so regularly seen in Hoysala and Pāṇḍya temples.

The changes which took place after 1400 A.D. were no doubt important, but these were not qualitative changes, only difference in degrees. The most vital point of continuity was that "the trade in war-horses remained securely in the hands of foreigners". Even Krishnadeva Raya could not impose control on procurement and supply of horses, but only succeeded in centralizing the distribution of these war machines.

Notes and References

1. Examples of such studies can be seen in the pioneering researches of R.K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping: A History of the Sea-borne Trade and Maritime Activity of Indians from the Earliest Times*, Calcutta, 1957.
2. The case for a strong navy in Independent India is taken up by K.M. Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Sea Power on Indian Navy*, London. 1951 and K. Sridharan, *A Maritime History of India*, Delhi, 1965.
3. K.N. Chowdhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean, an Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1985, 1.

3A. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trn, S. Reynolds, I, London, 1972, 14.

4. M.N. Pearson, 'The State of the Subject', in Ashin Dasgupta and M.N. Pearson (ed.), *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, Calcutta, 1987, 6.

5. M.N. Pearson, *op. cit.*, 10. The term Indian Ocean has its origin in the Arabic word *al-bahr al-Hindi*. The Persian term for the same was *darya'i akhzanr*. The Portuguese called it *mar das Indias*. See M.N, Pearson, *op. cit.*, 9-10.
6. Genevieve Bouchon and Denys Lombard, 'The Indian Ocean in the Fifteenth Century', in Ashin Dasgupta and M.N. Pearson (ed.), *op. cit.*, 46.
7. *Ibid.*, 46,
8. Simon Digby, *War Horses and Elephants in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford, 1971. The difference between a war horse and an ordinary horse meant for riding in general is vital, though this is not usually pointed out in most of the works of Indian scholars,
9. O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 3rd Edition, London, 1967; also see Jean Deloche 'Geographical Consideration in the Localization of Ancient Sea-ports of India', *IESHR*, 204. Oct-Dec. 1984, 439-48.
10. For a general account of the sea-borne Indo-Roman trade see E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1938; R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontier*, London, 1954, U.N. Ghoshal, 'Economic Conditions', in K.A. Nilakantha Sastri (ed.), *The Comprehensive History of India*, II, Bombay, 1957, 430-57, Contemporary accounts of this trade can be gleaned from the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* trn. G.W.B. Huntingford, London. 1980, The *Naturalis Historia* of Pliny, trn. H. Rackhrn, London and Cambrige, Mass. Rept. 1942 and the *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy, trn. E.L. Stevenson, New York, 1932.
11. See note no. 10. Kalliena or Kalyan (near Bombay) used to have been regularly visited by Greek ships till the imposition of naval blockade around it by Nambanus i.e. Kṣatrapa Nahapāṇs who forcibly diverted the traffic to Barygaza (see the *Periplus*). The port seems to have lost its importance, at least temporarily, as it does not figure in the *Geographike Huphegesis* of ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.). The *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes gives it a prominent position which may indicate that Kalliena regained its importance to some extent in 6th century. Soppara variously called Śūrparaka, Supparaka or Soparaga in Indian sources was not given the status of an 'emporion' by Ptolemy. Semylla or Chaul (near Bombay) was called 'emporion' and evidently more important than either Kalliena or Soppara.
12. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography*, trn. J.W. McCriudle, London, 1898, 363 ff. particularly 372.
13. G.F. Hourani, Arab Sea faring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times, Princeton, 1951; K.N. Chowdhuri, *op. cit.*, 39 considers that a single voyage from Persia to China would have required considerable transaction cost and that is why "shorter, segmented voyages between a number of leading ports-cities" were preferred. (see accompanying maps).
14. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta in Asia and Africa* London, 1929, 234, 235-39.
15. Interestingly enough, the Hisitory of the Balhara (=Rāṣtrakūṭa) rulers was designated in early Arabic accounts as *Kam Kam/Kumkam/Kamkar/Makamkam*, all terms being derived from Konkan (or Mahākonkana). The Rāṣtrakūṭas were, however, never a power of the coast.
16. Ranabir Chakravarti, *Warfare for Wealth: Early Indian Perspective*, Calcutta, 1985, 159-162.
17. *E.I., XXXII*, 45ff. The Chinchani Plates of Indra III and Kṛṣṇa II, edited by D.C. Sircar, refer to Arabs in and around Sanjan which was a port (*Velākula*). The first plate also names an Arab (*Tajjika*) governor named Sugatrpa Madhumati who ruled as a vassal of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The name Madhumati is obviously a Sanskritized form of the name Muhammad.
18. The Chinchani Plates of Chittaraja, 1034 A.D. (*CII, VI*, no, 12, pp. 71-75), mentions three Arab merchants, Alliya, a Maharata and Mahumati; the first and the third names are Sanskritized forms of Ali and Muhammad. Also see, Ranabir Chakravarti 'Merchants of Konkan', *IESHER*, 23.2, 1986, 207-215.
19. *Periplus*, section 57; also Pliny, VI 26.104.

20. R. Ghirshman, *Iran*. Harmondworth, 1954; also Ranabir Chakravati, *op. cit.*, 87 ff.
21. L. Bulnois, *The Silk Road*, London, 1966.
22. The 6th Century B.C witnessed gradual rise of territorial states (*janapadas* or *mahājanapadas*), replacing lineage-based politics. The process started in the middle Ganga valley and culminated in the foundation of an almost all-India empire of the Mauryas in the 4th century B.C. The success of the monarchical system depended, to a considerable degree, on its having a strong standing army in which the role of the cavalry came to be increasingly recognised.
23. The term *Udicyadeśa* or *Uttarāpatha* (the latter obviously named after a trade route) i.e. the northern quarter is usually considered to have begun after (i.e. to the west of) Pṛthūdaka, modern Pehoa in Haryana. See Chitrarekha Gupta, "Horse Trade in North India: Some Reflection on Socio-Economic Life," *JAIH, XIV*, 1983-84, 186-206.
24. The account of Megasthenes (now lost and found only in excerpts in the later accounts Arabian, Disdorus and Strabo) mentions that the ruler in India enjoyed monopoly over horses and elephants. That the Mauryas were interested in maintaining some control on horse trade can also be suggested by comparing and supplementing the classical accounts with the recommendations of the *Arthaśāstra* on the management of royal stables.
25. *E.I.*, I, 187.
26. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kuṣāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970, 37-38.
27. In view of frequent references to journeys from Campā (modern Bhagalpur, eastern Bihar) to Suvarṇabhūmi (South-east Asian islands) in the Jātakas, sea-borne voyages from the Gangetic delta cannot be ruled out in the early centuries of the Christian era. Another point of departure for ships (*aphaterion*) bound for Chryse Chrora/Chryse Chersonesis (= *Suvarṇadeśa, Suvarṇabhūmi* etc.) was situated above present day Masulipatan, see Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VII 1.15.
28. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill (trn.) Chau-Ju-Kua; His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, St. Petersburg 1911; the two dates are suggested respectively by P. Peliot and the translators.
29. *HIOH*, III, 33 ff.
30. H.A.R. Gibb, *op. cit.*, the date refers to his stay in India.
31. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, W.N. Lees and Kabiruddin, *BI*, Calcutta, 1860-62.

31A. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. trn. and ed. H. Yule and H. Cordier, 2 vols. London, 1903.

32. Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, II, 340.
33. *HIOH*. III, 36-38.
34. Irfan Habib, 'Technological Changes and Society : 12th to 14th Centuries', Presidential Address, Indian History Congress. Section II, 1969.
35. See Zia-ud-din Barani, *BI*, f. 119 A; H.A.R. Gibb, *op. cit.*, 145-46. Barani enlists four broad category of horses: (i) *Bahri*—sea-borne horses mainly imported from Arabia and Persia, (ii) *Tatari*—from the part of the steppe land in southern USSR known as Tatar, (iii) *Kohi*—horses from mountainous region, actually denoting the area in north-eastern India, Tibet and even lands beyond it, and (iv) *Buldasti*, from *Mulk-i-Buldesta*, literally the highland, corresponding to the area in the whole of eastern Punjab, immediately to the north-west of Delhi, to the west of the Jamuna. The commonly seen native breed, called Tattu is explicitly mentioned by Barani as the worst type. Its price ranged between 15 and 25 tankas only. Barari continues to say that it would not "pass the Aiwan" i.e. it was not fit for war purposes. We know from him also about the fraudulent practices of horse dealers who tried to pass *buldasti* horses as Arabic or Persian (*bahri*) horses.
36. Chau-Ju-Kua, *op. cit.*, 133.
37. Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, II, 340.
38. Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, I, 84-85.

39. Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, II, 377.
40. *Ibid.*, 379.
41. *Ibid.*, 381.
42. *Ibid.*, 373-74.
43. *HIOH*, III, 33, Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, II, 340.
44. *HIOH*, III, 33-34, Marco Polo, *Ibid.*, 340.
45. The development of the sea-borne routes in the western Indian Ocean during the early centuries of the Christian era can be seen in Ptirny's *Naturalis Historia*, VI 26, 104. There were four stages of development of the maritime route between India and West Asia, each succeeding stage being considered as 'safe and shorter' than each preceding one. The latest, safest and quickest way, according to Pliny, was to set sail from a Red Sea port and arrive the port of Muziris (Cranganore in Malabar) within forty days.
46. G.F. Hourani, *op. cit.*, 74.
47. Ibn Balluta,, *op. cit.*, 231, enlists Indian ports which had regular voyages to and from Aden: Kumbayat (Cambay), Tana (Thana), Kawalam (Quilon), Kalikut (Calicut), Fandarina (Pandarani), Manjrur (Mangalore), Fakanur (Barkur), Hiraur (Honavur) and Sindabur (Goa). Most of these are situated in the Malabar coast, except Thana in the Konkan and Cambay in the Gujarat littorals.
48. S.D. Goitein, "Two Eye Witness Reports on an expedition of the King of Kish (Qais) Against Aden", *BSOAS*, XVI, 1954, 247-57. Aden thrived on the Red Sea trade between India and Egypt while Kish was the main centre of commerce between Iran, Iraq and India.
49. The account is from Wang Ta-yuan's *Tao-i Chih lio* (1349); see W.W. Rockhill "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century", *Toung Pao*. 16. 1915, 623-24.
50. 'Abdu'r Razzak, *Malta 'u's Sa'dain*, trn. R.H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*', London, 1859, photo offset edn. Delhi, 1974, 1-49. Also see the quotation in Simon Digby, 'The Maritime Trade of India' in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, I, Cambridge 1982, 129.
51. W.H. Moreland, 'The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500'. *JRAS*, 1939,
52. *EC*, VII. Shikarpur 118.
53. Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Rajasreṣṭhi', in B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Archaeology and History*, Delhi, vol. II.
54. The Kudircetti or horse dealer (*Kudir* = horse; *cetti* = dealer, merchant) figures in the following records: *Madras Report on Epigraphy* (later *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*), nos. 201 of 1905, 161 of 1907, 182 of 1926, 198 of 1928, 15 and 16 of 1935-36. It appears that they formed an occupational group more or less similar to the group of horse dealers in north India known as Heduvakas. These Heduvakas figure in inscriptions from Gujarat and Rajasthan. The Heduvakas gradually crystallized into a caste or subcaste and sometimes included people having typical name endings of Brāhmaṇas like bhaṭṭa/śarman. See Chitrarekha Gupta, *op. cit. It* may not be altogether impossible that Kudircettis also assumed caste status or at least a caste like appearance.
55. The Kudircetti, therefore, appears to have been integrally connected with overseas trade in horses, though he remained essentially a shore-based merchant.
56. This inscription mentions horses (*turaga*) which were brought overseas from abroad (*anyadeśāntaram*) to the port of Motupalli, *EI, XII*, 188-97. See Ranabir Chakravarti's Economic Policy of Kākatīya Gaṇapati', *JAIH, XI*, 185-92 Ma'abar, corresponding to the Coromandel coast, figures regularly in early Arabic and Persian accounts as an area visited by foreign traders.

57. Himanshu P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Sātavāhanas*, Delhi, 1986.
58. Ptolemy, *op. cit*: *VII.* 7 and *VII.* 84.
59. Ibn Battuta, *op. cit.*, 233, 237; Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, II, 385, 392 ff.
60. Ibn Battuta, *op. cit*; 237.
61. *EI, XII*, 188-97.
62. See Ranabir Chakravarti. 'Horse Trade and Piracy at Tana: Gleanings from Marco Polo', (forthcoming).
63. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 1970), chapter on the Yādavas of Devagiri.
64. Marco Polo, *op. cit.* II, 330.
65. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*
66. Irfan Habib, 'Barani's Theory of the History of the Delhi Sultanate, *IHR VII*, 1-2, July 1980-January, 1981, 99-116.
67. Simon Digby, *Warhorses and Elephants*, *48*.
68. Simon Digby, *ap. cit.*, 25, refers to a statement in 'Ayn al-din 'Ayn al-mulk 'Abd Allah b. Mahru, *Insha-i Mahru*, p. 213.
69. R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, London, 1900, Rpt, 1924, 307, 381.
70. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, 'Political Maxims of Emperor Poet: Krishna Deva Raya' *JIH, VI.* 3, 1925, 72.
71. Burton Stein, 'Vijayanagara', in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (ed.), *op. cit.*

List of Abbreviations

BI	:	*Bibliotheca Indica*
BSOAS	:	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CII	:	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
EI	:	*Epigraphia Indica.*
HIOH	:	*History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* by Elliot and Dowson.
IESHR	:	*Indian Economic and Social History Review.*
IHR	:	*Indian Historical Review.*
JAIH	:	*Journal of Ancient Indian History.*
JIH	:	*Journal of Indian History.*

38

Lives of the Jinas as Depicted in the Kumbharia Jaina Temples

MARUTI NANDAN TIWARI

The 24 Jinas, called *devādhideva* by Hemacandra, occupy the most venerated position in Jaina worship. In sculptural art innumerable examples of the rendering of the Jinas are found from all over the country since about 150 B.C. During the early medieval times, the rendering of the lives of different Jinas are also met with. Such representations are shown in narrative panels carved in the ceilings of the Jaina temples and sometimes also in the *parikara* of the independent Jina images, However the latter examples are found only with the Pārśvanātha images of Digambara affiliation, hailing from Bādāmī (Bijapur, Karnataka), Aihole (Bijapur, Karnataka), Ellorā (Aurangabad, Maharastra), Gyāraspur (Vidisha, M.P.), Humchā (Shimoga, Karnataka) and a few other places. The renderings of the *caritas* (lives) of the Jinas alongwith their *pūrvabhavas* (previous existences) are carved only in the temple ceilings found at Śvetāmbara Jaina sites of north India.[1] The notable of such instances are known from Kumbhāriā (Banaskantha, Gujarat), Osiāñ (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) and Delvāḍā (Mt. Abu, Rajasthan) and also in Jaina Paintings preserved in different Jaina *bhaṇḍāras* of western India.

Kumbhāriā, a prolific Jaina site of early medieval period, preserves a group of five Jaina temples, built between 11th and 13th centuries A.D. The temples, still under worship, are dedicated to Śāntinātha (A.D. 1054-77), Mahāvīra (A.D. 1062), Pārśvanātha (*c.* A.D. 1105), Neminātha (A.D. 1135) and Sambhavanātha (early 13th

century A.D.),[2] respectively the 16th, 24th, 23rd, 22nd and 3rd Jinas. Of these, the Mahāvīra and the Śāntinātha temples only contain the examples of the detailed renderings of the Jīna *caritas*, showing in a realistic and telling manner the five principal auspicious events (pañcakalyāṇakas) in the lives of the Jinas alongwith different episodes pertaining to their past existences and also the *upsargas* (inflictions) caused by demons and others because of their enmity in previous existences. It may be noted that these examples are the earliest known examples of the rendering of the Jina-*caritas*. The *upsargas*, occurring during the period of meditation and *tapas* of the Jinas, are related mainly to the lives of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.

The *pañcakalyāṇakas* include the descend of the soul of the Jinas from the heaven into the wombs of their respective mothers (*cyavana*), birth (*janma*), initiation into ascetic life (*dīkṣā*), achievement of omniscience (kevalājñāna) and the attainment of emancipation (*nirvāṇa*). These five auspicious events occurred in the life of each of the 24 Jinas and hence find invariate representation in all the instances of the narrative scenes in the Kumbhāriā Jaina temples. These scenes are carved in the rectangular narrative *paṭṭikās* of the *samatala* aisle ceilings (*pārśvālinda*), lying between the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and the *bhramikā* on west. The ceilings represent the lives and the previous existences of Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra,[3] who were the most favoured Jinas in visual manifestations at Kumbhāriā and elsewhere. The narrative scenes, carved and divided into rectangular boxes of varied dimensions, normally runs from left to right.[4]

The present paper endeavours to discuss at length only the lives and the incidents from the past existences Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha and Neminātha Jinas as depicted in the ceilings of the Mahāvīra and the Śāntinātha Jaina temples. In course of my studies I have noted that the narratives carved in these temples are in full concurrence with the details ennumerated subsequently in a Śvetāmbara work of great authority—the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra (latter half of the 12th century A.D.). The scenes have been identified mainly on the testimony of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. Further, the labelling inscriptions found frequently under the respective scenes have also been of immense help in identifying different episodes of Jina *caritas*.

The scenes from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha are carved in the western bay ceilings of the Śāntinātha and the Mahāvīra temples which are almost identical in details with some minor representational differences. The scenes in the Śantinatha temple are divided into four rectangular boxes. The outermost rectangle on east shows the figures of Marudevī and Nābhi, the parents of Ṛṣabhanātha, sitting facing and talking to each-other with their names being given in the label inscription. Ahead lies Marudevī on a cot attended by three retinues. Her name is being given in the label inscription. The figure is followed by the 14 auspicious dreams which were seen by the respective mothers of all the 24 Jinas on the night of their descend from

the heavens in the form of embryo in the wombs.[5] The dreams shown in the present ceiling are an elephant, a bull, a lion, the figure of four-armed Śrī or Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī (seated crosslegged and holding long-stalked lotuses in the upper hands with two elephants lustrating her. Her lower two hands are being kept in the lap in the the *dhyāna-mudrā*), *dhvaja*, crescent, pair of garlands, vase, sun, palace, *ratnarāśī*, lake and ocean with aquatic animals and fire kept in a pot. The north *paṭṭikā* shows the figures of Nābhi and Marudevī sitting in a pavilion facing each-other. Further ahead lies Marudevī on a cot without baby and close to her are shown four figures of bull and a horse rider. The scene undoubtedly relate the descend of Ṛṣabha in the womb of Marudevī suggested through the bulls which subsequently became the identifying mark of Ṛṣabha. It may be remembered that Ṛṣabha in his previous birth was born as Vajranābha who is shown here as riding a horse. Ahead is shown the figure of Nābhi who is probably asking the *ācārya* about the auspicious dreams. Thus these scenes narrate the *cyavana* and *janmakalyāṇakas* of Ṛṣabha wherein the usual scene of *janma-abhiṣeka* of Ṛṣabha by Indra on Meru mountain is not shown. On west the scene of dance and music before the royal couple is carved. The figures on south are related with some unidentifiable incident from the life of Ṛṣabha alongwith the scene of his bath before the coronation and marriage.

The second rectangular box on east depicts Ṛṣabha as king, sitting in the midst of gods and attendants and imparting the knowledge of different arts to the mankind. According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha was the first to teach as many as 72 arts to the mankind which included agriculture, trade, warfare, carpentry, music, dance, painting, sculpture etc. He taught his daughters, Brāhmī and Sundarī, the art of writing. In the scene, Ṛṣabha holds a vase (the first vessel) and rides a chariot representing the art of pottery making and warfare. The scenes on north depicts a royal figure standing with a figure in front with folded hands. These figures perhaps show Ṛṣabha prior to his renunciation. Afterwards there appears a row of five Jina figures, all seated cross-legged with their left hand being in the lap and with the right plucking out the hair which thus represent the *dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka* of Ṛṣabha. In conformity with the Śvetāmbara tradition Indra could be seen here standing before the last figure of Ṛṣabha requesting the would be Jina not to pluck out the remaining hair[6] which Ṛṣabha had accepted. It may be noted that due to the above tradition Ṛṣabha in figureal representations has invariably been endowed with lateral strands. All other subsequent Jina in Jaina tradition are said to have plucked out all their hair in five handfuls and hence are not shown with hair in visual manifestations.

Further ahead, there stands Ṛṣabha in the *kāyotsargamudrā* (attitude of dismissing the body) wearing a *dhotī* in conformity with the Śvetāmbara tradition. Ṛṣabha is flanked by two standing figures of his grand sons Nami and Vinami holding swords, who, according to the Jaina tradition, stood close to Ṛṣabha during the course of his penance for obtaining desired wealth. Since the *vītarāgī* Ṛṣabha stood motionless in *kāyotsarga*, the snake king Dharaṇendra had to come there to

give the desired boon to Nami and Vinami who were then blessed with the command of 48 thousand Vidyās (powers). The names of Nami and Vinami are given in label inscription. These two brothers are shown also as paying obeisance to Ṛṣabha after obtaining the desired boons.

On south the *samavasaraṇa* (congregation hall) of Ṛṣabha is carved. The *samavasaraṇa* is a sermon hall constructed by gods where heavenly and human beings alongwith animal world assembled to listen to the first discourse of each of the 24 Jinas after they obtained Jinahood. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the gods erected the *samavasaraṇa* at the instance of Indra. It is a specially constructed circular structure with three fortification walls around and with entrance door-way on four sides in each of the fortification walls. The Jina sits in the uppermost rampart and their figures on three other sides are being installed by the *vyantaradevas* to make the Jinas visible to the audience on all the sides. It is also interesting that different animals having enmity by their nature are shown sitting face to face which truly suggest the impact of the discourse of the Jinas of *ahiṁsā*.[8] The *samavasaraṇa* in the present example has three fortification walls and four gateways in each of its ramparts. At the uppermost part there sits Ṛṣabhanātha in meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). On left of the *samavasaraṇa* several male and female figures are shown with folded hands to represent the audience paying obeisance. Besides the *samavasaraṇa* there again appears the figures of Ṛṣabha wearing as usual *dhotī* and standing in the *kāyotsarga* to suggest his consequent meditation and *nirvāṇa*. It may be noted that the graphic depiction of the *nirvāṇa* of the Jinas, as found in respect of Buddha figures, is never met with in such renderings which show them instead either as sitting or as standing close to the *samavasaraṇa* to suggest their salvation.

The third rectangular box contains the rendering of the scene of the war between Bharata and Bāhubalī, the two sons of Ṛṣabha. Bāhubalī, according to the Śvetāmbara works, was the second son of Ṛṣabha, whose step brother Bharata became *cakravartin* succeeding his father and began to subdue the various kingdoms of Bhāratavarṣa according to the law of this disc weapon (*cakra*). Except Bāhubalī all his 98 brothers surrendered their domains and became recluse. As a consequence a fierce duel took place between Bharata and Bāhubalī. Bāhubalī ultimately emerged as victor in this trial of strength. At the moment of his triumph, the reality of the futility of wordly possessions downed in his mind and he consequently decided to renounce the world for attaining omniscience and salvation. As an ascetic he performed very rigorous austerities by standing in the *kāyotsarga* posture and at last attained *kevalajñāna*. During the course of his rigorous *tapas*, the creepers entwined his limbs, besides snake, lizards and scorpions creeping over his body. The profound austerity of Bāhubalī inspired both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Jainas to worship Bāhubalī. According to Śvetāmbara tradition, Bāhubalī despite his rigorous austerity could not attain omniscience as he still harboured a shade of pride. Hence Ṛṣabhanātha inspired his daughters Brāhmī and Sundarī to persuade Bāhubalī to

shake off the remnants of pride. Only after that Bāhubalī could attain omniscience.[9] The most detailed and graphic rendering of the duel between Bharata and Bāhubalī is carved in the ceiling of the Vimala vasahī (A.D. 1150 Delvāḍa).

The scene in the Śāntinātha temple shows the army of both the sides alongwith the duel of Bharata and Bāhubalī. The royal figures of Bāhubalī and Bharata are also shown alongwith the march of the army. In the centre there stand Bharata and Bāhubalī engaged in duel with their one hand being held by the other while the other hand is raised in a bid to make a hit. These figures are flanked by elephants horse-riders and warriors. On the north there sits a royal bearded figure with some retinues who may be identified with Bharata *cakravartin*. At left extremity there stands Bāhubalī in *kāyotsarga*, suggesting his penance. The chest, legs and hanging arms of Bāhubalī are writhed by undulating vines. In concurrence with the Śvetāmbara tradition, the figures of his sisters, Brāhmī and Sundarī, are also shown as standing in the dress of *śrāvikās* with their names being given in the label inscription. The central box contains the figures of the respective *yakṣa* and the *yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha, sitting in *lalitāsana* on *bhadrāsana*. The cow-faced *Gomukha yakṣa* with elephant *vāhana* shows *varada-mudrā* goad, noose and mongoose-skin purse in hands.[10] The four-armed Cakreśvarī *yakṣī*, accompanied by Garuḍa *vāhana*, bears *varada-mudrā*, disc and conch.

Like the Śāntinātha temple the ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple also shows the detailed rendering of the episodes from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha but with some elaboration in respect of some episodes like the birth and anointing ceremony (*Plates* 87-88). The scenes here also are divided into three rectangular boxes. The outermost *paṭṭikā* on east shows the figures sitting and talking to each-other in the *sarvārthasiddha* heaven. These are the figures of Vajranābha and others. The name *sarvārthasiddha* heaven is given in the label inscription to facilitate the identification of the figures with Vajranābha, whose soul had descended from the *sarvārthasiddha* heaven to take the form of an embryo in the womb of Marudevī. Further ahead are carved the figures of the parents of Ṛṣabha sitting, facing and conferring with each-other. The figures are labelled as Nābhirāya and Marudevī.

On north (from left) there lies Marudevī on a cot alongwith female attendants by her side. The scene is followed by the rendering of the 14 auspicious dreams. The label inscription distinctly gives the name of Marudevī. Thereafter sits the figure of Marudevī recounting the dreams to Nābhi with her inquisitiveness about the interpretation of the dreams. On west there appear nine female figures to celebrate the occasion of the birth of the Ṛṣabha. The second box on north further shows Marudevī who is lying on a cot with the newly born baby Ṛṣabha. The scene is labelled as Ṛṣabha *janma*. Nearby stands Śakra (Indra), a band of musicians and about 26 female figures holding different objects for embellishing and anointing the newly born Ṛṣabha-Indra, wearing *mukuṭa*, stands with folded hands. On east, there

appears a figure carrying newly born Ṛṣabha at the command of Śakra to the Meru mountain for his birth ceremony (*janma-abhiṣeka*). It may be noted that in both the traditions we come across the references of taking away each of the 24 baby Jinas to mount Meru for lustral bath by Indra. It is also mentioned that at the instance of Indra Naigameṣin, the commander of Indra's army, or some other god descended on earth. After paying homage to the child he used to take away the infants after causing spell and sleep on the respective mothers of the Jinas.[11] The ceremony was attended by a number of gods and the occasion was celebrated with great festivity, suggested through the presence of musicians and *Dikkumārīs*, the latter carrying pitchers for anointing the infant Jinas. It is mentioned in the texts that while taking away the infants for bath ceremony the gods used to substitute them with their images in cases of all the Jinas to avoid any panic or confusion. The scene in the Mahāvīra temple vividly portrays the ceremonial occasion of Ṛṣabha's lustration on Meru mountain and the carrying away of infant by the god who is not goat-faced Naigameṣī in the present instance. The scene is followed by the figure of Indra sitting cross-legged on a cushion supported by two elephants with the infant Ṛṣabha in his lap. On two sides there stand the figures with vases for lustrating the infant. On south there appears the figures of Ṛṣabha seated cross-legged and tearing out his hair, suggestive of *dīkṣākalyāṇka*. Ahead stands Ṛṣabha in *kāyotsarga* to suggest rigorous austerity followed by the rendering of the *samavasaraṇa* showing seated Jina figures at its top. The scene is labelled as '*samavasaraṇa śrī Ṛṣabha*'.

The central box contains the figures of Gomukha *yakṣa*, Cakreśvarī *yakṣī*, Brahmaśānti *yakṣa*, Ambikā *yakṣī*, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Mahāvidyā Vairoṭyā. It is important to find the name of Vaiṣṇavī *devī* in the label inscription for Cakreśvarī *yakṣī*.

The scenes pertaining to Śāntinātha *carita* are also carved in the western bay ceilings of the Śāntinātha and the Mahāvīra temples. Beside the usual auspicious events, an important episode from his previous existence as king Megharatha is also carved. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, king Megharatha weighed his body against a pigeon to save the latter's life. A subsequent example of mid 12th century A.D. showing identical scene, though not so detailed, is found at the ceiling of Vimala vasahī (cell No. 12).[12]

The scenes in the Śāntinātha temple as usual predivided into three rectangular boxes (*Plate* 89). The outermost *paṭṭikā* on west shows Śāntinātha in his previous existence as king Megharatha, sitting in a pavilion in the midst of dancers, musicians and warriors. Further ahead is shown a balance showing the figure of Megharatha on one side and the pigeon on the other. It is mentioned in the Śvetāmbara works that Śāntinātha in one of his past existences as Megharatha offered the whole of his flesh to save the life of a pigeon from a falcon. The story narrates that some god entered the body of a pigeon who was fleeing from a falcon to test the steadfastness

of kind hearted Megharatha. The pigeon took shelter in the lap of the king and was assured of his life. The falcon chasing the pigeon came to the king and asked to return the pigeon since it was hungry. Keeping the promise, the king wanted falcon to have some other eatable in place of pigeon and then the falcon asked for equal weight of human flesh in place of pigeon. The king immediately ordered for a balance and started taking out his own flesh and putting it on the scales against the weight of the pigeon. But the god in pigeon's body went on increasing in weight till Megharatha decided to offer whole of his body by putting it in the scales. Then the god in the pigeon appeared and blessed Megharatha who was born as Śāntinātha in his next birth. It may be noted that an identical and earlier story found in Brāhminical tradition is related to king Śivi likewise protecting a pigeon by offering his whole body.[13]

The scene on east shows a figure standing in the *kāyotsarga* with a temple carved on the mountain and some royal couples engaged in conversation. These figures probably relate to the consequent meditation of Megharatha and his figures as king. The scene on north shows in the centre the figures of the mother of Śāntinātha (Acirā) lying on a cot and followed by the attendants and the 14 auspicious dreams. Beside Acirā, there sits a royal figure identifiable with Viśvasena, the father of Śāntinātha. Further ahead is a figure standing in the *kāyotsarga* followed by a Jaina *muni* imparting discourse to the royal figure. The scenes perhaps pertain to the previous birth of Śāntinātha as Megharatha. The figures on south likewise show a figure in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and a Jaina *ācārya* giving sermon to the royal figures.

The second rectangular box on east shows Acirā lying on a cot with newly born baby. She is followed by a goat-faced figure of Naigameṣī who at the command of Indra has come to take away the infant for lustration. The scene is followed by a number of figures holding vases and fly-whisks. In last (on south) there appears Indra sitting on Meru mountain with infant Śānti in his lap. The figures on west and north also bear vases, flywhisks, mirrors, fans and some cosmetics befitting the occasion of the bath ceremony of Śānti.

The third rectangle on east shows Śāntinātha as *cakravartī* ruler who subsequently turned a Jaina ascetic and attained Jinahood by his rigorous *tapas*. The whole scene is divided into four small *paṭṭikās*. The figure of *cakravartī* Śāntinātha could be seen in the top *paṭṭikās*, sitting in the midst of 12 figures of different subdued rulers with their hands being raised in the honour of the *cakravartī*. The lower two registers show nine vases suggestive of *navanidhi* (nine treasures) and 14 *ratnas* (jewels) possessed by every *cakravartī*. The jewels carved in concurrence with Śvetāmbara tradition are *cakra*, *chatra* (umbrella), sword, staff, *maṇi* (jem), *carma* (skin), kākinī (cowrie) *senāpati* (general), *gṛhapati* (steward), horse, elephant, *strī* and

purohita and engineer or carpenter.[14] The Jaina works explicitly mention that Śāntinātha like all other *cakravartīs* shone always with these jewels and treasures.

On west is shown the *samavasaraṇa* of Śāntinātha as usual with the figure of Jina sitting at the top with the cortége of accessory symbols like *aṣṭaprātihāryas*. Thus the present example shows only the *cyavana*, *janma* and *kevala kalyāṇakas* of the Jina.

The scenes in the Mahāvīra temple are also divided into crucified boxes with appropriate labellings (*Plate* 90). Here the episode of Megharatha is not shown. The scene in the first rectangle on west starts with the rendering of the figure of Acirā Devī reclining on a cot and followed by 14 auspicious dreams. The scene is being labelled as '*caturdaśasvapnāni*'. The figure on south portrays the parents of Śāntinātha engaged in conversation. Further ahead there again appears the figure of Acirā Devī reclining on a cot with infant Śānti to suggest his birth. Nearby stands Naigameṣī with hands folded in supplication who has come to take Śānti to Meru mountain. The scene is labelled as '*Śrī Acirā devī—prasūtigṛha—Śāntinātha*'. The scene carved on the north-east corner relates to the birth ceremony of Śānti who as usual is sitting in the lap of Indra. Further ahead on west is carved the figure of Śānti as *cakravartī* ruler, sitting in midst of a number of rulers under his lordship. The principal figure is labelled as 'Śāntinātha—cakravartī'. The figures on south-east corner show Śānti riding on elephant and horse with his names being inscribed in label inscription. These figures are suggestive of his victory campaign to become the *cakr avartī*.

The scene of Śāntinātha's renunciation is carved on north wherein as usual, he sits in meditation plucking out his heir. A figure sitting close to him and wearing *mukuṭa* is undoubtedly Indra collecting the torn hair of Śānti in a pot for its immersion. Further ahead, there are carved the figures of Śānti, sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and standing in the *kāyotsarga* to suggest his rigorous penance. In the centre is carved the *samavasaraṇa* of Śāntinātha beautifully showing three concentric circles suggestive of ramparts with the figures of rival animals like lion-elephant, snake—mongoose sitting face to face forgetting their enmity. Jina Śāntinātha as usual sits at its top with the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*.

The scenes from the life of Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi are also carved both in the Śāntinātha and the Mahavīra temples. These scenes, besides the *pañcakalyāṇakas*, also depict the trial of strength between Nemi and Kṛṣṇa and the episodes of the marriage of Nemi. The subsequent examples of Nemi *carita*, carved in the Vimala vasahī (cell No. 10, *c.* 1150 A.D.) and the Luṇa vasahī (13th century A.D.), also depict respectively the episode of trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi and the marriage of Nemi. According to the Jaina works, Nemi was a cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma which at once suggests the liberal attitude of the Jainas towards assimilating Brāhminical divinities.

The scenes in the Śāntinātha temple, divided into three rectangular boxes, show in the outermost rectangle on east and north the figural representations of the previous existence of Nemi as king Śaṅkha who, surrounded by the warriors and attendants, is shown in the company of his spouse Yaśomati (*Plate* 91). On west there appears Śivā, the mother of Nemi lying on a cot followed by the 14 auspicious dreams and the figures of the parents of Nemi sitting facing and talking to each-other. Further ahead there appears the scenes pertaining to different victories of Samudravijaya, the father of Nemi. The second rectangle on south again portrays Śivādevī but alongwith newly born baby Nemi. The scene is followed by the figure of Naigameṣī who is there to take the infant Nemi to Meru mountain.

Ahead may be seen the figure of Indra with thunder-bolt joined by Dikkumāriṣ and some other gods to celebrate the occasion of *janma-abhiṣeka*. Afterwards there appears Indra sitting with Nemi. The next scene pertains to the marriage procession of Nemi wherein Nemi is shown sitting in a chariot and moving in procession for marriage. The Jaina works narrate that Nemi from the very beginning was pious in nature and was hence aversed to worldly pleasures and possessions. He was also reluctant to marry. Somehow, at the instance of the father of Nemi, Kṛṣṇa succeeded in persuading him for marriage. His marriage was arranged with princes Rājīmatī, the daughter of Ugrasena, while the marriage procession was moving towards the bridal pavilion alongwith Nemi sitting in a chariot, Nemi happened to notice a number of animals being kept in a cage which were to be slaughtered for his marriage feast. The point pricked so much to him that he at once decided to renounce the world without going even to the place of marriage. He immediately ordered his charioteer to turn back and consequently went to mount Raivataka (Girnāra) and took *dīkṣā* and became a Jaina recluse. Rājīmatī knowing the decision of Nemi also turned a Jaina nun. The scene in the Śāntinātha temple shows the animals like boar, ram, deer in a cage. It is surprising that in violation of the Jaina tradition, the figures of Nemi and Rājīmatī have been carved standing in the bridal pavilion. An identical example is found in the Lūṇa vasahī.

The third rectangle on south shows Nemi returning after his marriage. Nemi sitting alone in his chariot is being confronted with a figure in *namaskārā-mudra*, who may be identified with the father of Rājīmatī, requesting Nemi not to renounce the world. Further ahead may be seen Nemi sitting in a palanquin and going for *dīkṣā*. The figure is followed by nine dancers and musicians celebrating the occasion of *dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka*. Ahead could be seen the figure of Nemi putting off his dress and ornaments and tearing out his hair. Thereafter stands Nemi in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, suggestive of his *tapas*. The *samavasaraṇa* of Nemi could be seen on west with his figure being carved at its top. The *samavasaraṇa* also exhibits different animals like elephant-lion and peacock-snake sitting together. On the right extremity is carved the Girnāra mountain and a temple enshrining the figure of *yakṣī* Ambikā of Nemi. On left there again is carved a Jina temple enshrining a figure of

Nemi. The temple is followed by two other temples. These representations pertain to the depiction of the temples of Nemi and Ambikā on Girnāra mountain.

The scenes in the Mahāvīra temple are carved in the western bay ceiling which is divided into two sections showing respectively the narratives from the lives of Śānti and Nemi. The scenes mostly being labelled depict graphically the episode of trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi (*Plate* 90) The southern extremity is being occupied by the figure of king Śaṅkha accompanied by his father Śrīṣeṇa and several other reclining figures. These figures are labelled as 'Aparājita-Vimānadeva'. It may be remembered that the soul of Śaṅkha descended into the womb of Śivā from Aparājita-Vimāna. The figures of Samudravijaya and several other rulers of Harivaṁśa are carved on north, the last figure being labelled as Samudravijaya. On west, there appears reclining mother of Nemi alongwith the 14 auspicious dreams. Another figure of mother reclining with infant Nemi on north is being labelled as '*Śrī Śivādevī Rānī prasūtigṛha-Nemināṭha janma*'. Further ahead is carved the scene of the *janma-abhiṣeka* of Nemi, Nemi is being bathed by two female figures on east, ahead of which is carved the episode of the trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi.

The Svetāmbara works tell that while moving with his friends Nemi once entered the armoury (*āyudhaśālā*) of Kṛṣṇa and established his superiority in physical strength by lifting up with ease the *Kaumodakī gadā* (mace), trying the *Śārṅga* bow, turning round for a number of times the *Śudarśana cakra* and also blowing the *pāñcajanya śaṅkha*. Kṛṣṇa was surprised to find Nemi playing with these mighty weapons and consequently decided to put to test the strength of Nemi out of fear. Nemi suggested that whoever was unable to bend the outstretched straight hand of the other should be declared defeated. Nemi easily emerged as victor in this trial of strengnth. On this Kṛṣṇa became perturbed and thought that Nemi would one day easily take over the Kingdom but Balarāma told Kṛṣṇa that Ariṣṭenemi was not interested in worldly possessions and would renounce the world at an appropriate time.[15]

The scene in the Mahāvīra temple shows the armoury of Kṛṣṇa wherein the conch, mace, disc and sword like weapons are carved. Close to these weapons there appears Nemi blowing the powerful conch of Kṛṣṇa. The figure is labelled as Śrī Nemi. Adjacent to the *āyudhaśālā* of Kṛṣṇa. there are carved the figures of Vasudeva—Devakī. The scene on south depicts the marriage pavilion of Nemi, close to which stands Rājīmatī alongwith her *sakhī*. These figures are labelled respectively as Rājīmatī and *sakhī*. Above this scene is carved the marriage procession of Nemi wherein Nemi alongwith his relations and army is moving towards marriage pavilion. The scene as usual is followed by the cage showing the figures of dear, boar and ram which are to be slaughtered for the marriage feast. Here the artist in a telling manner has depicted the episode by rendering two chariots with the figures

of Nemi in each of them. One chariot is shown moving towards marriage pavilion while the other is moving in the opposite direction to suggest his consequent decision to renounce the world. As contrary to the Śāntinātha temple, Nemi in the present instance is shown returning back without going to the marriage pavilion which is very much in concurrence with the textual injunctions.

The scene on north relate to the *dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka* wherein Nemi is shown plucking out his hair, close to which could be seen the crown, necklace and ring like ornaments to suggest his renouncement. The Jinas used to relinquish all their ornaments prior to the renunciation. Nearby stands Indra collecting the hair of Nemi for immersion. On left there stands Nemi absorbed in trance in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. Ahead is carved a temple and the *samavasaraṇa* of Nemi. Thereafter appear two seated figures of Nemi, one of which is suggestive of the emancipation of Jina. Close to these figures is carved the figure of *yakṣī* Ambikā.

From the foregoing it is apparent that the carvers at Kumbhāriā have chosen the most popular episodes from the lives of Ṛṣabha, Śānti and Nemi. The technique of presentation shows a combination of depiction of individual events and the common scenes pertaining to the *pañcakalyāṇakas*. The repeated renderings of the five principal auspicious events in the lives of the Jinas, carved in full concurrence with the, Śvetāmbara tradition, reveal uniformity with only a little representational differences to avoid the monotony. But the individual events in the lives of the Jinas are shown graphically with distinct sense of imagination to suggest the entire episode. In such instances the main thrust of the episodes have rightly been projected. Such scenes relate to the episodes of Ṛṣabha teaching different arts to the mankind and dual between Bharata and Bāhubalī, the offering of the flesh of entire body by king Megharatha to save the life of a pigeon, Śānti shining with nine treasures and 14 jewels as *cakravartī* ruler, the trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Nemi and latter's renunciation before marriage.

The deeply cut and skilfully modelled figures show different movements in realistic and animated manner. The figures even in groupes retain their individuality both in action and expression. The mobility of the figures and also the appropriate communication of different situations are done with gusto and perfection. The choice of events shows a predilection for the austerity and non-violence as evidenced from the scenes of duel between Bharata and Bāhubalī suggestive of 'no war' theory and latter's consequent renouncement and fierce *tapas* and the renouncement of Nemi on his way to marriage. The continuity of time has also been suggested in the depiction of episodes the most important of them being the five figures of Ṛṣabha tearing out his hair, two chariots carved together but moving in opposite directions in case of Nemi *carita*, the inflictions caused to Pārśva and Mahāvīra during their *tapas* and series of 14 dreams.

Notes and References

1. The example of the rendering of Jina caritas is not known from south India.
2. For details of art and architecture of Kumbhāriā temples consult, M.A. Dhaky, 'Chronology of Solankī Temples of Gujarat' *Jr. of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad*, No. 3, 1961, pp. 34-35, 40-41, 44, 49-50, 57; Kantilal F. Somapura, *The Structural Temples of Gujarat* (upto 1600 A.D.), Ahmedabad, 1968; U.P. Shah and Krishna Deva, 'West India', *Jaina Art and Archttecture* (Ed. A. Ghosh), Vol, II, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 300-309; Harihar Singh, *Jaina Temples of Western India*, Varanasi, 1982, pp. 107-46. However, the temple of Sambhavanatha was originally dedicated to Ṛṣābhanātha which is recorded in the *Tīrāthmālā* (A.D. 1442).
3. However, in two instances the identification of such scenes could not have been possible but they also depict the *pañcakalyāṇakas* and some other episodes from the lives of the Jinas. Apart from the narratives carved in the ceilings, an important stone slab, inscribed in V.S. 1338 (A.D. 1281), is found near the entrance of Mahāvīra temple. It represents an incident from the life of the 20th Jina Mnnisuvrata known as samalikā-*vihāra*. The other portion of the same plaque depicting the story of the *aśvāvabodha* in the life of Munisuvrata could be seen on the south facade of the *mūlaprāsāda* of the Neminātha temple. The other two replicas, datable to 13th century A.D., are known from the Lūṇa vasahī (cell No. 19) at Mt. Ābū and the Pārśvanātha temple at Jalore, both in Rajasthan. Consult Muni Jayant Vijaya *Holi Ābu*, Bhavanagar, 1953, pp. 100-106; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, Vol. IV, Gaekwad Oriental Series, 125, Baroda, 1954, pp. 86-88.
4. A number of scholars have worked on the art, architecture and iconography of Kumbhāriā but so far the detailed accout of the narrative ceilings in the temples has not been published.
5. The number of dreams, according to the Digambara tradition is 16. The 14 dreams, according to the Śavetāmbara tradition, include bull, lion, Śrī (Gajalakṣmī), garland of flowers, full moon, sun, banner fastened to a golden staff with a lion at the top, a full vase filled with water and lotuses, a large lake with lotuses, ocean of milk, *devavimāna* (celestial palace), *ratnarāśi* (jewel heap) and smokeless fire-See U.P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa Maṇḍana*, Vol. I New Delhi, 1987, pp. 17-18.
6. *Kalpasūtra* 195; *Tri aṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (hereafter abbreviated as *Tri. aṣṭi.*) 1.3.60-70.
7. *Tri aṣṭi* . 1.3.134-44,
8. *Triṣaṣṭi* . ., Vol. I, Gaekwad Oriental Series 51 pp. 190-94, Chap. III, Verses 423-77,; U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.
9. *Triṣaṣṭi* . . 1.5.740-98.
10. The attributes here and elsewhere are reckoned clockwise starting from the lower right hand.
11. *Tri aṣṭi Ādīśvaracaritra*, Gaekwad Oriental Series 51 (1931), pp. 330-37.
12. Muni Jayant Viiaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
13. *Triṣaṣṭi*. ., Vol. III, Gaekwad Oriental Series 108, Baroda, 1949, pp. 291-293.
14. *Tri aṣṭi*. . 1,4.708-712. These jewels are described in reference to Bharata *cakravartī*.
15. *Triśaṣṭi*. ., Vol. V, Gaekwad Oriental Series, (1962), pp. 248-50.

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Rupabheda in Painting

ASOK K. BHATTACHARYA

Vātsyāyana in his famous work, *Kāmasūtra*, mentions *ālekhya* (painting) after *gīta* (vocal music), *vādya* (instrumental music) and *nṛtya* (dancing), respectively, at the top of a list of sixty-four *kalās* or arts that a girl meant to be a complete practitioner in the art of love required to be trained in.[1] Vātsyāyana lived in the Gupta age, possibly in the fourth century A.D.,[2] and in enumerating the list of the arts he probably followed a tradition current at the time. For the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* in its Citrasūtra section clearly mentions that to become proficient in the art of painting (*citra*) one should know the arts of *gīta*, *ātodya* (instrumental music) and *nṛtya* in succeeding order.[3] Since the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* is assigned to a date between circa 450 and 650 A.D.,[4] both Vātsyāna and the author of the puranic *Śilpa*-text represent the same tradition of artistic culture, and, as apparent from their recommendations, both of them uphold that classical concept of arts in which vocal music, instrumental music, dancing and painting are inseparably related to each other.

Yaśodhara, a commentator on the *Kāmasūtra*, who has been placed by the scholars in different centuries between the tenth and the thirteenth,[5] offers the following verse as to explain the characteristics of classical Indian painting:

Rūpabhedaḥ pramāṇāni bhāva-lāvaṇyayojanam.
Sādṛśyam varṇikā-bhaṅgam iti citram ṣaḍaṅgakam.

The above verse, which is of undoubted importance for the understanding of Indian painting in its classical expression, remained unnoticed for centuries before

being interpreted by a painter-scholar of modern India, Abanindranath Tagore. In a number of successively published Bengali essays he initiated for the first time a serious discussion on the theories of Indian art in the second decade of this century.[6] But it is only after the publication of some of these essays in their English and French translations in 1921 and 1922, respectively, that this theoretical discussions became of international significance.[7] Since then no serious writer on Indian painting has ignored the verse, though many of them give different interpretation of it from that of Abanindranath. In the absence of any consensus among the scholars about the very meaning of the terms contained in the verse, not to speak of their interpretation, even after more than fifty years, it seems imperative for the present generation of art historians to take up the issue and offer a new appraisal of the verse. In this paper our attempt would be to make some advance in the subject by initiating a fresh discussion on the first term mentioned in the verse, especially for its importance effecting painting of representational character.

A simple rendering into English of the verse would mean that *citra* or painting is constituted of six *aṅgas* or limbs, viz., *rūpbheda, pramāṇāni, bhāva, lāvanya, sādṛśya and varṇikā-bhaṅga.* But when these technical terms are translated for the benefit of the English-knowing readers, differences crop up among the scholars as regards their authenticity, if not for all the terms, at least for some of them including the first, that is, *rūpabheda.* Even if we do not mind the priority given to this limb in the list of six, the importance of *rūpa* or 'form' in the figure art is unquestionable. It will therefore be interesting to review the interpretation of the term as made by some of our leading writers on art and aesthetics. To begin with Abanindranath, the first interpreter of the verse, translates *rūpabhedaḥ* as "Knowledge of appearance"[8] and explains by stating that "*Rūpa* is 'form', visual as well as mental and *bheda* means 'difference', such as the difference between forms instinct with life and beauty and the forms which have no beauty, no life."[9] He elaborates the idea of form with the help of two verses quoted from the *Mahābhārata*[10] in which *rūpa* is defined as follows: "*Hrasva* short or stunted, *Dīrgha* long or lean, *Sthula* material, corpulent or bulky, *Caturasra* square or angular, *Anuvṛttyaṁ* rounded or circular, *Śukla* clean, pure and white, *Kṛṣṇa* black or sombre, *Rakta* red or radiant, *Pīta* yellow and pallid, *Nilāruṇa* purple (also of mixed colours), *Kaṭhiṇa* hard and severe, *Cikkaṇa* sleek, glossy and smooth, *Ślakṣṇa* slim, fine, delicate and small, *Picchila* slimy, gliding or feathery and spreading like a peacock's tail, *Mṛdu* soft and tender, *Dāruṇa* rough and woody, stony and terrible." And he says, "Endless, and varied are the forms which our senses feel, perceive and observe. *Rūpabheda* means the analysis and synthesis of forms given to us by our five senses and our soul, our mind."[11] The last expression, "our soul, our mind" in relation to the knowledge of *rūpabheda*, leads him to a farther flight of subjectivism: "Only the knowledge of appearance gained through our inner sight will enable us to see and show real difference of forms."[12] Further, "The practice of *rūpabheda* in art is for the enhancement of the light-giving and

light-absorbing power of the mind. To see not merely with the sight or to paint not with our eyes only, but to see all objects in the light of *ruci* and to paint them with its enlightening touches—this is the law, and this is the lesson of *rūpabheda.* Mind enlightened with *ruci* is the best guide for discerning and depicting forms. When drawing forms it will be well to remember what Śukrācārya, our great art authority, has said about the making of images—" by no other way, not even by the way of sight."[13]

Rabindranath Tagore, reading Abanindranath's interpretation of six-limbs in painting, gives his own idea about them in an essay in Bengali entitled "*Chavir aṅga*" (Limbs of painting) in the mid-twenties. In explaining *rūpabheda* he further philosophises the term. According to him, "the very beginning is from differentiation of forms—*rūpabhedaḥ.* ... But in the differentiation only the dissimilarites become manifest. If along with that similarity is not shown, painting will turn into phantasm. In the creations of the world dissimilarity and similarety (disharmony and harmony) are closely related in all forms. In human creation if that law is not maintained, that creation actually becomes an act of destruction."[14] He fails not to recognize multiple manifestation of forms, but he also fails not to realise the formal unity of that multiplicity. This way, Rabindranath extends to a further limit the interpretation of *rūpabheda* by almost touching the Upaniṣadic concept of "the Unity of all Existence".

Akshaya Kumar Maitra, a pioneer amongst the historians of Indian art, in a rejoinder to the Bengali essay of Abanindranath on "Six-limbs" of painting, clearly records his disagreement with the latter's highly subjective interpretation of the six-limbs in general and *rūpabheda* in particular. He raises his objection to the very translation of the term as "Knowledge of Appearances" and states that "It is not "knowledge" but "act", and this "act" is more concerned with "unseen" than "seen". And the act is to achieve *bheda*, that is, "differentiation".[15] He recognizes the word as a technical term and explains it in the following words: "Each of the limbs is a receptacle of 'form'. To show differentiating one form from another in painting is known as '*rupabheda*'."[16]

While Percy Brown in his *Indian Painting*[17] accepts *rupabheda* as "The Knowledge of Appearance" following Abanindranath's view, Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*[18] contradicts this interpretation of the term. Objecting to Abanindranath's subjective translation of the term, Coomaraswamy offers that of his own as "Distinction of Types". But this rendering of *rupabheda* he further emends as "Differentiation of types" in a later date.[19] Karl Khandalavala, however, feels somewhat differently and gives his version of *rupabheda* as the differentiation and proportions of Forms.[20] To come to a better understanding of the implication of the term it would possibly be useful to take into consideration results of some recent studies in *Śilpa*-texts, which were almost unknown to Abanindranath when he ventured to give some explanation to the verse offered by Yaśodhara.

The Citrasūtra section of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, which is the most comprehensive and valued among the *Śilpa*- texts so far discovered, in its two verses gives the connoisseur's view of the merits and demerits of a painting of high order. It is interesting to note that among the eight merits of painting is a term *vibhaktatā*,[21] meaning 'separateness'. In this context, where stance (*sthāna*) proportion (*pramāṇa*), sweetness (*madhuratva*), perspective (*bhūlambho*) (?), similitude (*sādṛśya*) and the laws of diminution (*kṣaya*) and augmentation (*vṛddhi*) are mentioned as other merits, this 'separateness' should be understood as of nothing else but that of forms. For, the list enumerating the marks of demerits includes *avibhaktatva*,[22] that is, 'absence of separateness', along with such weeknesses as crude and crooked lines, wrong mixture of colours, and depiction of neck, lips and eyes in disproportionately big sizes. It is almost apparent that by the word *vibhaktatā* the author of the Citrasūtra indicates that very characteristic quality of painting termed *rupabheda* in Yaśodhara's verse. This coroboration of an authentic *Śilpa*-text, having bearing on the Gupta classical art, leads us almost to the interpretation of Coomaraswamy of the word *rūpabheda*, that is, 'Differentiation of forms', which is in implication much removed from Abanindranath's earlier rendering as 'Knowledge of Appearances".

For a better understanding of the 'act' of 'Differentiation of forms' by an artist on the flat ground of a painting, we cannot but discuss the point bit further. In the *Citrasūtra* section there is a chapter dealing with the technique of shading to impart modelling to forms, wherein it is clearly stated that shading (*vartanā*) is of three types, leafy (*patraja*), dotted (*vinduja*) and by hatching (*hairika*).[23] Besides, it is also mentioned in the text that a master-painter should be capable of demarcating areas of depression and elevation (*natonnatavibhaga*)[24] among other things in a painting. While the shading or *vartana* helps in giving desired shapes to forms and figures, the device of *rūpabheda* or *vibhaktatā*, as understood by us, takes the painter to another step forward, that is, to the area of space composition by creating voids or a sense of emptiness between the forms. This compositional concept appears to have played a definite role in the layout of narrative scenes at Ajanta and Bagh. For instance, in the memorable dancing scene of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* in Cave I at Ajanta, the arrangement of the musicians encircling the dancing girl succeeds in creating a broader space within which the latter creates a smaller one between her two swinging hands. In the process of this spatial figure composition we find not only *rūpabheda* or 'Differentiation of forms' but also *vibhaktatā* or 'separateness' between the forms by the formation of empty intervening areas among them. With the laws of foreshortening (*kṣayavṛiddhi*) and proportions (*pramāṇāni*) the device of *rūpabheda* and *vibhaktatā* plays a vital role in freeing the forms and figures from the two dimensional bondage that clings them to the flat ground of the painting. Here lies the importance of *rūpabheda* or space composition in the delineation of a painting in classical norms.

Notes and References

1. *Kāmasūtra*, Ch 3.
2. P.C. Bagchi in his *Forewad* to *Kamasutra*: *The Hindu Art of Love*, tr. and ed. by B.N. Basu, Calcutta, 1957, places Vātsyāyana to the fourth century A.D. and considers him to be an inhabitant of Western India, probably Ujjain.
3. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, Third Khaṇḍa (Text), ed. by Priyabala Shah, (G.O.S. No. CXXX) Baroda, 1958, Ch. 2, Verses 4-9.
4. *Ibid, Introductian*, p. xxvi.
5. Abanindranath Tagore in his *Bhāratašilper Ṣa'aṅga* (in Bengali), Calcutta, B.S. 1354, p. 1 assigns Yaśodhara to the eleventh-twelfth century, while Coomaraswamy to the twelfth or thirteenth century in his *Transformation of Nature in Art*, New York, 1956, p, 181.
6. The essays were published in the Bengali literary journal *Bhāratī* in B.S. 1321.
7. *Ṣaḍaṅgaa or Six Limbs of Painting*, The Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1921; *Sadanga, ou le six canons de la Peinture, hindoue*, Edition Bossard, Paris, 1922.
8. See *Bhāratatšilper Ṣa'aṅga*, *Op. Cit.* p. 6.
9. See "Sadanga: Six Limbs of Painting" by Abanindranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore Special of the Golden Jubilee Volume of the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 12.
10. Quoted in above from the *Mahābhārata*, Sāntiparvan, Mokṣadharma, Ch. 184, Verses 33-34.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid*, 13
13. *Ibid*, 14.
14. *Rabindra-Racanāvalī*, Vol. 18, Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, B.S. 1389, p. 514.
15. Akshaya Kumar Mitra, *Bhārata-Śilper Kathā*, Calcutta, B.S. 1389, p. 75.
16. *Ibid*
17. Brown, Percy, *Indian Painting*, Seventh Edition, Calcutta, 1960, p. 22.
18. Coomaraswamy, A.K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965. p. 88.
19. *Transformation of Nature n Art op, Cit.*
20. Khandalavala, Karl, *The Development of Style in Painting*, Bombay 1974, p. 10. It is conspicuous that notwithstanding thc presence of the term *pramāṇāni* in the *ṣadaṅga*, that clearly stands for 'proportions', Khandalavala by *rūpabehda* means both "the differentiation and proportions of Forms." His translation of *pramāṇa* as dealing with LINE is not acceptable at all.
21. *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa op. pit.*, Ch. 43. Verse 19, p. 155.
22. *Ibid*, verse 17.
23. *Ibid*, Ch. 41, p. 144; also see Asok K. Bhattacharya, *Technique of Indian Painting*, Calcutta, 1976, pp. 102-104, for further discussion on *vartanā*.

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The Town in Central Asia and Northern India of the Kushana Period
(a parallelism)

B.A. LITVINSKY

Justin (XLI, 4) states Bactria as the country of thousand cities. Chang-Kies wrote that in Ferghana—a comparatively small valley to the east of Central Asia there were more than 70 fortified towns and settlements. Network of large and small urban settlements covered the whole territory of Central Asia throughout its history—from the late bronze age to modern time.

Civilisation of ancient and medieval Central Asia comes to a system of urban civilisation, a broad belt of which bordered the southern and the western parts of Eurasia. Adjoining them towards the north and the east there was the opposite belt of the steppe, the forest steppe and the arctic types. This is more or less a general characteristic. The more detailed examinations of the communities having disintegrated on the mosaic of archaeological culture have related with the chronology and local crossings of the ethnic and administrative units with their complicated and inter-connected history. The boundaries of these two types of civilisations from the region where the flow of reciprocity of economic, cultural, ethnic and social exchanges were most interesting. Among them the following regions may be referred, specially, the towns of North Black Sea and Scythia, towns of Central Asia and the steppe and mountains of Central Asian Kazakhstan with their cattle breeding population. These

nomadic and half nomadic population entered the constitution of land tilling oases. These external factors changed it into an internal organic component of ethnic, economic and cultural system of the Oases.

Other speciality in the history of Central Asian city stipulated by the political and economic history of Central Asia should have a very significant role, which played in its evolution as models and influence coming from the west (from Iran, Graeco-Hellenistic world) and from the south (from India).

Researches of the history of ancient Central Asian city entail enormous difficulties. Written historical sources are altogether scanty and the unilateral epigraphic materials are irregular, above all, insignificant. Archaeological study is comparatively insufficient; not a single large city of Central Asia was excavated properly. In Khawrezm, some of the basic characteristics of the plan were brought to light without excavation, but in other provinces the ancient cities are represented only as the amorphous round mounds, many important of these, particularly in Bactria and Markanda-Samarkand were opened to their last stratum. At present detailed scheme of the town-planning as well as social structure of ancient Central Asian cities remains unknown. Only the individual element of town buildings (fortification, public structures etc.), architecture and its building works, handicarfts productions were discovered sufficiently fully. This brings to note, though incomplete but in all its basic facts (properly its separate contours) of history of ancient Central Asian city.

As regards the status of Central Asian cities, their internal organisation and social structure we at first turn to *a priori* argument and extrapolation on the whole, not certifying the facts. During excavations, different types of architectural monuments and art objects were recovered and those were studied by the archaeologists, architects and art critics. Mainly these works serve new materials to understand the history of town-planning, architecture and arts of the ancient Central Asia. Their inter-actions with the art of the neighbouring countries place the roles of the art of Central Asian and the art of East as a whole.[1]

In one of our works, using the results of archaeological researches, consulting also the other sources and comparing them with the neighbouring countries, we have tried to trace the main line of development of the Central Asian cities and their different stages (Litvinsky, 1973a). The following periodisations are suggested: I proto-towns; II-most ancient urban settlements (closing of the 2nd to first quarter of the 1st millennium B.C.); III-formation of ancient towns of Central Asia (6th-4th centuries B.C,); IV-town building dualism and the beginning of Central Asian—Hellenistic synthesis of City (4th-2nd cents. B.C.); V-the climax of the development of ancient Central Asian city (1st cent. B.C.- 3rd-4th centuries A.D.), a Central Asian-Hellenistic-Indian synthesis.[2]

Following years bring forth a large number of new publications, research papers, making broader and deeper our suggestions to determine the characteristics of different historical periods of Central Asian towns, town planning, urban artifacts, inter-relations with the cities, rural population and palaces. The vast extension of archaeological materials allows to go into more details about the formation and the character of ancient city of Central Asia. This is possible due to the excavation in different places such as Khawrezm,[3] Sogd,[4] and on the right bank of Bactria.[5]

The most prospective in this respect is the excavation in Keezil tepes, done under the guidance of G.A. Pugachenkova. There ancient settlements of 9th-8th centuries have come to light. In the 7th-6th centuries B.C., its area was increased, encircling with the strong fortified walls. Parts of its population extended beyond the limits of the walls. A group of monumental structure has come into existence on the place for the first time. In the Achaemenid period, there was an urban settlement in Mirshad oasis, where a rural settlement is also discovered,[6] V.I. Sarianidi explored Achaemenid remains on the left bank of Bactria, among which Kultug tepe and Altin 10 are notable. V.I. Sarianidi has pointed out that the sources of the monumental architectures of these settlements found their origin in the architectures of the Bronze epoch (1977-1977a).

Following may be added to this that the architectural monuments of Bactria in the Achaemenid period are the output of several constructions and compositional schemes which in their turn served as the foundation for the later development in the Kushana epoch, and in definite cases—in the medieval epoch. In our work on the analysis of the character of the Central Asian city of this time (Litvinsky, 1973a, pp. 104-107) it is pointed out that "out of the decaying condition of primitive strata at the base of settlement of the epoch of bronze to the end of the 2nd to 1st millennium B.C. originate the first urban settlements with separate citadels....". It is further advised to compare the relations of central Asian city with those of the ancient Mesopotamia, where according to I.M. Diakonov, economic-political unit was called 'nom', i.e., a group of inhabited localities which included, not big (upto three) members of inter-dependent centres on one hand, and, on the other, the relation with a single main canal or simply one of the narrow strips of the main flow of these rivers.[7] In his articles V.M. Masson wrote on the process of ancient Central Asian urbanisation (1973; details: 1974; 1976). His opinion is completely identical with us. New informations of genetic connection of town planning of Achaemenid period with those of the late bronze age were brought to light by the excavation conducted by the Soviet-Afghan archaeological expedition (Kruglikova, Sarianidi, 1976, pp. 9-12). I.V. Piankov has systematised and investigated the evidences of the ancient authors on the towns of the Achaemendis in Central Asia (1973). Interesting materials of the Graeco-Bactrian time were recovered

at the time of excavation of the temple complex at Sakshanaheer (Tadjikistan) (Litvinsky, Mukhitdinov) and by the expedition in Takti-Sangina (Litvinsky, Pichikyan).

Extensive works of excavation were done on the monuments of the Kushana and Post-Parthian periods. An enormous number of publications and research works were made on this category of monuments. Among the published materials mention may be made of two monographs by C.A. Pugachenkova on Khalchyan and its arts (1966; 1971), descriptions on the materials excavated in Parthian rural settlements at Harri-Kyariz by V.N. Pilinko (Pilinko), collective monograph on the excavation at Dalvarjin tepe (Pugachenkova, Rtviladje and others), book on the rural habitates in Khawrezm by E.E. Nirazik (1976). The publications by O.T. Kruglikova and G.A. Pugachenkova (Kruglikova, 1974; Kruglikova, Pugachenkova; Pugachenkova, 1976) on the excavations of the years 1970-1973 in Delverjin by the Soviet Afghan expedition answer all the questions related to it. The institute of Ethnography of AN, USSR includes in their reports the excavation at Toprak-Kala, but still the monograph of the excavation was not published (authors collections: B.I. Veinberg, M.S. Lapirov-Skoblo, V.A. Livshisel, E.E. Nerajik, U.A. Rapaport, S.A. Trudnovsky). Many articles published in four books on the excavations on the right and left banks of Bactria and most of thesē are the study of the Kushana monuments. Articles on the excavations of monuments of the Kushana and Parthian times are published in the series of books and journals.

We are not able to characterise even in short all the excavations though they are very important cities. We only point out the special significance of plan of the cities which are obtained as a result of several years' excavations under the supervisions of G.A. Pugachenkova[9] in Delvarjin-tepe and Khawrezm expedition in Toprak-Kala.[10] Mention may be made of the excavations under the guidance of V.M. Masson in Zar-tepe, (1977), by R. Sulliman in Er-Kurgan,[11] of the works of South Tadjikistan expedition (the supervisors are A.A. Abdulaev, I.N. Medvedskaya, E.V. Zeimal, T.I. Zeimal, N.R. Pichikyan, A.V. Sedov). Buddhist complexes at Karo-tepe (excavator B.Ya. Stavisky)[12] and Fiyaz-tepe (L.I. Albayan, 1974-1976) in Terner are studied in details by the archaeologists.

All these vast materials appear as the main source for the reconstruction of the history of different spheres of life and, at the same time, the evolution of central Asian cities during the time of the Kushanas. Most essential are the epigraphic and numismatic finds.[13] However, due to the scarcity of written sources, especially the epigraphic, as we have referred to before, most of the important aspects of the history of Central Asian cities still remain obscure. So the parallel materials from the neighbouring regions are of utmost importance.

K.V. Trever and J. Harmatta hold the view that we must look for Indian sources to have an idea of the condition of Bactria (Trever, 1950; p. 94; Harmatta,

1964, p. 387). In this regard, it is specially interesting to compare the cities of India and Central Asia, during the time of the Kushana empire.

The common historical situation in the bulk of the Central Asian territory during 1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. created such a situation that the productive forces achieved the highest level of development. A powerful Kushana state came into being uniting the various provinces of eastern part of Central Asia, Afghanistan and Northern India. This unification is characterised by not only the political and administrative but also by the growing economic and cultural relations. But the Parthian kingdom continued its existence (upto 3rd century A.D.) in the parts of the territory of Central Asia, in Southern Turkhmenia.[14]

The urban life in Central Asia became more intensive than the preceding period. Following four features may be noted:

1. Numerical growth of the network of the urban settlements appearance of new, not found earlier, cities. Maximum number of cities appeared in Central Asia than any other period of history.
2. The growth of the city area in place of the old, ancient cities by increasing the thickness of urban construction.[15]
3. Continuation of the threefold structure of the city: the citadel—the town itself—suburb (including, besides the dwellings and productive complexes, the cult, particularly the Buddhist, Buddhist constructions and also the necropolis). With the scheme of the trepartite towns there are also other towns, particularly, without citadels.
4. There are principal changes in the internal socio-economic organisation of the cities. Powerful role of the city in the system of economic life of the city, all stimulating the growth of the urban trade in quantitative as well as qualitative sense, including specialisation. The city became the centre of the productive commodities and this has a great significance here in the system of the town, village and the nomadic steppe.[16]

With this the role of cities as the centres of the ideological life is accelerated that contributes to concentrate the cult buildings in the cities. So the towns turn to be an important assembly of all infra-structures of the Kushana kingdom.

Hundred-ten Kushana monuments were registered in Surkhan-dakya province the main parts of which are situated on the valley of the rivers. Most of the data, supplied by Rtveladge were studied in details, two or three belonged to the Achaemenid-period (first group of his classification); nearly twenty to the Seleucid-Graeco-Bactrian-period (second group); nearly 70-80 to the Kushana epoch (third group).

In the second group he includes the big cities like Termey, Delverjin-tepe, Koi-Kobad-Shah and Shahrinau. At last in the Kushana period sprang up only one big

city i.e. Zar-tepe, many small and tiny cities (having an area of 1-3 hecter), and rural settlements (area of 0.2-1 hecter). According to Rtveladje, among the Kushana sites 10 large settlements, nearly 20 small settlements, and about 60 settlements are in the Surkhan-darya province. He further shows that the settlements in the Surkhan-darya were in existence in the preceding epoch but during the Kushana period grew up significantly in town planning as well as in demographical relations and the planning obtained a new feature (1978, p. 114).[17] Totally analogous picture has been found in the territory of South Tadjikistan by the operations of south Tadjikistan expedition.

Predominent form of the city of the new Kushana epoch continued to remain rectangular: scarcely having the other features (e.g. trapezium type, round or angled). Again some of the chief (probably originated in the preceding periods) cities were very large as Shahrinau town site (Hissar Valley) having 350 hec. (Davidovich, 1956, p. 76 ff)[18] i.e. its area is one and half times bigger than Afreasiab or Er-Kurgan (Kashka-darya) consisting of 150 hec. (Kabanov, 1952, p. 106 ff; 1953, pp. 4-7; 1956. p. 164 ff). With the big cities there were also small and medium size). Some of them did not possess citadels; others, e.g., Delverdjin-tepe in Surkhan-darya (having more than 32 hec. with its suburb containing apx. 50 hec.) and Zar-tepe (nearly 17 hec.) (Albaum, 1960, pp. 12-16; Pugachenkova, 1971a, p. 187 ff.; Pugachenkova Rtveadje and others, p. 7), Toprak-Kala in Khawrezm (nearly 17.5 hec.) (Tolstov, 1968a p. 119 ff) possessed the strong citadels.

But in the parts of the Kushana kingdom in India, urbanisation made a significant progress. A.H. Dani and F. Khan write "the city centres in the Kushana period increased and included more areas". So far extant sites of the city mounds (in the province of Peshawar Valley) are concerned, it is surprising to note in the province of Peshawar the modern urbanisation has not yet reached to that level (of the Kushana period—B.C.). In the Kushana period the urbanisation was based on the development of production as well as on the thorough trade passage (Dani, Khan, p. 102). According to A. Ghosh, within the limit of the Kushana territory in Northern India there were a large number of cities in Punjab as well as in the Gangetic basin (Ghosh, A., 1975. p. 109). These observations are based on the excavations in the majority of the cities.[19]

In the presence of the great background of archaeological materials in Central Asian cities the written records are comparatively scanty. On the other hand, for North India there are various types of epigraphic and written records, belonging from the end of the 1st millennium B.C. to the first half of the 1st millennium A.D., having witnessed the various informations about the economic and social history, particularly of the towns.

Valuable informations about the towns are found in the *Milinda-Pañho* dated c. Ist century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.[20] Other source of informations is the

Arthaśāstra evidently of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., containing informations of the Maurya epoch particularly of the towns (Bongard Levin,pp. 23-26).[21]

The evidence of the city has been also found in the Jain canons (*Jain Sūtras*. Chandra, p. 163 sq). The *Jātakas* (*Jātaka*, Auboyer), the epics (Grinser),[22] the special books on architecture (*Vāstu Śastra*)[23] may also be referred to in this connection. All these sources are corroborated by each other and with the architectural treatises which form a special class of literature. (Stein O., Schlingloff, 1970, S. 8-12). Evidences of epigraphical sources are of special significance.

The *Arthaśāstra* gives the evidence that during the erection of the fortresses and of human settlements following characteristics of the locality should be taken into consideration; final selection should be approved by the architect. The town must be strongly reinforced; there should be three properties—the moat full of water, barrage, the city walls with square bastions etc. Three roads should cut the town sharply, four among the twelve entrances of the city have been considered as chief. Within the city the arrangements of different premises followed a strict order from the palace and temples to the quarters of the artisans (KA,2,3,1-32; 2,4, 1-32) *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 57-62; Kangle, p. 61-72; Schlingloff, 1967, S. 45-72). The streets and dwelling area must be in good order—see *Vibhakta*(*Rām.*, 1,5,8; 1,5,10; V. 53, 20 and others; *Mbh.*, I, 199, 34).

There are vivid descriptions of the process of town construction in the *Milinda-Pañho*.

"The architect, builder of the city at first should find out the place which must be flat without elevation, without depression, less strong and gravelled, secure, not easily accessible and pleasant. After this he has to make uneven surface flat, clean the trees and woods of the surroundings so that he may be able to found the city there. The city must be beautiful, disciplined with beautiful plan, with deep, well-protected moats, encircled by the city walls. There should be durable city gates, watch-towers, innumerable cross-roads, squares, intersected places connected with three or four streets. Main streets should be clean, flat and even; market shops must be arranged in order. There should be plenty of parks, lakes and ponds with lotuses and reservoirs; it should be decorated with various types of sanctuaries dedicated to the gods". After the completion of the city-building, the architect-builder may pass to another place (*Milinda Questions* II, pp. 170-171).[24] If the constructed city becomes prosperous and crowded, it may be inferred: "the architect is indeed intelligent," who was the builder of this city (*Ibid*, pp. 171-172).

The city Sagala (Mod. Sialkot) has some common features (in many respects) with the descriptions of an ideal city. From this description we also come to know that the city-gateways contained the watch-towers. The city was surrounded by deep

moat and enclosing walls. For the vehicles there were big highways in the city. There were many trade-buildings, thousands of richly decorated premises, "hundred thousands dwellings".

In addition to this in another place the source contains: After that the region, destined for the erection of the city, will be cleared and made even, the architect-builder lays out (*paricchindati*) the arrangements of the roads, meant for the vehicles, of the squares and of the places from where come out the highways for vehicles; of the squares and places where three or four highways join together (*Mil.*, II, 34) (*Milanda Questions*, I, pp. 1-2). We come to know that in the city there were special official supervisors who sat in the centre on the crossings of the city and might keep everybody under observation coming from eastern, southern, western or northern directions of the city (*Mil.* II, 62) (*ibid*, i, p. 64). From another ancient Indian source (the *Jātakas*) we have the evidence that the city had a special officer—*dovārika* who had been entrusted with the duty to close the entrance at night and at the same time to show the way to the foreigners (Fick, p. 158).

The *Milinda-pañho* represents a lively picture of the city, i.e. "the elephants, horses, carriages, pedestrians, groups of beautiful men and women, crowds of inhabitants, soldiers, the *Brāhmaṇas*, traders and working people and also the individual ascetics and *Brāhmaṇas* have along the streets (*Mil.* I, 1-2) (*Milinda Questions*, I, pp. 1-2). On the streets galloped the riders (*Mil.* V, 331) (*ibid.* II, p. 171). There were also many strangers coming from other provinces of India and among them had been the Śakas, Graeco-Bactrian or ethnic Greeks (*Yavana*), Chinese (*Chīna*) (*Mil.* V, 321) (*ibid*, II, pp. 171-172).

The shops were full of commodities: Banaras Muslin, various kinds of jewellery made of silver, bronze and stones might be purchased there (*Mil.* 1, 2) (*ibid* 1, p. 3). The streets were overflowing with various kinds of leaves, fruits and roof-crops, fish, meat, and various foods were sold there (*Mil.* V, 331) (*ibid*, II, pp. 171-172).

The ancient Indian literatures represent a vivid, clear and beautiful picture of Indian city-life. Such as *Ubhayābhisārikā* states about the town of Kusumapura where there were the rows of houses, neat and clean streets with canals and reservoirs. The commodities were sold and purchased in the street shops. (*Ubhayā-bhisārikā*, 8, 5).[25]

In the subsequent period *Pādatāḍitaka*[26] mentions that in the streets there were the music, the sound of women's ornaments monotonous singing voice of the Vedic chants, the sounds of the axe of the butcher's shops, the clonging of the vessels and the loud voice of the domestic parrots. The city was full upto the brim by the

local population, visitors coming from various parts of India and also by the foreigners among whom there were the Sakas, Yavanas and the Tuşkaras (Tokharian). The visit of the inhabitants of Balkh (Bactria) is also mentioned. Some of the foreigners had settled there (Transt, I.D. Serebriakov, p. 22, 24, 30, 35, 105).[27]

There were in the centre of the city the residence of the rulers, the richest and multistoried buildings. All of these were not necessarily the palace of the rulers. Many of these buildings were used for the social purpose, i.e., hospitals, maternity home, veterinary shelters and the hotels visited by the travellers and pilgrims, the schools etc. There were also the administrative buildings of the city, and the state (Auboyer, p. 123), as well as a few picture galleries (*chitraśālā*). These were open for public. For this purpose the buildings were built with special care, particularly in connection with the proper lighting. Usually the picture galleries consisted of several halls connected with doors, stair etc. The picture was painted on the walls of the main gallery (*vīthī*). These paintings were related with the celestial world, illustrating the episodes of the epics or the representations of the astrological symbols. The rich citizens, sometimes even the prosperous courtesans, possessed the galleries. There were large picture galleries in the King's palace. The excellent galleries belonged to the private owners. *Ratnāvalī*, the play of Harsha, refers to such gallery at the entrance of the palace (7th century A.D.) Harsha, pp. 177, 181). In the palace there was special musical hall (*ibid*, p. 185) (or "the hall for musical performance") (*Kālidāsa*, 1978, p. 29).

According to other sources, there were mobile gallerises on the special carts which moved round the big cities (Sivaramamurti, 1934, pp. 169-185; 1955, p. 72 et. sq; Auboyer, pp. 123-124).

There were various descriptions of the palace, i.e., imperial, the palaces of the nobles and of the courtesans. So the *Pādatāḍitaka* contains the descriptions of the magnificent palaces which "seem to be brought to the earth from the heaven" (transt. I.D. Serebriakova) (Ghosh, M., p. 121).

The palace buildings consisted of more than a floor with numerous premises decorated with the sculptures, carvings, and paintings. In the imperial park with islets summer house was created (*Pādatāḍitaka* p. 33); (Ghosh, M., p. 123). From the literature it is evident that city-house often possessed the garden in the courtyard (*Kāmasūtra*, IV, 3); that kind of garden was in the house of one of the merchants (*Sūdraka*, 3nd act) etc. (Schlingloff, 1970, S. 25-26).

The market of bazar appears to be a most lively part of the city. (transl. I.D. Seribriakova, comp.) (Ghosh M., p. 118).

Shops were overcrowded wite men and the women coming from different provinces to buy and sell commodities (p. 26) (Ghosh M., p. 117-118).

There were shops in other places also, e.g. the "main streets" had the shop where salt was sold (p. 68).[28]

The *Pañchatantra* (III, 5, 95) refers to the merchant's house which was situated in the main street of the city. The main street is called *rājamārga* (*Pañchatantra*, pp. 165-364).

A particular area of the city and village was occupied by the merchants. This was evident not only from the literary sources but also from the archaeological findings. J. Obui states that the row of small shops with verandah was always situated above the street level and faced towards the streets. These were closely adjacent to each other, only separated by the vertical partitions. At night the facade was closed by a movable venetian blind. The merchants with their families lived on the upper floor in small rooms or in the premises on the other side of the inner court-yard. The whole day the merchant sat crosslegged on the wooden floor on his commercial premises (Auboyer, p. 87). A much clear picture was found in the excavation at Bhita (Marshall J...1915, p. 32) and in iconography, i.e., cave No. XVII of Ajanta (Yazdani, pl. XXIII).

Outside the city-wall there was suburb (Auboyer, p. 125). Mention may be made according to the architectural canon, the *Mānasāra-Vāstu-Śāstra* which enumerates various kinds of town planning, i.e., rectangular, lotus-shaped, semi-circular with the network of the main highways, a few of them crossed at the centre (Acharya, pp. 175-284).[29] But in practice the city was set up in quadrangular shape (Schlingloff, 1970, S. 45-46) having the main entrance on the east.[30]

In every sector of the city there was the network of small by-lanes crossing at right angle, dividing the city into blocks.

Sometimes it is called 81 block-*pada*. But the number, most probably, is ritualistic. As is shown by V.V. Virtogradova that the division of 81 *pada* is related with the *maṇḍala*, the cosmic diagram, the representation of the body of the cosmic man *Purusha* On the basis of this *maṇḍala* (it is well known as the *mandala* of Paramshaika) the town was planned and the house was built (Virtogradova, pp. 300-303).

According to the Indian architectural canon, each of this block (*pada*) is associated with some deity i.e. protector of that block. This deity—*Padika*, or *Padabnuja* was called *Dvipadika* or *dvipadādhīśa*, if it protected the two blocks, and *ṣaṭpada* for six blocks. According to one of the canons, the protector of the central block was Brahmā (Shukla, D.N., pp. 194-205). According to the texts, each block was surrounded by the walls and possessed a definite autonomy having its own reservoir, sacred tree, temple dedicated to local deity (Auboyer, pp. 120-121). It is interesting to compare the functions with the late medieval blocks of Central Asia.

As pointed out by O.A. Sukharev that the opening of the locked door of the individual structure of these blocks led to the streets. The people of each block formed a community. For general use there were common bathing places, the premises for ablution, the mosque. The latter appears to be a centre of commercial life of the block. The inhabitants of the block participated in public works of welfare. All the dwellers of the block took part in the sacrificial meal, family festival etc. Ceremonial rituals benefitted the dwellers and gave the spirit to be united more closely. Side by side with the mosques there were sacred places like burials within the limit of the block. Above all, the block was named after the mosque of the region (Sukhareva, 1958, 1966; see also Turosunov).

O.A. Sukhareva has aptly pointed out that most of the blocks found in Bukhara had their own peculiarity at least in the medieval period, and some of them might be related to much earlier period. Above all, it might be considered as the universal character of the city settlement that they were complicated in their structure; their nature to dismemberment into different parts was comparatively less in relation to the total organisation of the city and the division in dwelling blocks was foremost (Sukhareva, 1976, p. 327).

The comparison of the Indian materials with the Central Asian represents their parallelism and makes a very probable suggestion that the history of town-blocks in Central Asia originated at the dawn of the development of city-life. During the Kushana age, Central Asian city also possessed the square blocks; the block community played a definite role in the life of the city organisation. As a corroborative evidence one can see, specially, into the sharp divisional blocks in Toprak-Kala where along the sides of the central highways five rectangular blocks of 100×40 m were arranged symmetrically (Nerazik and Rapaport, S. 84, fig. 5). But in Delverjin-tepe we find the innerblocks of reservoir (Pugachenkova and Rtveladje and others, p. 189); in Zar-tepe and Delverjin-tepe, the blocks of sanctuary have been seen (Masson, V.M., 1978, p. 354; Pugachenkova, 1981).

In India city administration was entrusted to the Governors. He was served by three high officials, the block supervisor had under him 10, 20 or 40 families. He should know all about the dwellers of the block, their castes, names, occupations, incomes and expenditure. Similarly in each block there had been a regional supervisor (*Sthānikaḥ*) carrying on the works of the city (K.A. II, 36, 1-3) (Kangle, p. 185,... *Arthaśāstra*, p. 153).

There were also the block inspectors in Sassanian Iran (Perikhania, pp. 894-496). This type of "heads of blocks" were found in the cities of Central Asia in the medieval period (in Merv and Nishapur). It is evident that the block was surrounded by the walls (Belinitsky, Bentovich, Balshakor, pp. 216, 326, 334-335).

In 19th and 20th centuries in Bukhara, the blocks were subdivided into groups. There were altogether 220 blocks which were again subdivided into 17 microregions.

A governor had been on each micro-region. Every six micro-regions formed into a powerful unit being governed by the administrative ruler (Sukharev, 1976, p. 330).[31] Perhaps it is a striking message of the Indian cities of the Kushana period, as demonstrated in Tashkent in 18th century, which possessed an "aristocratic republic" at that time. A high-administrative organ consisting of ten "city-masters" was in the city which was subdivided into four divisions having a governor on each division (Chexovich).

In India, town administration was controlled by the artisans consisting of merchants and traders. We have the information that the town committee in some of the cities had the power of coining money having possession of the mint. According to Megasthenes (Strabo, XV, 1, 51), the town was administered by six committees, each consisting of five people entrusted with a definite function (Bongard Levin, pp. 197, 202).

Now we turn to the archaeological materials.[32]

An extensive study was done on Taxila, the city in north India. Sir J. Marshall carried out excavations here during 1931-1934 and later this was continued by A. Ghosh from 1944 to 1945. The ancient city of Taxila was situated on 'Bhir mound'. In the beginning of 2nd century B.C., the city extended towards the north-east, on the other bank of the great river. Graeco-Bactrian city occupied the parts of the mound of Kaccha-Kot and northern part of Sirkap. For this the city extended to the south, and in Ist century B.C. the town was enclosed with stone walls measuring 5.5. km. in length (from 4.5 to 6.5 m. in height). This is the modern Sirkap, the northern and eastern walls of which were straight and the southern and the western corresponded with the mound and the river Lomani.

The city extended from north to south 1300 m. and from east to west was (maximum) 900m. The town was divided into two unequal parts—the lower (northern) town and upper (southern) town. Along the boundary the parts of the walls are preserved. The chief highways cut the city from north to south, (along this run the northern walls having the length of 600 m. excavated by Marshall). Sub-streets came out from it perpendicullarly. The gap (36.4 m or little more) between these streets was occupied by the block with the city edifices.

The rows of shops were situated along the both sides of the main streets. Here and there various kinds of edifices stood, specially the *stūpa*. The dwelling houses were behind the shops and the sanctuaries. To the east of the chief highway stood the imperial palace. This region was occupied by the rich dwelling houses. These were of two-stories. The temple of Jandial was situated within the city, at the distance of nearly 650 m. from the north gateways. It is a regret that the third zone of Taxila, i.e., Sirsukh related to the Kushana period (the size of the city was about 1370 × 1000 m.) was, excavated on a very small scale.[33]

The analogous plan was seen in the second city of Charsadda in Shaikhandheri. The aerial photograph showed the clear plan that there was no room for doubt. The city was divided by the network of streets coming from one direction. The distance between two central highways was 47 m. Between them, in the centre of the city, there was a sanctuary, most probably the Budhist *stūpa* (Wheeler, 1948, pp. 99-103; 1962, p. 16-17, pl. XV-XVI). According to the excavators, the city most probably existed in 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. (Dani 1955-56; p. 17 et. sq).

Bhita is the modern name of a place, situated 16 km. south-east of Allahabad. The ancient name of the city on the basis of inscriptions found here was Vichi. Marshall conducted the excavations here during 1909-1912. The area of the city was about 0.26 sq. km. and 1 to 1.5% areas was excavated. The thickness of the enclosing walls was 3.4 m. having the height nearly 12 m. The southern area was excavated. The area of the city was divided by straight parallel streets. One of them (Marshall called it "Main road") started at the city-gateway directed to the san tuary in the centre, being 9 m. in breadth. Parallel to it there was a second road (situated at a distance of 45 m.) having only 4 m. wide (it was named the "street of bastion").[34] The houses situated along this or other streets were identical in plan, but they were enormously bigger on the Ist street. Two rows of houses did occupy the region, in between the parallel streets. The houses were two-three storeyed and seemed to accommodate 10 to 20 people. The city had about 940 such buildings and consisted of 10-20 thousand people (Marshall, J., 1911, pp. 127-141; 1915; see also Schlingloff, S. 24-27).

We should describe some houses, excavated in Bhita. There was almost a square (14×13.4) m. house in the block subdivided by the lanes, adjacent to the first more wide main street. It consisted of a rectangular courtyard along the parameter of which 12 rectangular or square premises were situated. There were two entrances on the two opposite directions (on north-east and south-west). In one of the corner premises there were the foundations of the four columns. On the basis of the width of the walls it has been suggested that the building possessed the second storey.

According to J. Marshall, the building was constructed during the time of the Mauryas. According to the reading of an inscription, i.e., *Sahijitiya nigamasa* found on a seal discovered here in one of the buildings (at the depth of 60 cm.) belonging to much earlier period relates the house as the "office" of a *nigama* i.e. corporation. Therefore, in the view of J. Marshall, the said building was the house of the guild (1915, pp. 30-32; 47: see also 1911, pl. 1).

The names of the owners of different houses are also found on the seals. Those houses were of Nāgadeva, Jayavasuda and others. The house of Nāgadeva was built

in Ist century B.C. with baked bricks of usual size (34.6×30.7 cm.) though changed into more bigger brick-tiles. The walls were repaired several times. The house consisted of two parts. That part which was open towards the main streets, Marshall holds as the shop. Stupendous stairs at the side of the ground platform led to the central rectangular premises of the shop from the street: there were also two wings, all these three extended in line (along the street). For this one might have gone to the courtyard the back side of which was occupied by the dwellings (11.3×10.4 m.). It consisted of inner courtyard (so, there was double-courtyard composition-B.L.).

The house consisted of enclosed cells, separated each other by massive masonery. The facade was open to the highway. The other three sides of the house were surrounded by lanes. One of these three sides had an additional exit.

Above type of building belonging to the Ist century B.C. was continuing its existence during the Kushana period, as is evident from the 17 coins belonging to Kanishka and Huvishka, discovered here.

Reference may be made of a seal made of ivory discovered in the layers IV.V in one of the neighbouring house with analogous plan, as described above (only an additional tank in the courtyard and an underground cell in one of the corner rooms). The seal bears the inscription *Śreṣṭhī Jayavasuda* (Marshall J., 1915, pp. 36,48). According to Marshall, this person "Merchant Jayavasuda (the owner of the house?) belonged to the aforesaid corporation.

It has already been told that this house was surrounded by lanes (as also in other houses in Bhita). Not only in Bhita, but also everywhere in Vaisali, Rajagriha, Kolhapur etc., the house was surrounded by narrow streets. According to written records, the breadth of such by-lanes was three steps (Schlingloff, 1970, S. 27-28).[35]

In Sisupalgarh (ancient Kalinganagar?), the ancient city occupied an area of 1.36 km, having the rampart (10m. high) enclosing an almost rectangular area. There were bastions in the corners. The fortification indicates a clear plan. According to B.B. Lal, the city had a regular network of streets coming from east to west and north to south which crossed each other within the city (Lal; p. 62-105).

Elements of perfect rectangular plan related with the Hippoto-system has been shown by R. Ghirshman in Begram (1946, pp. 17-19. pl. XXIV). This system was not unique in India, e.g. Udigram (Gullini, 1962, p. 173 et. sq; Faccena, 1964, pp. 14-23).

Not a single city in Central Asia had the systematic plan of network as clearly seen in Taxila. Together with this one might say that most probably some

of these elements were present there. Specially Kei-Kobad-Shakh[36] Kukhna-Kala etc. are referred to in this regard.

The plan of Khawrazmian Toprak-Kala is more akin to the above-mentioned scheme. The dwelling houses were divided into two parts by the central highway of the city. The city was divided by the streets into ten blocks arranged symmetrically. Though the virgin soil related to IV-V strata (in few cases to VI-VIII strata), the system of plan appears on II-III strata. The size of the blocks was 40×100 m. while the width of the streets was 4.5 m. and 10 m. (the central highway). The disintegration of one of such blocks of Toprak-Kala belonging to the 4th-5th century A.D., appears to be complicated. Still it is not clear whether these were united into a single massive structure or they were representations of isolated houses.[37]

G.A. Pugachenkova points out a striking similarity in the construction of Khalchayan with the buildings found in Karabagtepe and in Khanakatepe immediately close to each other within half a kilometer distance. If it is so, then we are right to suggest that the main highways of the big blocks and large complex were strictly parallel. This is represented without any question in Khanakatepe where southern boundary of the dwellings, western house, the palace seemed to be single construction of a wide block (1966, p. 256).

Some scholars (Ghirshman, 1946, p. 18; Marshall J. 1961, 1; Wheeler, 1948, p. 112; 1962, p. 17; Pugachenkova, 1966, p. 254) suggest the Hellenistic influence on the systematic plan sometimes which is called by the name Hippodama.[38] Here it is not possible to study the problem to what extent the Hipp. system of town planning had been influenced by the Greeks from the practice of the town planning of the east.[39] Only it may be said that in east during the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, the system of regular planning was largely practised.[40] Obviously this was related with the local principles and tradition of town planning (already present in ancient east and found in many ancient cities).[41] Most probably the regular network planning had the local source in India and also in central Asia. Together with this there was probably the direct influence of Hellenic (through Roman medium) tradition. It is found in Surkh-kotal that there was a Greek architect (named Palanod) among the builders (Harmatta. 1960, p. 192; 1964, pp. 374, 388-389) and the fresco of the 3rd period in Miran represented (written in *Kharoṣṭhī*) the name of the artist Jila which, according to the scholars, is the *Prākṛit* form of the Roman name Jilus (Busagli, S. 21,25).

In the field of archaeology in the Hellenic sector, usually both in India and Central Asia, there was the domination of the Kushana culture. This is evident from the manifestation of stone columns, though the course of development of the columns in India and Central Asia during the Kushana period considerably differed. As a

result of the dissemination of Buddhism in Central Asia, and the adoption of its cult, architecture which tends to the influence of local building tradition, turned into new forms, unknown in Indian building in architectural composition. A new impulsive idea (in the construction) of shrine having the roundabout corridor was evolved due to the synthesis of Iranian, Central Asian and Indian religious and architectural ideas (Litvinsky, Jeimal J. I. 1971, p. 145). It is witnessed from the written records that the Indian masters came in Central Asia to construct and organise the Buddhist establishments (Foucher, 1922, p, 644; Litvinsky, Jaimal, J.I., 1971, p. 113).

However, in *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, there is a story about some artist from Pushkalāvatī, who, while carrying his religious mission, visited Aśmaka (literary signifying a place of abundant stones), and where he served to decorate a Buddhist monastery. It is a traditional belief that the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*' is a work of the famous Aśvaghoṣa who was contemporary to Kaṇishka. But some scholars ascribe the said work to Kumāralatā, who founded the school Sautrāntrika during the period of 2nd century A.D. Thus the above news is most probably related to the period between Ist-2nd centuries A.D. Toponym Aśmaka as written in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (14, 22) by Varāhamihira (died in 587 A.D.) indicates a name of eastern region. A. Foucher, S. Levi and recently P. Aa l to identified Asmaka as Tashkent (Aalto, pp, 195-198). Though their arguments do not appear as irrefutable or stand beyond doubts, yet with all indications it can be confirmed that the locality belonged to Central Asia.

When specific features of Central Asian traditional art of architecture and building construction began to enter India, (Sharma, pp. 34-35)[43] particularly in the sphere of architectural decorative aspects. They underwent synthesis with Indian, Bactrian and Graeco-Roman traditions. In forms and appearance of both Indian and Central Asian towns earnest influences of Buddhist religious constructions were marked, and, not withstanding all the differences they possessed, the Buddhist *stūpa* could not be identified by their vertical silhouette in every town as in India, so in Central Asia.

Common outlines relating both to character and design of constructions were followed by town municipalities. In Takshaśilā (Marshall, 1951, II, p. 429; III. pl. 21. P), in Delvarjin-tepe (Pugachenkova, Rtveladje and others, p. 189) and in the excavated remains of Chin-Kurgan[44] everywhere same type of underground pipe-lines were found to serve town drainage system.

In connection with architecture and building construction we shall point out one more feature which seems strikingly parallel to the ideological concept and ritual-performance of town-dwellers.

In ancient India, prior to the installation of the house, a careful selection of site used to be undertaken. Soil of the site should not be salty, surrounding the site the trees and grasses should be found growing and the supply of water must be there. Then an experimental hole (upto knee deep) was dug at the plot with an intention to evaluate the nature of the soil. The hole was allowed to be full with oozing water. If water not only filled the hole but came out profusely, the soil was considered as of high quality. If water reached the brim of the hole staying static, the soil was considered as of medium quality; but where soil failed to yield adequate volume of water to fill up the hole, the plan to install a settlement there was given up. Yet there was another mode of observation for such evaluation. A night was spent to fill in the hole with water. By the next morning if the hole was found full of water, the soil was considered excellent. If only mud was found at the bottom of the hole, good. But if the hole was found dry by the morning, then the plan of installation of a settlement there was found to be rejected (Kane, p. 933).

After all these, the plot of land was cleared, the construction site was smoothened and then after performing proper rituals pillar holes belonging to the main entry of the house area were dug. Then other pillars on southern, western and northern sides were installed successively. Central pillar-'King pillar' (*Sthāuṇarāja*) was installed lastly. On the eve of installation of Central pillar ritual activities used to continue for a longer time. Priest used to implant a plant that grew in water, and then he used to lay some plant reeds mixed with barley and paddy over which he used to sprinkle some water. These offerings were conferred to the 'spirit of foundation'—deity of the house. Priest used to address the pillar with following words: "Oh pillar! take your seat here firmly, which is rich with horses and cows; rest here without any apprehension oh thou! along whose body butter made from buffallo milk is dribling down, take your seat here on earth firmly, be prosperous and enjoy a long life along with these prosperous men and cattle." *Sāṁkhāyana-Gṛihya-Sūtra* III, 3.1), (*Gṛihya-Sūtras*, p. 949; also see Auboyer, p. 130; Amita Ray; J. Gonda, 1980, p. 154-157).

In Central Asia too, echoes of such notions can be traced. Firstly, we should recall informations collected by the ethnographists in Pamir. In the houses of the Pamir people, posts supporting the upper floor and particularly the central posts ('King') are thought to be gifted with extraordinary heavenly bliss obviously because of the fact that those have been endowed with heavenly virtues while with their help the gifts with prayer were raised high above to reach heaven.[45] Of course, there were some specific moments for such. In the Pamir, "in the houses of wealthy persons, the central pillar of houses used to be smeared with butter," writes A.K. Piserchek, "this is considered as a virtuous deed" (1970, p. 48).

In the *Atharvaveda* there is direction to "spatter *ghṛita*" in newly constructed house (III, 12, 1,) with chanting of excorism, so that Marut may be pleased to

pour splashes of water and *ghṛita* from above. More, it is said regarding the installation of a new house:

> Bring in, oh Devi, that brimful pitcher-
> Stream of *ghṛita* mixed with *Amṛita*!
> Smear with *Amṛita* these supports!
> And that will preserve it (dwelling), what is offered and fulfilled!
> (*Av*, III, 12, 8) (*Atharvaveda*, pp. 271-272).

Amṛita—this is a heavenly beverage that makes life eternal and this is prepared from *soma* weeds, 'that protects' very likely the constructed framework of the dwelling (posts, rafters). As the Pamir people had no such heavenly *Amṛita* at their disposal, they were contended with smearing the central post by the second ingredient-*ghṛita*.

"The Tadjiks of hilly areas by their nature possess high regards towards the main posts of their dwellings-shabutum. Whoever enters the house, even in cases when nobody is there he shows his respect to this main post because it is called close to shutumi salomga" (Piserchik, 1970, p. 48; also 1958, p. 445). Presumably the central post would have been considered as chief in the houses, rather personified as such. But this sort of explanation does not give a clear understanding regarding this central post, more to say, there is contradictory argument to it. "Not only person from outside shows respect to this post, but the chief of the house himself also shows respect to it." And what is more as A.M. Andriev took a note in 1926 at Arganikon (in the valley of Obikhingai), that the person showed his respect to it every time whenever he entered the house, even if he was going out of the house for a short time (Piserchik, 1970, p. 48).

According to the "*Atharva-veda*", one must respectfully bow down before the chief of the house, fire of the house and *Purusha* of that house. The concept of *Purusha*, as stated in Indian theology, is a very complex entity and connected with multiple functions. Literally it means 'a man', 'a male person'; but it indicates an anthropomorphic entity that played vital role in ancient Indian cosmology. Because from this huge cosmic colossus originated the universe. Later on this entity acquired a more abstract notion of cosmic universalism, at the same time a concrete element. *Purusha* is connected with the cosmic tree (Toponor).[46]

In Indian architecture, particularly in temple construction, an idea has been given the shape of man. Thus such shape used to be given to the dwelling attachments, to temple proper and to other structures also, so to say, to revive the form of *Purusha* (and simultaneously—a human figure). That is why parts of the temple are identified with various parts of the God's own body: the door of a temple—the mouth, its upper floor surface-shoulders, projections-the hands, walls-legs foundation wall-the feet of god (Kramrisch, p. 41). To the central point of the foundation

(sometimes being considered as the centre point of the earth) was laid a stone upon which stood a column, and the other portions, apart from this, are symbolised as the earth, the sky and the parts of the heaven (Gonda, pp. 327-329; Elezarenkova, p. 383).

It may be presumed that the central post in the house of the Pamir inhabitants is the same *Purusha* in its 'architectural' hypostasis-possessing identical function: anthropomorphism. Thus the central post of the house of Pamir men retrospectively leads the mind to the conception of man supporting the post of the house which is an embodiment of *Purusha*[47] or thus to a figurative entity, homogeneous with that personage (and simultaneously to Indian belief about column being identified with *vajra*— the weapon of Indra) (Vertogradova, p. 294).

Side by side with the movement of the people and their ideas the flow of commodities took place from one part to another. Thus considerable number of goods, specially jewellery articles went in Central Asia (Litvinsky, 1964, pp. 158-159; Pugachenkova, p. 65-67). Among the goods those came from India as raw materials were particularly ivory, chalsedony and others. On the hand, many commodities went to India. But this could not put forth any impact upon the prevailing handicrafts industry, as in Central Asia so in India.

Findings connected with the people living in towns of Central Asia during Kushana period are rather numerous than few. Of course, with much confidence we are in a position to cast forward various informations regarding people living in Indian towns or Cental Asia, often rectifying those to their suitability.

Nysa documents do not furnish information regarding the common dwellers of these 'fortified' settlements (Parthian Diz), from which places, mainly, wine was brought to the imperial wine-store houses situated in the fort of Mithradacribes. The Nysa documents termed the administrators of the fortified towns as 'dizapati'. From more specialised exhibits of Nysa archive[48] it becomes clear that in towns; of course in large ones, there must have been a great number of administrators belonging to highly privileged section and to religious establishments; side by side also lived many operative officials needed for ramified administration. Highly three towered castles of Toprak-Kala and Central Bactria furnish evidences of existing luxurious livelihood, whereas life in other palaces was plain and unambiguous. Thus this led to a very significant conclusion, that aristocratic superiority in mode of living in cities also existed at that time.

Relating to these questions exceedingly important information may be found in publication of Toprak-Kala archive compiled by V.A. Livshisch. Among the documents as ascertained by this researeh worker, there are lists of more persons who had large families (head of the family), also the names of slaves (or domestic servants); receipt and payment of account register (Gudkova, Livshisch, pp. 13-18).

Kara-tepe[49] inscripiions revealed that in some of the cities, where Buddhism was spread, roles of Buddhist monks and the responsible persons of the Buddhist *saṁgha* were not insignificant in the society. Not a few but a great number of them took part in official status within the Zoroastrian religious bodies and obviously they had the significant power and influences.

The town dwellers were more in number. In the Kushana towns, a great number of people lived who came from Bactria. As enumerated from records inscribed in Kharoṣṭhi found in India by H. Harmatta about 30% names are Indian and what is more, at the top there is a Bactirian name (Harmatta, 1964, pp. 387-388; Livshisch, 1969, p. 64). The name of Bactrian (Bāhlika) Urasaka was an official of the Kushana administration of Noache city. As this name wes found in the inscription from Takṣaśilā, it shows that he did take part in the construction of Buddhist structures there (Konow. pp. 74-75; Litvinsky, pp. 13-14). *Milinda-pañho* (V. 331), *Mahābhārata* (II, 47,15-31) and other sources also show that besides the Bactrians there were also the people from various parts of Central Asia to arrive and live in India. Linguistic representations of India also give evidences about the spreading of Sogdians in India (Prakash, p. 234).

There is no room for doubt that at the Kushana cities of Central Asia the same phenomenon occurred. Not only the Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims, but also (which was more significant) traders, officials of the Kushana administration, military persons and may be craftsmen from India settled themselves in the Kushana kingdom of Central Asia and thereby had infiltrated the other areas beyond the limits of the Kushana kingdom. Here according to the findings from Termez) lived copywriters who had sound knowledge in north-western *Prākṛt* and had perfect command over *Kharoṣṭhi* script. But whether those writings were of Indians or of those Bactrians who were to stay there, the latter being connected with the job of giving suitable trainings—there is no record. Considering the significant role of north-western *prākrt* in the sphere of the Kushana state administration and in the life of Buddhist community, it is more likely to presume that among the eopywriters along with the Hindus there were many acting local persons. As found in India, so in Central Asia, there was parallel usage of Sanskrit within *Brāhmī* script (Vorobieva-Desiatovskaya, pp. 118-120).

Usually towns remained as political administrative centres, but those also had to play a significant development at the economic-industrial bases of the peoples' life. Thus in Merv, by that time, there were various industries related with copper and bronze productions, bone processing, weaponry manufacturing, flour grinding, textile productions, ceramic productions and so also the productions of other commodities (see Trudi). Same may be said about Termez, Toprak-Kala, Delvarjin-tepe and other towns Central Asia from Ist century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.

From the written records it appears that in India the people of various groups, including craftsmen, used to live in towns at their specific areas *en masse*. To craftsmen the dwelling houses served both the purposes: the domestic and workshop (Tsigankov, pp. 32-37).[50] In Takṣaśilā series of lodgings were found the ground floor with narrow verandas or narrow platforms facing the streets. These were used as workshop-cum-selling centres (Marshall J., 1959, 1, pp. 140-141, 157-158, 199); information goes same with Bhita. In Central Asia analogous picture comes to our notice.

In Toprak-Kala, outside the massifs and facing the streets, there were rather small complexes composed of two or three houses. Parts of these houses served as the residence of craftsmen. Close adherances between the residence and working places was found and in Merv industrial sites were found, inside the domestic house, workshop inside craftsmen's house. In blocks of flour grinders' buildings, primary structures were found constructed properly (parallel to the main broad roads but within this ran narrow corridors). The proprietors owned 3-5 rooms each, one of which was equipped with the implements of grinding corn. Even the buildings of running type of industry were found to be used as lodging purposes (Kotshuris, Burizkov).

Domestic apartments were found within other industrial structures in Merv (metal factory, textile and bone processing and possibly producing some complicated types of bows) (Usmanov); the same was also found within ceramic industrial buildings of Saksanahute (Mukhitdinov; Litvinsky, Mukhitdinov).

In the contemporary period of India, the standard of specialized industries was exceptionally high. Thus, *Milinda-pañho*, while narrating about metal craftsmen excluding blacksmiths, states that they could manufacture articles from gold, silver, lead, tin, copper alloys, iron and even knew how to debase matal for use (carat gold) (*Mil.* V, 381), (*Milinda Questions*. I, pp. 171-172; see also Puri, 1965, pp. 110-111; Adheja.) In '*Mahāvastu*' among the various craftsmen there is the list of foundrymen (tin), experts of manufacturing articles from lead alloys, foundrymen for copper industry etc. (*Mahāv*, III, 113, 442-443) (*Mahāvastu*, KKK, pp. 112, 444).

In the same way, various types of occupations are mentioned in the *Dharmaśāstra*, *rañjaka*-the dyer; *rajaka*-washerman, *carmakāra*-fur-dresser; 'tanner'; *buruda* 'maker of different things from bamboo," *Kaivarta*-fisherman'; *ayaskara*-metalist, blacksmith; *Kulaka*-potter, *carmāvakartin*-'cutter', 'cutter' of the skins; *nirañsaka*-washerman; *takṣaṇ* (takṣaka)-'carpenter; *tāmropajīvin*-'coppersmith; *Nāpita*-barber; *lohakāra*-blacksmith, *śunika* (*śaunika*)-butcher; *suvarṇakāra*-(*suvarṇika-hemakāra*)-jeweller and so on (Kane, pp. 69-104).

Mention may be made of the following fact: from the epic we come to know the profession like *mayūraka*-the maker of various things from the features of the peacock.

Utmost important profession of handicrafts was connected with the manufacture of weapons. The sources do not mention 'gunsmiths' in general but as an individual industry such as the manufacturer of bow, the manufacturer of bow-strings (*Mil*, V, 331) (*Milinda Questions*, I, p. 172)[52]

The records of this period refer (sometimes recalculated) to great many professions. *Mahāvastu* (*Mahāvastu*, III, 118, 442-443) mentions 33 types of crafts. In the *Milinda-pañho*, 74 kinds of occupations are mentioned, majority of them is productive in nature. In the *jātakas*, there are references of 18 types of corporations of the artisans and traders.[54] This number of 18 seems to be traditional, but the comparison of different sources increases the number of corporations to 30. On the other hand, in western Europe no differentiation had been made between the union of artisans (corporation) and the union of the merchants (guild) in this respect (Auboyer, pp. 102-103). Probably there must be a definite connection between the united artisan and the retail (in a small scale wholesale) traders.

Most probably a number of corporations settled together in the same place, for example, there were the street of engravers of ivory (*Jāt.* i, 320; II, 197), the settlement of carpet weavers, the settlements of potters, weavers, sculptors (Geiger, p. 104). The *Jātakas* refer several times to *'vaddhaigāma*, the village of carpenters. One of them consisted of 500 and the other 1000 carpenters. In the second settlement, each group of five hundred carpenters had their own chief. It is further mentioned that they stored their raw materials in the forests with a view to manufacturing the articles to be used in different types of structures. After completion of the work they again returned to forest for raw materials (see Misra, p. 15).

Professions were hereditary, as for example, the Pāli texts state the "son of a blacksmith was blacksmith" Epigraphic sources also supply the evidence in this regard. The hereditary crafts were also found in the composition of Kālidāsa: everyone boasts of that craftsmanship which is learned and practised in the family generation after generation (Kālidāsa, 1978, p. 29; 1973, p. 257). The exceptions were also found.

We have insufficient evidences regarding the structures of the corporations, their status, and the role in the system of urban life and the relation with the state during the Kushana period. We may sum up the scanty but the extraordinarily curious evidences of these from the source.

The elder was the head of the corporation. The wellknown term which was taken for his designation: *Pramukha Mahattama* (most important one), *Jyeṣṭhaka*

(the eldest). According to the epigraphic evidences, the eldest was known as *śreṣṭhin*-the best. Theoretically, the eldest might be that person who had achieved the highest professional skill. The eldest possessed the personal seal with his name and title '*śreṣṭhin*'. The eldest of the corporation had been helped by the executive agents and *Kāyastha*-the secretary. He settled the conditions of work and the rate of salary. It was also included in their functions to come to an agreement with the elders of other guilds regarding the problems of raising or lowering (according to the circumstances) the selling price of the commodities. Accordingly, the productions should be regulated. There were also rules and regulations in the family; from the *Vinayapiṭaka* we come to know about two disciplinary rules regarding the mutual relations of the members of the corporation with their wives. In several cases the elder had performed the duty of a banker-he governed the public fund of the local departments of the corporation. Each of its members had collective responsibility. At the same time, the elder was the chief of the guards, possessing a special armed force busy to protect the property and fund of the corporation, and to accompany the caravans etc. It seems that the corporation possessed a special premises in which their administrative organ was accommodated with their own flag and ceremonial badge which had been carried during festival.

Some of the corporations were extraordinarily rich having permanent property in their possession. The cult complexes were included in it. Thus, for example, the craftsmen working in ivory coming from Vidiśā (Bhilsa in Bhopal) in the Ist century A.D. were capable to donate the means for construction of the *toraṇa* of a *stūpa* at Sāñchī-one of the greatest masterpieces of ancient India. Similarly, in the 5th century, the silk weavers of Daśapura were able to build the Sun temple with their properties. They paid for the necessary repairs for thirty five years. From the Nasik inscription we come to know of the guilds of potters merchants of oil etc. Each of them made a payment of great sums.

The chiefs of the guilds had a high social position. In the Law Book of Manu (X, 116), the second name is referred to the crafts as means of livelihood (after the completion of the study). The state power had to support the guilds, guard their right and properties. The written records furnish the evidences of warning to the rulers against the violations of customs connected with the *śreṇī* and instructions to maintain the existing status of this union. The rulers were recommended to interfere in those cases where the customs and the norms of the functions of the *śreṇī* were violated by anybody.

In its turn the guilds had to perform some definite public duties. During the ceremony of city festival the artisans should stand along with the nobles and the Brāhmaṇas had to supervise the guild as its head (*Mahāv.*. III, 442) (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 443). In one of the stories of '*Pañcatantra*' it is narrated that in the city of Vardhamāna the king's duty was performed by a merchant Dandita who distributed

the rewards and punished the people. In the story he is mentioned as the leader of the merchants (*Pañcatantra*, pp. 36, 39). In another story it is said that there iived a weaver and a cart-driver in the town Pundravardhana, and they had satisfaction in their jobs without limit, They spent their earning on costly clothes and perfumed themselves with camphor, musk etc. Three-fourth of the day they worked hard and in the last quarter of it they dressed and went for stroll along the squares, temples and other places (*ibid.*, pp. 61-62; *ibid.*, p. 173). The *Garland Jātaka* mentions two *jātakas* dedicated to the heads of the corporation (guild). In one of them, it is said that the guild (corporation) was headed by our Lord who is the Bodhisattva. Due to his striking intellect and at the same time for unusual successful work he gathered vast wealth; due to the chastity of life and deeds he received deep respect of the people. He, coming of the noble family, had clear knowledge obtained with the help of the study of various sciences and arts. His good qualities brought to him high esteem from the King (*Ārya sūtra*, p. 50).[54]

The *Jātaka* mentions a story about a Brāhmin who earned his livelihood by manufacturing carts. In the Buddhist texts they are called *gehapati* (the master of the home) who engaged themselves in *sippādhttāna*, i.e. in arts and crafts (Misra, pp. 6-7).

From the text, '*Arthaśāstra*' (XI, 1.4) we may come to the conclusion that the corporation had to supply the army obviously during war activities; in support of the state power the Corporation manufactured arms keeping in view the security during peace. It is evident from the sources (particularly from the epic) that the Corporation was regarded as one of the instruments of state power.[55]

In Sassanian Iran we have the evidence of the Corporation of the artisans.[56]

According to Denkart, each profession had its own row (as for *rastag*, from which the modern *raste* is derived) in the bazar, as for example, the barbers had their own definite place.

The general term for the crafts was *kirrog*. The chief of the artisans had the title *kirogbad*, which seemed to be the synomym of *hutuseshad* (according to Masudi, the protector of those, who were likely to be the artisans, farmers and the merchants doing the manual labours).

There have been the descriptions of various types of occupations in the medieval sources, particularly the dress-makers, smelters (iron), silversmiths, weavers, rope-makers, metal-workers of various types-including arms manufacturers, potters (of few types), carpenters; shoe-makers, (of two types), tanners, dyers, bankers. engineers (of three classes) barbers, tent-manufacturers, cooks, gold-smelters, jewellers etc. (Tafazzoli, pp. 191-196).

The scanty literary and epigraphic sources which have been found in Central Asia do not supply any data in connection with the Corporation of the craftsmen.

However, we have no doubt about their presence (Pugachenkova, 1966, p. 130). There was a typological similarity of Indian, Iranian and Central Asia-Irano-Indian shares. Analysis of technical and artistic standard of various branches of Central Asian crafts-productions reveal the specialisation in urban crafts and building activities (including architecture and artistic crafts), achieving a very high standard. It is difficult for me to represent the composite bows of the Kushana period, the manufacturing process of which was extremely difficult and required many interrelated operations (Litvinsky, 1966). The archaeological researches reveal that in the towns there was the existence of very clear localisation of separate groups of artisans, such as the ceramists, flour-grinders, or the blacksmiths. Most probably the standard of the organisation of these Corporations in Central Asia was lower than that of India.

Further, in the inscription of Palamida, written in Bactrian language, the last lower line contains the name 'Palamida' in Greek alphabets. J. Harmatta comes to the conclusion that this is an unauthorised addition on the part of architect willing to emphasise his role. He also cites three analogous examples from the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions (of the Kushana period) in India where, according to him were found the names of the persons who wilfully inserted their names behind the constructions. From this an extremely interesting conclusion is obtained about the growth of social class-consciousness among the representatives of the artisans and merchants in the Kushana domain (Harmatta, 1964, pp. 388-389).

So, these insertions probably represent the recognition of high social status of the architects. In the Kanishka reliquary inscription, there is inscribed the name of architect (or the chief of the construction work) of the Kanishka Vihāra as Agisala (probably the Indian variation of the Greek name Agesilaos) (Marshall J., 1909, p. 1058; Spooner, pp. 52-53; Konow, p. 135 sq.). Indian architectural canon has made differentiation between *sthapati*—'the architect' and the *sthāpaka*—'the architect priest'. The second prepares the plan and erects the religious buildings, the first is the combination of town-engineer and secular architect. *Sthapati*, according to the epics, was held in high esteem. *Sthapati*, who built the houses for the royal guests, was regarded by some sages as a hero. *Sthapati* also built the houses in other instances. Obviously he was assisted by the *śilpin* (*Mahābh*.. 13, 107, 111, 14, 86, 11-16; 14, 86, 25) (Majumdar A.K., p. 114).

According to other sources, with the *sthapati* the *sūtragrāhin*, the guide of the design-works and *takṣaka* who was busy with the preparation and processing of building materials, played an important role. During the construction of Buddhist complex, the leadership was entrusted with the *Kamādhitthayaka*, the *navakarmika* was to supervise from the side of the Buddhist commune (Misra, p. 11-12; 18-20).

The science of building, according to the ancient Indian view, possesses four aspects: traditional studies (*śāstra*), practical experience, knowledge and skill (***karma***)

personal intuitive feeling (*prajñā*), pious conduct and character (*śiva*). An expert architect should nourish these four qualities of architectural science. Specially important was to know the *Vāstu-śāstra*. The man declaring himself as an architect; but actually unaware and ignorant of it, i.e., who did not know *Vāstuśāstra* and who never worked for it but was proud of his ignorance should be punished to death by the king. In India, it appears that any kind of architectural work was considered similar to that of the Vedic sacrifice and also as a religious act (Shukla D.N., pp. 44-49).[57]

Analogous concept of the problem and status of the architect must have been there in Iran and Central Asia also.

There is the term *raz*, i.e., 'engineer' in the medieval Indian records.

One of the records states: *Ceon ka mard ranag kamed wirastan mard se be wizined ke ek pad bum wirastan, ek pad dewar ahixtan ud ek pad askob kardan frahastaghar*"-when a person decides to build a house, he selects three persons—one of them knows better to prepare the foundation, another to erect the walls and third one knows to construct the roofs." For the last one there is the term *askob-kardan*-lit. 'the worker of the roof', such specialization in architecture, as it is received from the present archaeological materials, was in vogue in ancient and medieval Central Asia.[58] In all cases, particularly for vaulted and domed ceilings, experts were required.

Besides this there was also *nigargar*, i.e., painter, about whom it is said that he, due to his own art, painted the picture by various colours. The Persian equivalent of this term is *ZXrwb-ZXrob*, the corresponding meaning is 'expert-painter', who paints the picture.

The carpenter (*durgar*, later form is *drubgar*) "makes the wood smooth and straight". Among the special works of an expert carpenter is the manufacture of ottoman and door (*dar*) from the wood. These were manufactured "according to the desire of the carpenter" (Tafazzoli, pp. 193-196).[59]

In connection with the construction there was the profession of *carugar*-working with the building mortar (Tafazzoli, p. 194). In modern Persian language, the term *Caru* means special water-paste-mortar prepared from the mixture of sand and ash of the fired wood. This was used for revetment of the reservoirs (Walff, p. 113).

According to medieval Persian source the creation without creator, decision without a judge is not possible. Similarly, it is also true about the writing without a pen and the building of a house without an architect and an engineer (Geiger, B. p. 210).

The Central Asian-Indian parallels are explained by the presence of a common substructum, identical external influences, a typologically similar socio-economic situation and interinfluences. In many instances these factors formed a complex web.

We must conclude that the Kushana city was an integral structure of the socio-economic and culture-religious system of its time. Indeed, the existence of a strong Hellenistic and Hellenic-Roman traditions and elements was discovered and this emerged as a unit of Central-Asian-Hellenistic-Roman-Indian synthesis (Litvinsky, 1973a, p. 125).

Processes of urbanisation in Kushana Central Asia also reveal close parallelism with Iran and Mesopotamia of the Parthian period. As it was shown by the researches carried on during the last decade, there was rapid growth of the network of cities and large settlements in the Parthian kingdom, increasing their total areas. In spite of many differences between the Kushana and Parthian cities there were many inter-related elements in city structure. The functioning of the city and the city organisation show enormous similarity.

A deep socio-economic process in a vast region from East Mediterranean to the Aral sea and to the Bay of Bengal stimulated a high intensification of urbanisation in the life of the people.[60]

Thus a parallel study of the town of ancient Central Asia and neighbouring Eastern countries furnishes a deeper insight into the social and cultural role of town-making. It is possible to discern the general and specific in the history of the town on different territories and to trace their relationship and inter-influences.

In conclusion, we may note that the Kushana city was not the last point of development of urbanisation. Later there appeared the early medieval and medieval cities of the feudal socio-economic formation. Together with these early medieval and medieval cities a considerable number of more ancient cities were preserved. It is an important task for the scholars to trace their succession.

From : *Tepai-Shakh : Culture and relations of Kushāna Bactria*, B.A. Litvinsky, A.V. Sedov, Moscow, 1983, Chapter III pp. 117-137.

Translated by

Mrs. Mangala Chakrabarti (Shaw)

Notes and References

1. See (Kosheke, 1966; Litvinsky, Zeimei T.I. 1968; Vorobeva, Rapaport, Trudnavskaya; Turaunov, 1968; Pugachenkova, 1968; 1971; 1973, 1976b; 1979; Etavinsky 1969; 1972; 1974; Voronika, Kujmiw, 1974; 1976; Lukanin, 1977; Meshkeris; Litvinsky; Pichkiyan).
2. See (Litvinsky, 1979).
3. See (Vishnivskaya; Veinberg), *Materiali dvukh pamitnikov, raskopannikh V. predidusehie godi*, published in the monographs (Koi-Krilyan-kala; Vorocta).
4. See the article of S.K. Kabanov, N.b. Nemtrova, M.I. Filanovich, B.A. Shishkina and G.V. Shishkin in (Afrasiab I, III).
5. See (Jeimal. T.I. 1971a; Pidaev, 1973; 1974; Abdulaev; Jannarov, Rtveladje) & others.
6. See Belaeba, Khakimov; Sagdulleev, Khakimov).

7. See (Diakonov, I.M., p. 13).
8. See (from the history; Drevneya Baktria, 1974; Baktriske grevnosti; Drevnaya Baktria, 1976), about the excavation of the monuments on the south of Ujbekistan see (Litvinsky, 1973b, pp. 13-20; 1976).
9. See (Pugaechenkova, 1974; 1975a, Pugachenkova, Turganov, 1973).
10. See (Rapaport. 1968, Nerajik, 1973; 1976).
11. See (Suleiman and others, 1975; 1986, see also Kabanov, 1977).
12. (Grek, Pchelina, Stavinsky; Buddhist caves; Buddhist Cult Centre; New Findinga). The materials found in the new *Archaeological Expedition in Kara-tepe*, Gen: Ed. BY a. Stavinsky.
13. (Litvinsky 1977).
14. For detailed condition of Central Asia see (Clavinsky 1963; Gafurov, P., pp. 128-194) in the book (Ctavinsky 1977, pp. 42-93) containing the date of the Kushana-Bactrian's settlements.
15. Lecture on general tendency, in concrete situation.
16. See (Pilinko; Nerajik-1976; Padrev 1978); (Adrianov; Zeimal, T.I. 1971; Mukhamedjhanov); about village economy (V.M. Masson 1974a).
17. (Riveladje, 1974, pp. 74-85); (V.M. Masoon 1976, pp, 8-9); the size of the area is not fixed.
18. Big Termej-500 h. (Riveladje, 1974, p. 83); L.I. Albaum, States detailed study in the city of ancient Termej reveals that the Kushana town is significantly smaller what is said.
19. The general view about Indian town (Piggof; Ray; Puri, 1966; Ghosh A., 1973); Literature about the excavations of the above mentioned towns see (Dani, Khan and Ghosh A, 1975) also see (Schhingloff, 1970); for written and iconographical materials (Auboyer, Enault, pp, 13-15, 41-51). For Indological questions and relations with the Indian towns we consulted with V.V. Vertogradov.
20. See (Milinda Questions); on architecture and town see (Coomaraswamy, p. 213 sq; Sharma, pp. 32-33.
21. Data on architectural-plan (Schlingloff, 1967, s. 62ff; Trigankov; Steino).
22. (Cock).
23. (Stein O; Acharya; Shukla D.N; Shukla L.K.).
24. Laws of Manev VII, 69-74 (Ram; 1,5,7) also (Jaina Sutras; pp. 252-253; Schlingloff, 1977, S.7).
25. (Ghosh M.) (On this inscription attention was drawn by J.D. Serabriakov).
26. I.D. Serebriakov translated this book. We also consulted the English book (M. Ghosh). There are different datings of the "Padatadatika". The Indian scholar makes its dating to the begnining of 3rd century A.D.E or Ubhayasarika see (Ghosh M. P. XXII-XXXII).
27. Comp. (Ghosh M.)s pp. 114-115, 119, 123, 153. It is specially, interesting for the mention of the inhabitant of Balkh the doctor Satishchandra of Kankayena race (Ghosh M., p. 123).
28. Ghosh M.P. 136 (p. 36).
29. It follows that this source bears the evidences related to the different periods upto the medieval.
30. (Felliozat, pp. 251-255) for literary and canonical texts on this problem. See (Ghosh A., 1973 pp. 49-50).
31. Samarkanda also was devided into four parts-(Pisarchik, 1974, p. 13; Sukharev, 1976 a, p. 133).
32. (Puri, 1966).
33. (Marshall, 1951. 1, p. 112 et. *sq*. 139 *et. sq*; 1960, p. 60, et. sq; Ghosh, 1948, p. 41 *et sq*; Sheeler, 1948, pp, 112-117; see also Pigott; pp. 22-31).
34. Original construction of the city related to the time of the Maurya, a significant portion is preserved on "Main Street" and the street of bastion. The time of the construction was Ist century B.C.-3rd century A.D. (Marshall J., 1915, pl. XIII).

35. In *Pañcatantra* (1,4,133).
36. (Diakonov M.M., 1953, pp. 291, 310 ff; Rapaport. 1968; Nerajik 1969; 1975, 1977, 1973; Nerajik and Rapaport); together with Toprakkala see the description in Milinda-Pañho (Lavrov, p. 24).
37. Tolstov, 1948a, p. 119 & ff.; 1962, p. 209; Rapapart, 1968; Nerajik, 1969; 1975, 1977, 1973; Nerajik and Rapaport); comparison of Toprak. Kaia wirh description in the "Milinda-pahho" see (Zavrov, p. 24).
38. See (Vcesbschaya Istoria, pp. 193-197, 204, 272, 277; gerken 1924, S. 42ff; Fyfe, pp. 167-197; Wycherley, pp. 14, 17. 19, 25-27,30,34, 78, 130,194; Martin. p. 15-16. 103-106, 274).
39. (Laufray. p. 20-21; Kreisis. p. 47-49; Gullini. 1967; Drereyo. S., 99; Sarkisian, p. 62; Tiratsian, pp. 170-173).
40. (Laufray, pp. 7-26; Kreisis, pp. 53-58).
41. For Harappan Strict rectangular Plan see (Allchin, p. 252), may continued to the time of Asoka (Wheeler, 1959; p. 134).
42. Iranian representation of about the division of the world into four parts, originated by the Indo-Iranian (The Letter, pp. 63, n. 2).
43. "Padataditaka informs (52) about the decoration of the *b*lock of courtesans with mobile sanctury from Northern Bactris (Ghosh M., p. 131).
44. Excavations of A.D. Bareet (not published).
45. (Euiade, S. 227-232).
46. In India house was built with wood. The main column with its post named after the gods. Brahmakante, Vishnukante Rudra kanta, Sivakanta, Skandakanta (Shukla D.N. pp. 310-312).
47. (*RV*., X, 90. 8-10) see (Litvinsky, 1975); Vastopati the protector of the house (Gonda. 1965, p. 128; Gonda. 1980, pp. 153-156).
48. (Diakonov I.M., Diakenov M.M.. Livshits.; Diakonov I.M., Livshits, 1960, 1960a, 1966; Corpus I, II).
49. Published in the collection (Greek, Pahalina, Stavisky; Buddhist Caves, Buddhist cult centre; New Findings (articles V.V, Vertograndov, T. V. Grek, V.A. Livshita V.G. Lukanin, Ya Harmath. and Kh. Khumbaha).
50. *Arthaśāstra* (Ritsch, Schetelich, S. 144-221).
51. (Majumdar A.K., p. 108; on profession, see *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*).
52. About the terminology of the weapons in the *Mbh*. and *Ram*. (Majumdar A.K., pp. 166-168),
53. Mbh. (III) informs, the term Srehi which was also found in the Vedic literatures having the general meaning 'group'. In the Kautilya this term means 'corporation', guild (Kara, p. 66).
54. The term 'Stesthin means corporation and also "rich people", 'banker' etc. (*ibid*, pp. 329-330).
55. (Rhys Davids C.F., p. 862-867; Fick. p. 275-280, Kane, pp. 66-69; Puri, 1965, p. 106-107; Abhya, pp. 82-88; Upadhyaya. pp. 268-269; Chakraborti, pp. 315-328; Auboyer, pp. 102-105); development of corporation in 5th 7th century A.D. There were written law for this corporation; see (Chakraborti, pp. 328-337).
56. (Pigulavskaya, 1946, pp. 228-229, 1956, p. 222 ff). Trever, 1967.
57. Other terms for the supervisors of the architecture see (Ludens).
58. One of the Sogdian documents from mount Mug states the payment of 100 drachms for roofing (Li vshits, 1962, pp. 182-183).
59. There is the instance where a person held several professions. The inscription found in building V in Hatra informs about some Bar-manai, the sön of Vahbush was an architect, a (stone) masson at the same time a sculptor (Safar, p.8).

50. Of course, in every province the socio-economic basis, also the city life have been a bright expressive specification, except this, local processes and factors were in action for example, as noted by E.V. Rtveladje (1978, p. 114) in Central Asia coming with the other group of population, the migrating and settled nomadic people might play a definite role.

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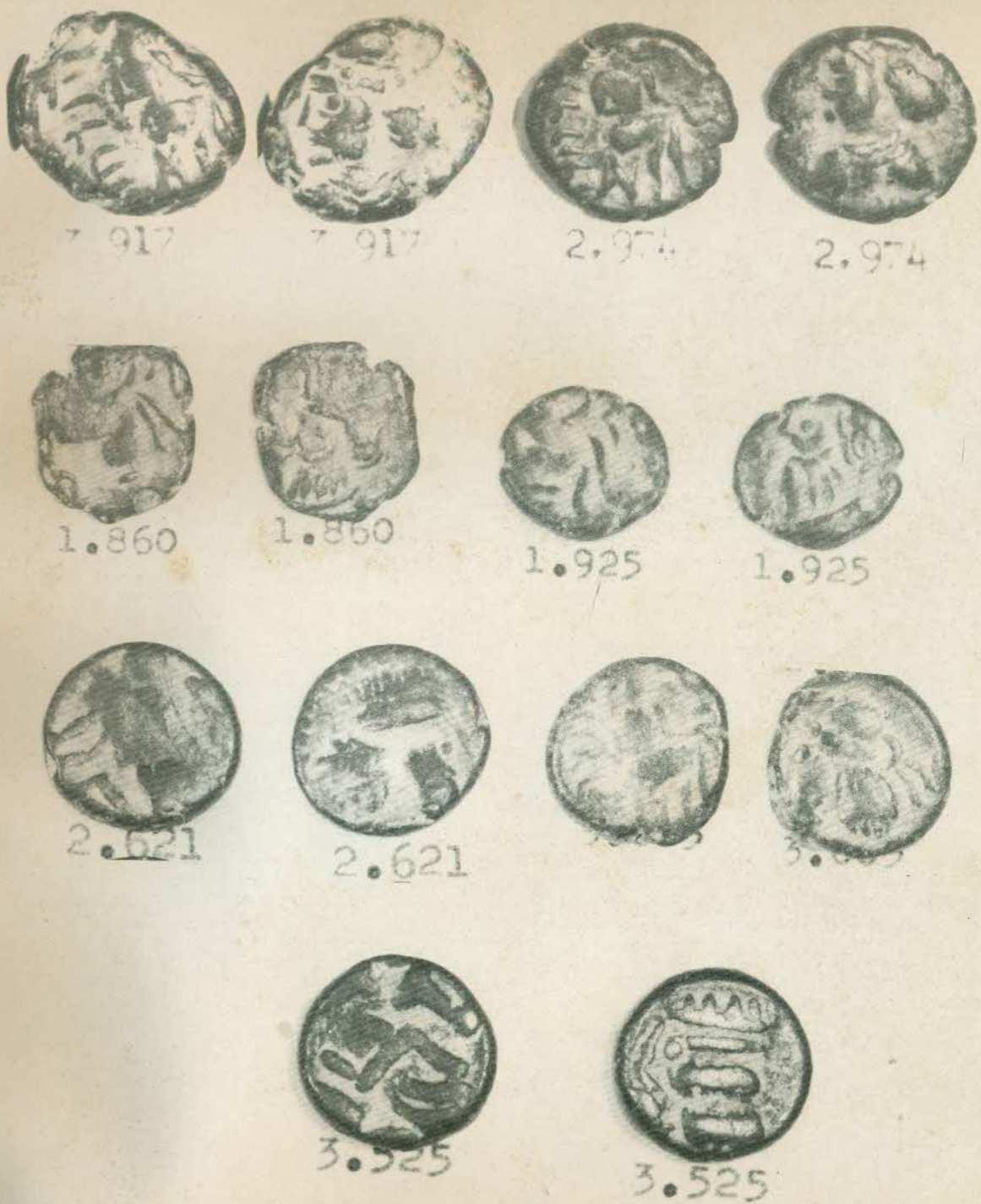
Illustrations



Pl. 1. United States National Numismatic Collections, Washington D.C.

Pl. 2. Akṣobhya (*copyright* IOLR, London)

Pl. 3. Ratnasambhava (*copyright* IOLR, London)

Pl. 4. Amitābha (*copyright* IOLR, London)

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Pl. 6. Votive Stūpa at Kurkihār *(copyright* Joachim Bautze)

Pl. 7. Votive Stūpa at Kurkihār *(copyright* Joachim Bautze)

Pl. 8. Kārttikeya with lance in left and protection pose in right hand, Kushāṇa period, from Mathura State Museum, Lucknow

Pl. 9. Sūrya, drawn in a chariot of two horses, Kushāṇa period from Mathura, Mathura Museum

Pl. 10. Yaksha carrying bowl, Kushāṇa period from Govindnagar Mathura, Mathura Museum

Pl. 11. Lintel showing a scene in the court of a Nāga King from South Mathura

Pl. 12. Ayāgapaṭa installed by Śivayasa wife of dancer Falguyaśa, Kushāṇa from Mathura, State Museum Lucknow

Pl. 13. Buddha/Bodhisattava, Kushāna period. from Katra, Mathura, Mathura Museum No. A-1

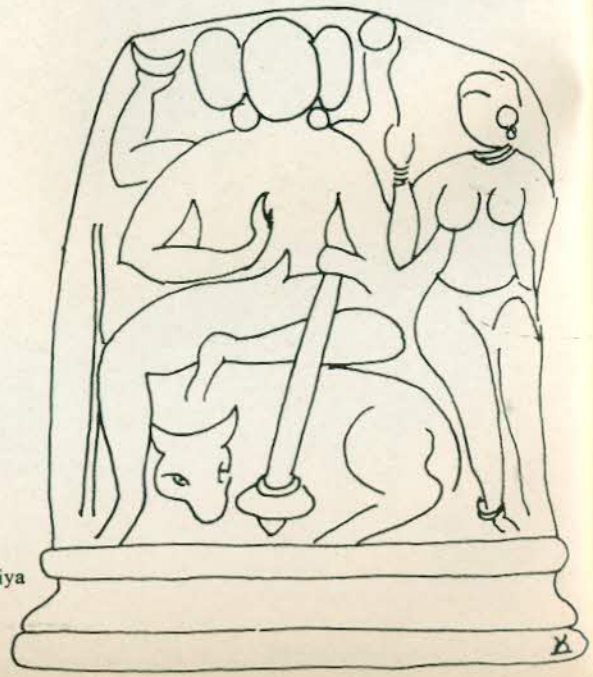
Pl. 14. Buddha with garment covering both shoulders, first impact of Gandhāra on Mathura, Kushāṇa period. Mathura Museum

Pl. 15. Statue of Kaṁshka, Mathura Museum

Pl. 16. Varāha from Mathura

Pl. 17. Varāha from Bazaklik, Central Asia (*after* Alice Geitty

Pl. 18. Śiva from Musanagar, U. P. (*after* N. P. Joshi, *Bhāratiya Murtiśāstra*, Fig. 23.11)



Pl. 19. Śiva-Pārvati, Pakistan (after N. P. Joshi, Prāchīna Bhāratiya Mūrti-Vigñāna, Fig. 38)

Pl. 20. Śiva, Rang Mahal, Rajasthan *(after* R. C. Agrawal, *Lalit Kala*, No. 8)

Pl. 21. Śiva-Maheśvara, Dandan-Uiliq, Central Asia *(after India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Pl. X. pp 400-401)

Pl. 22. Śiva, Balawaste, Central Asia, now in National Museum, New Delhi (*courtesy: India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Fig. 50)

Pl. 23. Śiva with Pārvatī, Dandan-Uiliq, Central Asia, now in British Museum. (*after India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Fig 52)

Pl. 24. Terracotta figurine of Kubera, Agroha

Pl. 25. Backside of a human figurine, Agroha

Pl. 26. Terracotta head of Śiva, Agroha

Pl. 27. Head of a demon, Agroha

Pl. 28. Terracotta head of Nandi, Agroha

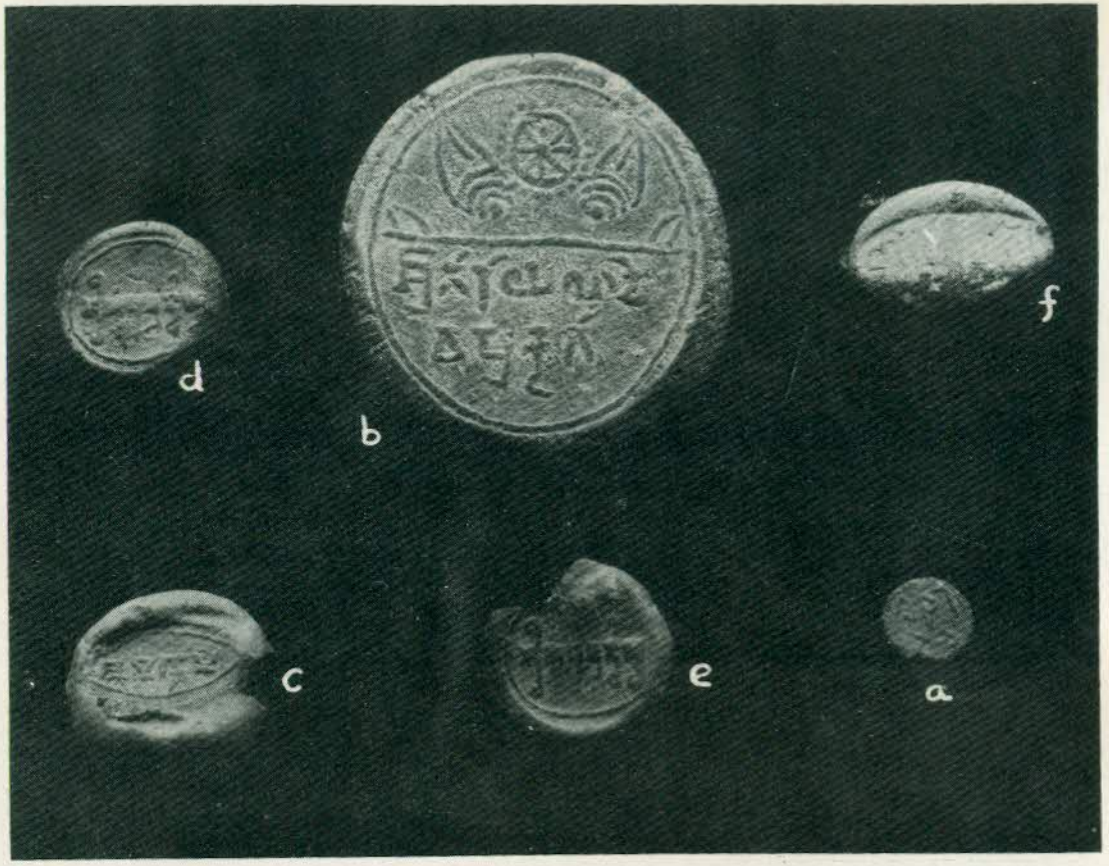
Pl. 29. Forepart of Nandī, Agroha

Pl. 30. Human head, Agroha

Pl. 31. Human head, Agroha

Pl. 32. Female head, Agroha

Pl. 33. Śri-Lakṣmī, Agroha

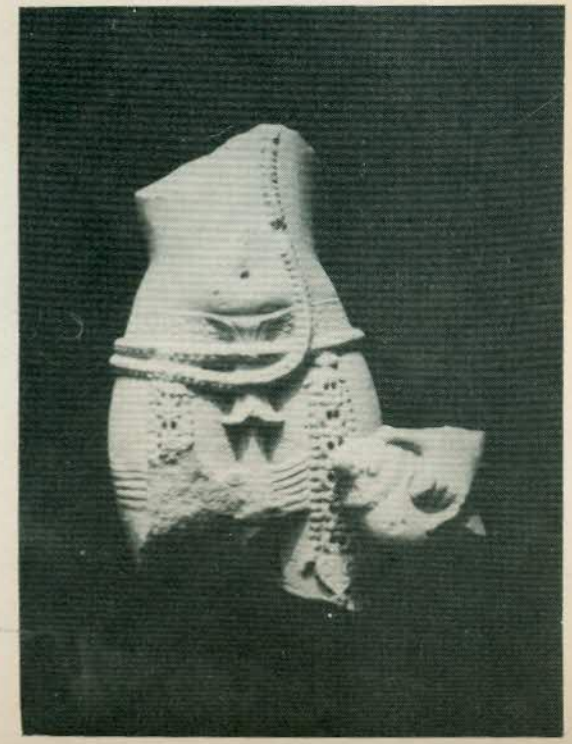


Pl. 34. Terracotta sealings, Agroha

Pl. 35. Female head, Agroha

Pl. 36. Viṣṇu, Agroha

Pl. 37. Viṣṇu, Agroha



Pl. 38. Viṣṇu, Agroha

Pl. 39. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Agroha

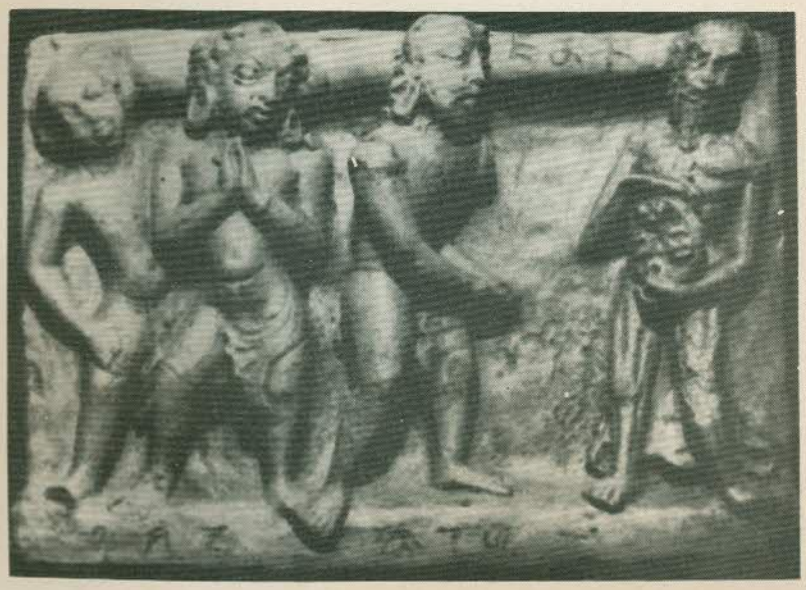
Pl. 40. Sūrya, Agroha

Pl. 41. Umā-Maheśvara, Agroha

Pl. 42. Nārasiṁhī, Agroha

Pl. 43. Architecture of the parihāra of a Jina image, Agroha

Pl. 44. Janaka welcoming Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakśmṇa with a plate filled with dānas.

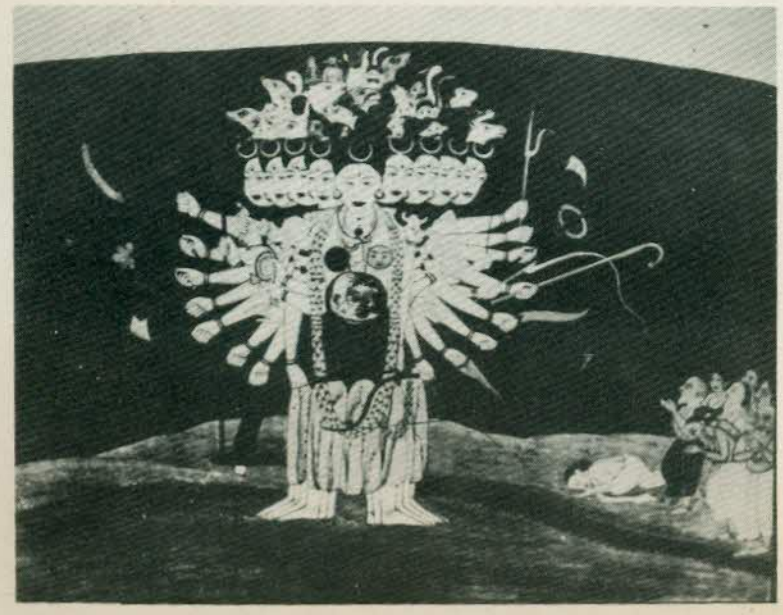


Pl. 45. Janaka standing in front of three persons.

Pl. 46. A lively group of five, Rāma seated in half kneeling position is saluting Janaka.

Pl. 47. Rāma, in a physiognomical form expressive of enormous energy in the act of shooting the arrow with his bou.

Pl. 48. A scene of rejoicing. A women is shown holding a bugle, and a man holds a drum-like instrument.



Pl. 49. Viśvarūpa Śiva, Pahari Painting from Dharamshala

Pl. 50. Chaturmūrtī-Liṅga, Morni, District Ambala, Haryana

Pl. 51. Viśvarūpa Śiva from Parel, Bombay

Pl. 52. Chatuṣpāda Śiva from Khajuraho

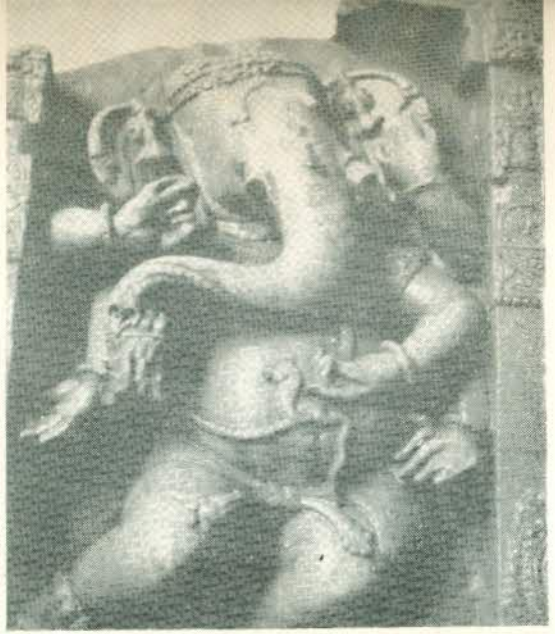
Pl. 53. Lokanātha and Siddhaikavīra, Farrukhabad, ninth century
(*Photo courtesy* : AIIS, Varanasi)

Pl. 54. Kalyāṇasundara image, Kanauj; ninth century. *(Photo courtesy :* ASI)

Pl. 55. Caturmūrti-Śivaliṅga, Kanauj; ninth century

Pl. 56. Durgā, Kanauj; ninth century (*Photo courtesy:* AIIS, Varanasi)

Pl. 57. Mātṛikā panel, Kanauj; tenth century (*Photo courtesy* : AIIS, Varanasi)



Pl. 58. Dancing Gaṇapati, Kanauj; tenth century

Pl. 59. Śiva Bhairava, Kanauj; tenth century
(Photo courtesy : AIIS, Varanasi)

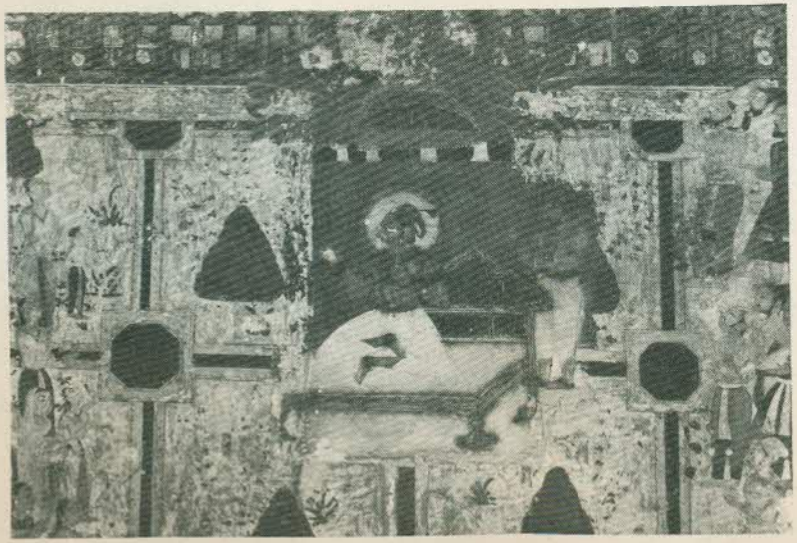
Pl. 60. Viṣṇu-Viśvarūpa, Kanauj; tenth century *(Photo courtesy :* ASI)

Pl. 61. Skanda-abhiṣeka, Kanauj; tenth century
National Museum) *(Photo courtesy :*

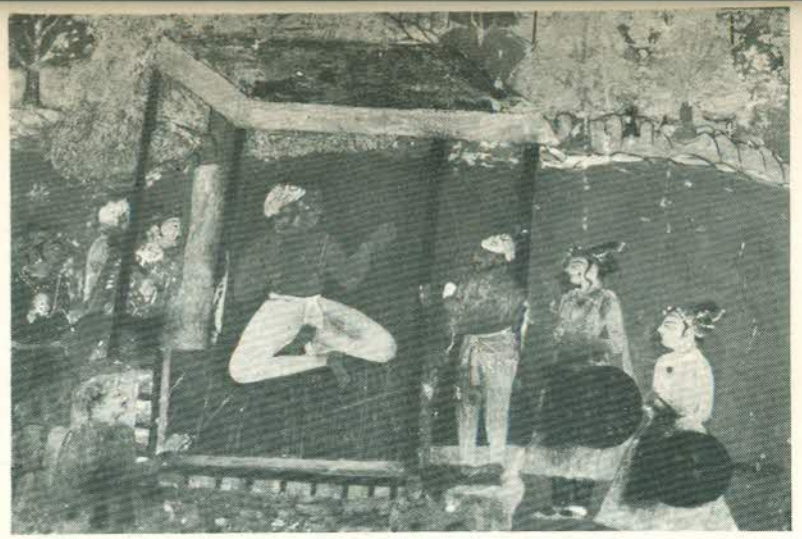
Pl. 62. Durgā Mahiṣamardinī, Kanauj; tenth century *(Photo courtesy :* AIIS, Varanasi)

Pl. 63. Drawing of Brijnathji. Size within black rules : 20,6x22,8 cm (height precedes width) ca. 1720-1725. Private Collection

Pl. 64. Maharao Bhim Singh of Kota worshipping Brijnathji. Wall painting in the Chattar Mahal, Kota, about 1720



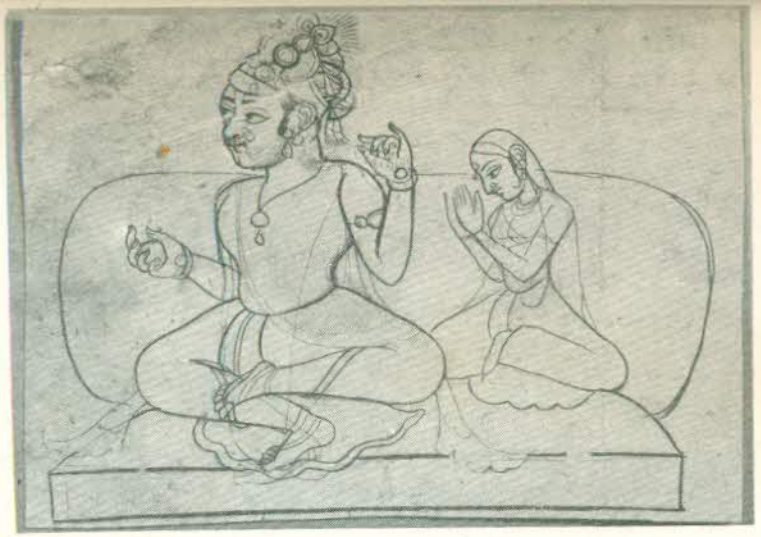
Pl. 65. Maharao Bhim Singh attending Brijnathji. Wall painting in the Chattar Mahal, Kota about 1720.



Pl. 66. Brijnathji under an awning in a landscape. Wall painting in the Chattar Mahal Kota, about 1720

Pl. 67. Maharao Bhim Singh attending Brijnathji. Size within black rules : 50,0x45,0 cm. ca. 1720. Private Collection.

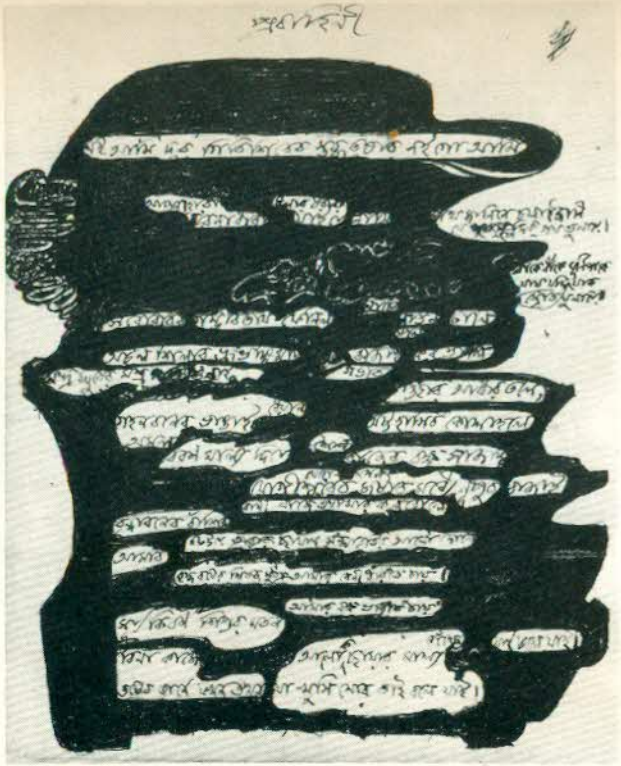
Pl. 68. A dance performance in front of Brijnathji. Size within black rules : 30,0x46,8 cm, ca 1740. Collection of Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, Jaipur



Pl. 69. Brijnathji and consort. drawing on paper. Size irregular (10,4x 14,6 cm) Private Collection

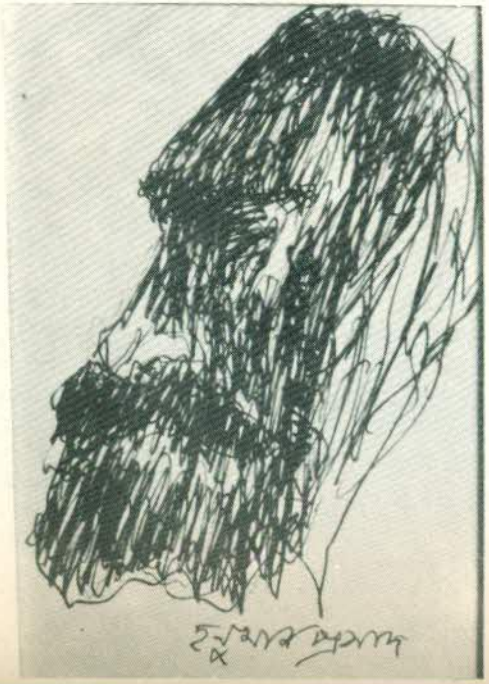
Pl. 70. Maharao Ram Singh of Kota worshipping the image of Brijnathji (detail). About 1845. Collection : Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras

Pl. 71. Portrait of Maharao Bhim Singh (detail). About 1760.
Private Collection



Pl. 72. Impression of Ocampo's face, scribbles with a pen on a page of *Puravī* Ms. (1924-25), Rabindra Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

Pl. 73. Portrait of Andrews (?) in pen and ink, 1935, Rabindra Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan



Pl. 74. A face in pen and ink, entitled 'Hanuman Prasad', undated Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan.

Pl. 75. Face of Ocampo in ink and brush, undated, Rabindra Bhavan, Santiniketan

Pl. 76. Face of a lady, in coloured ink, undated, Kala Bhava Santiniketan

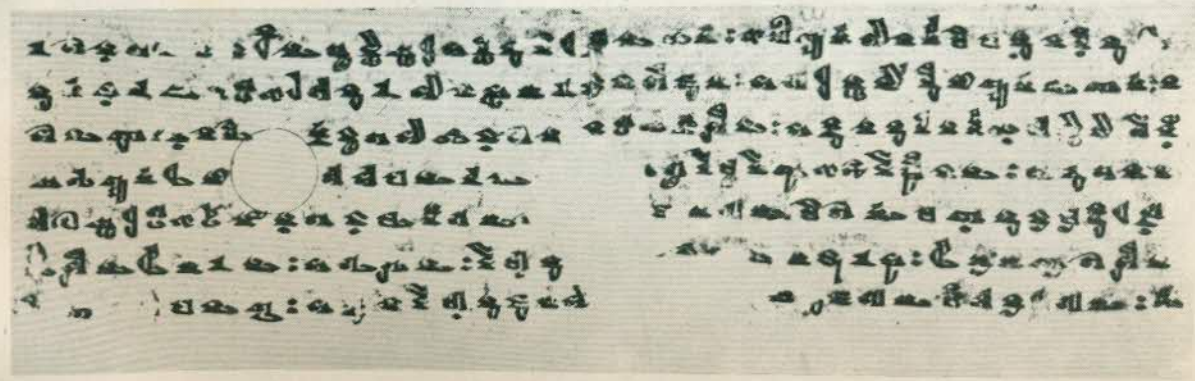
Pl. 77. A male face in pen and ink, 1940, Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan

Pl. 78. A male face in coloured ink and pastel, 1940, Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan

Pl. 79. A face of a common man, in crayon pencil, 1940, Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan

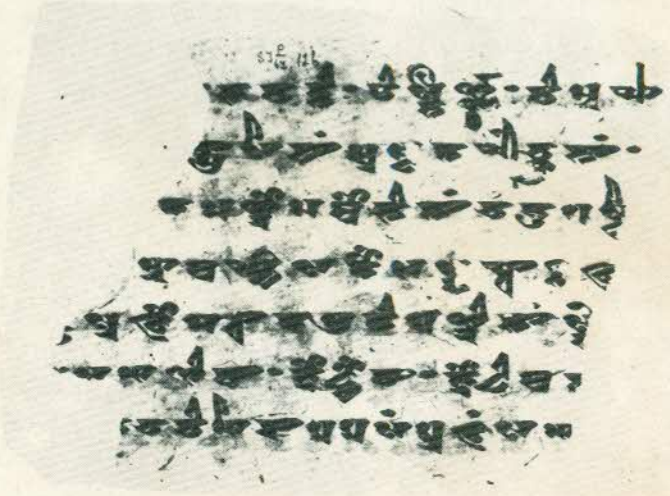
an,

Pl. 80. Face of a lady, in black and brown pencil, 1940, Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan

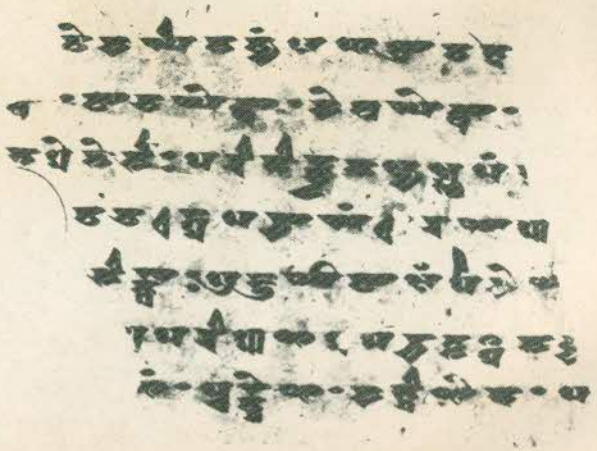


Pl. 81. Fragment No. 1, folio 28 a

Pl. 82. Fragment No. 1, folio 28 b

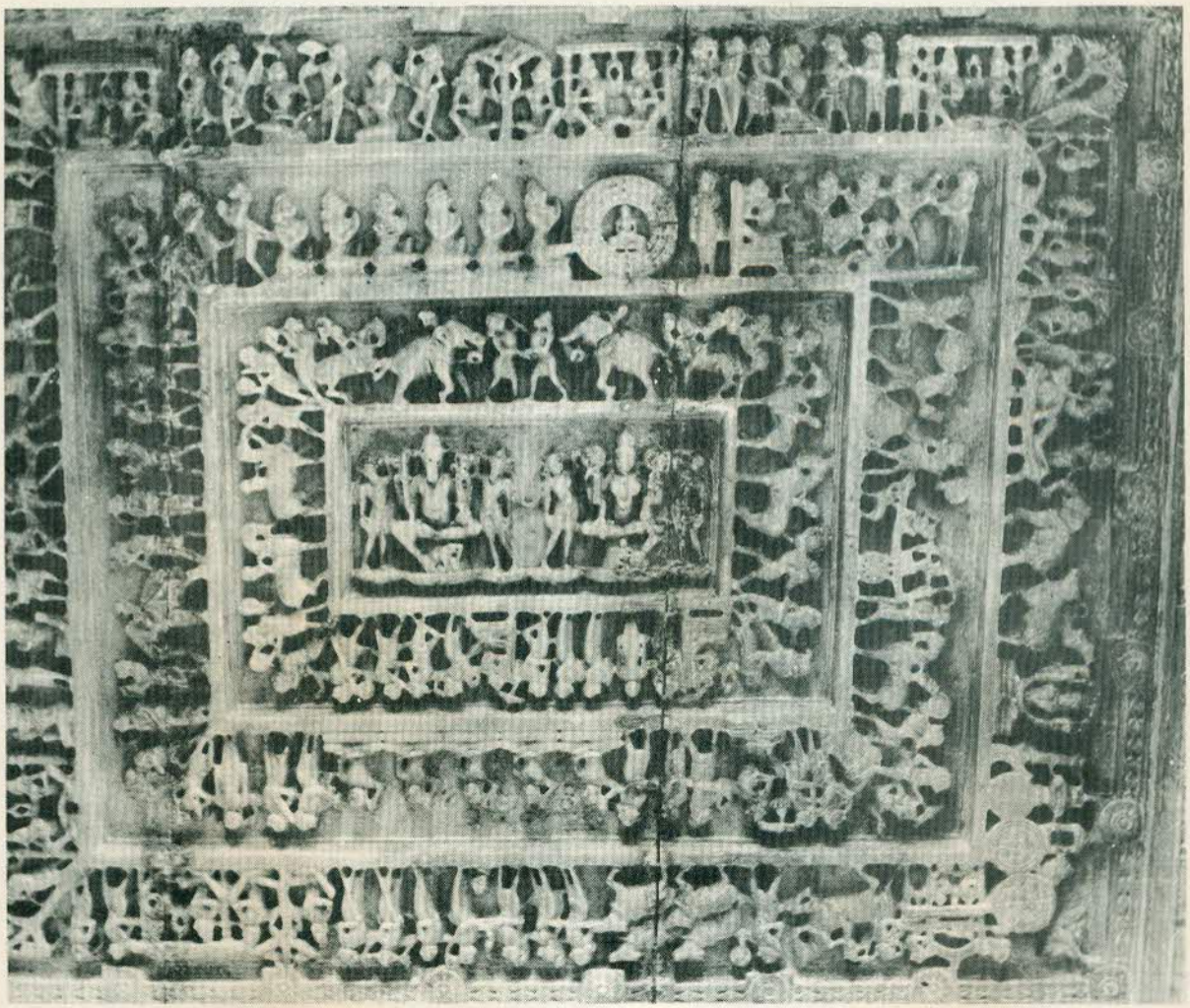


Pl. 83. Fragment No. 2, A

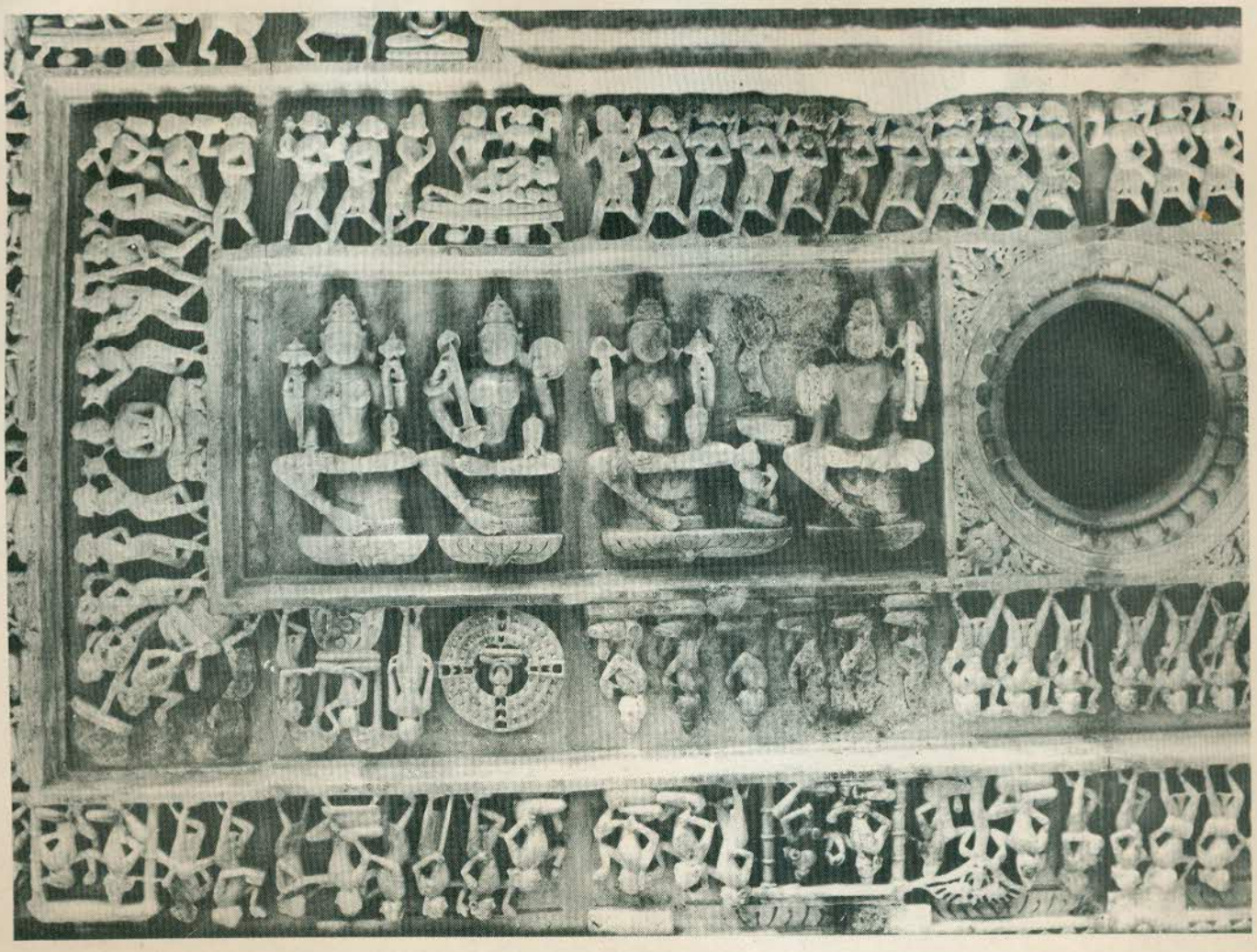


Pl. 84. Fragment No. 2, B

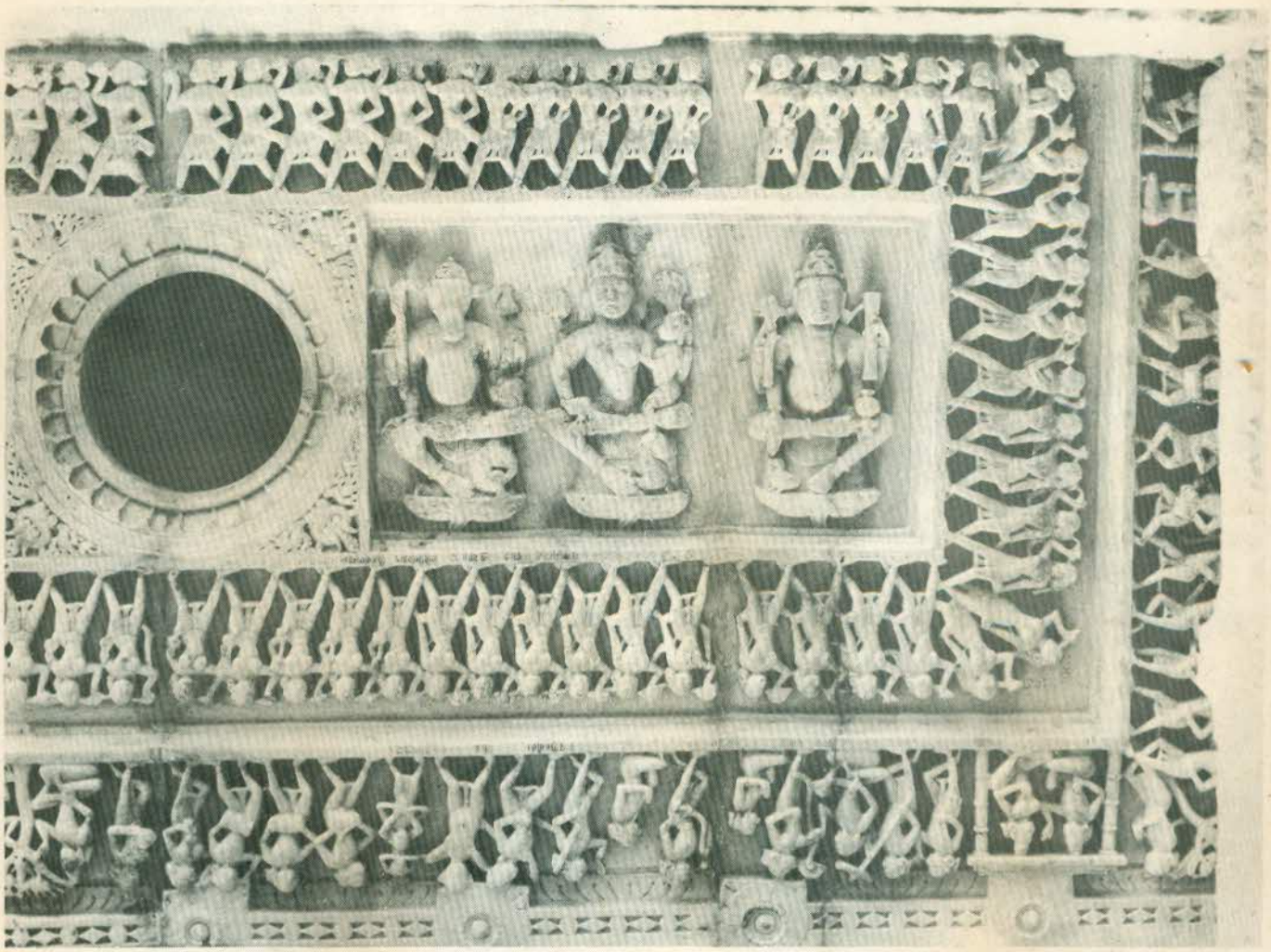
Pl. 85. Viṣṇu Killing Madhu and Kaiṭabha Kashmir, 9th century, Grey Stone; 42.5 cm. Gift of Margery and Harry Kahn. Los Angeles County Museum of Art M. 83.72



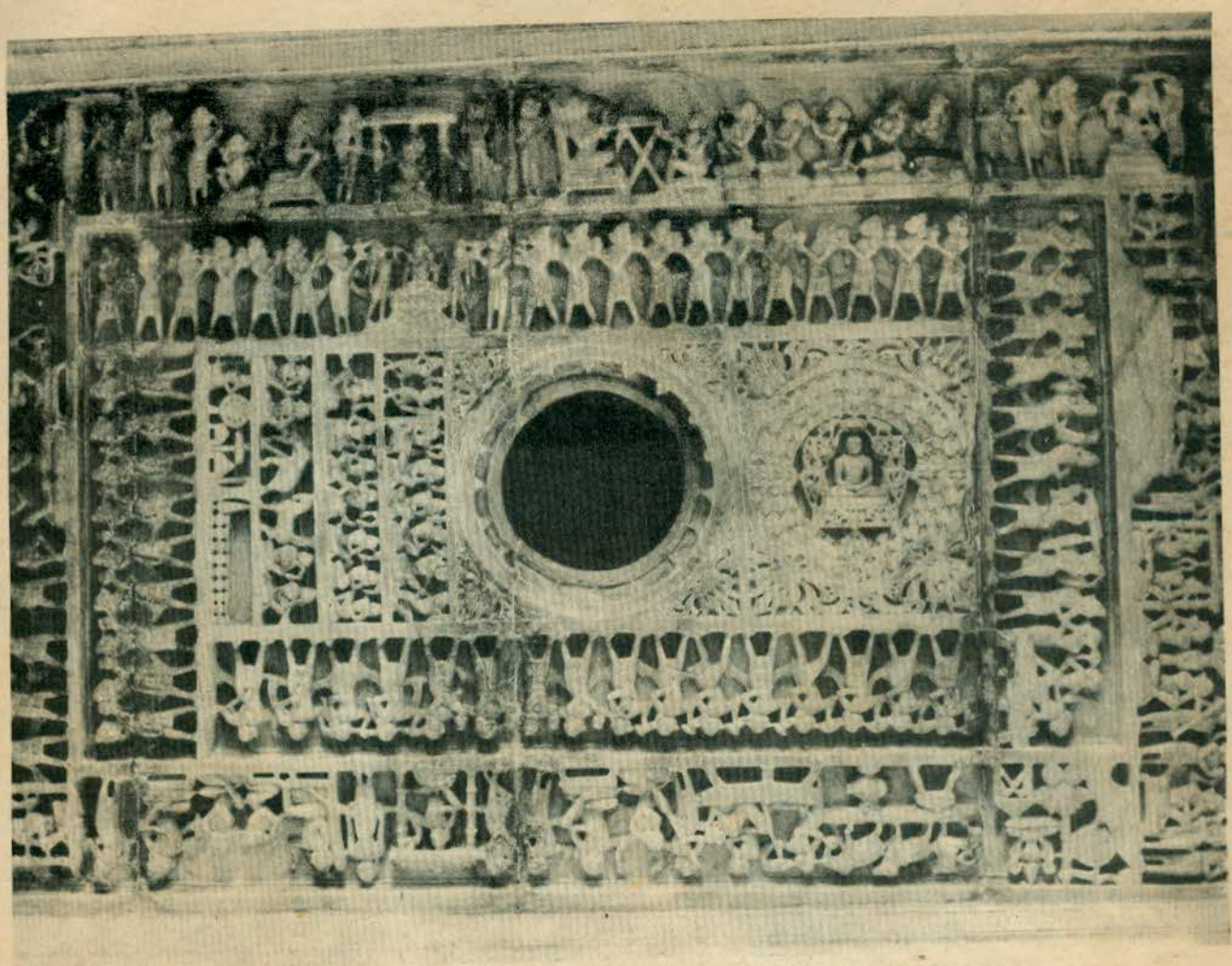
Pl. 86. Ṛṣabhnātha *Carita*, Śāntinātha temple Kumbhāria (*Photo courtesy :* AIIS, Varanasi)



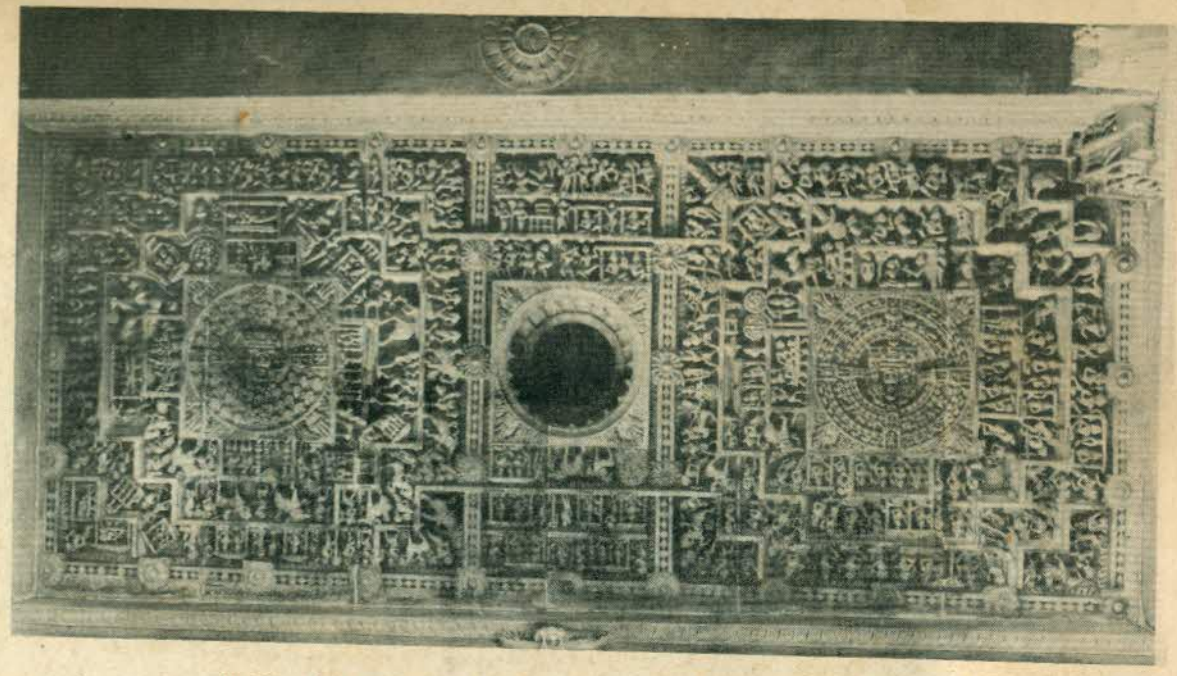
Pl. 87. Ṛṣabhanātha *Carita*, Mahāvīra temple, Kumbhāria *(Photo courtesy :* AIIS, Varanasi)



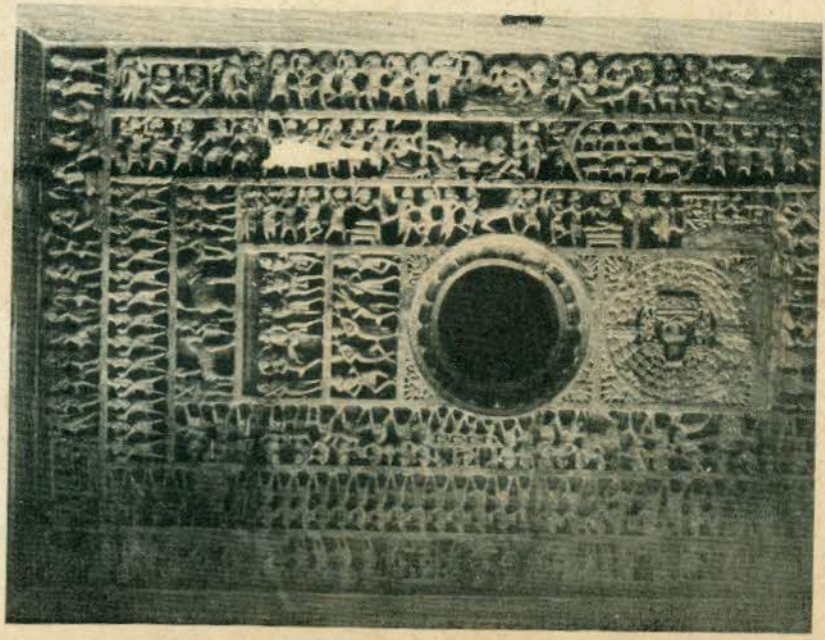
Pl. 88. Ṛṣabhanātha *Carita*, Mahāvīra temple, Kumbhāria *(Photo courtesy:* AIIS Varanasi



Pl. 89. Śantinātha *Carita*, Śantinātha temple, Kumbhāriā (*Photo courtesy :* AIIS, Varanasi



Pl. 90. Śāntinātha (left half) and Neminātha *Caritas*, Mahāvīra temple. Kumbhāria *(Photo courtesy :* AIIS, Varanasi



Pl. 91. Neminātha *Carita*, Śantinātha temple, Kumbhāriā (*Photo courtesy :* AIIS Varanasi)